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THE SIKH RELIGION

ITS GURUS, SACRED WRITINGS AND AUTHORS

BY

MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE

ਟੂਟੇ ਆਂਡਾ ਭਰਮ ਦਾ, ਮਨਹਿ ਭਇਓ ਪਰਗਾਸ;
ਕਾਟੀ ਬੇੜੀ ਪਗਹ ਤੇ, ਗੁਰ ਕੀਨੀ ਬੰਦ ਖਲਾਸ.

The egg of superstition hath burst; the mind is illumined:
The Guru hath cut the fetters off the feet and freed the captive.

GURU ARJAN

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. III

S. CHAND & CO.
DELHI — NEW DELHI — BOMBAY
JULLUNDUR—LUCKNOW

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Published by S. Chand & Co., Ram Nagar, New Delhi, (India)
by arrangement with the Oxford University Press, Bombay.

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First Reprinted in India 1963

294.533
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Vol. III

Price

		Rs.
Vol. I & II.	..	25.00
III & IV	..	25.00
V & VI	..	25.00
Set Six Volumes.	..	65.00

Printed at Eurasia offset Printers New Delhi-1

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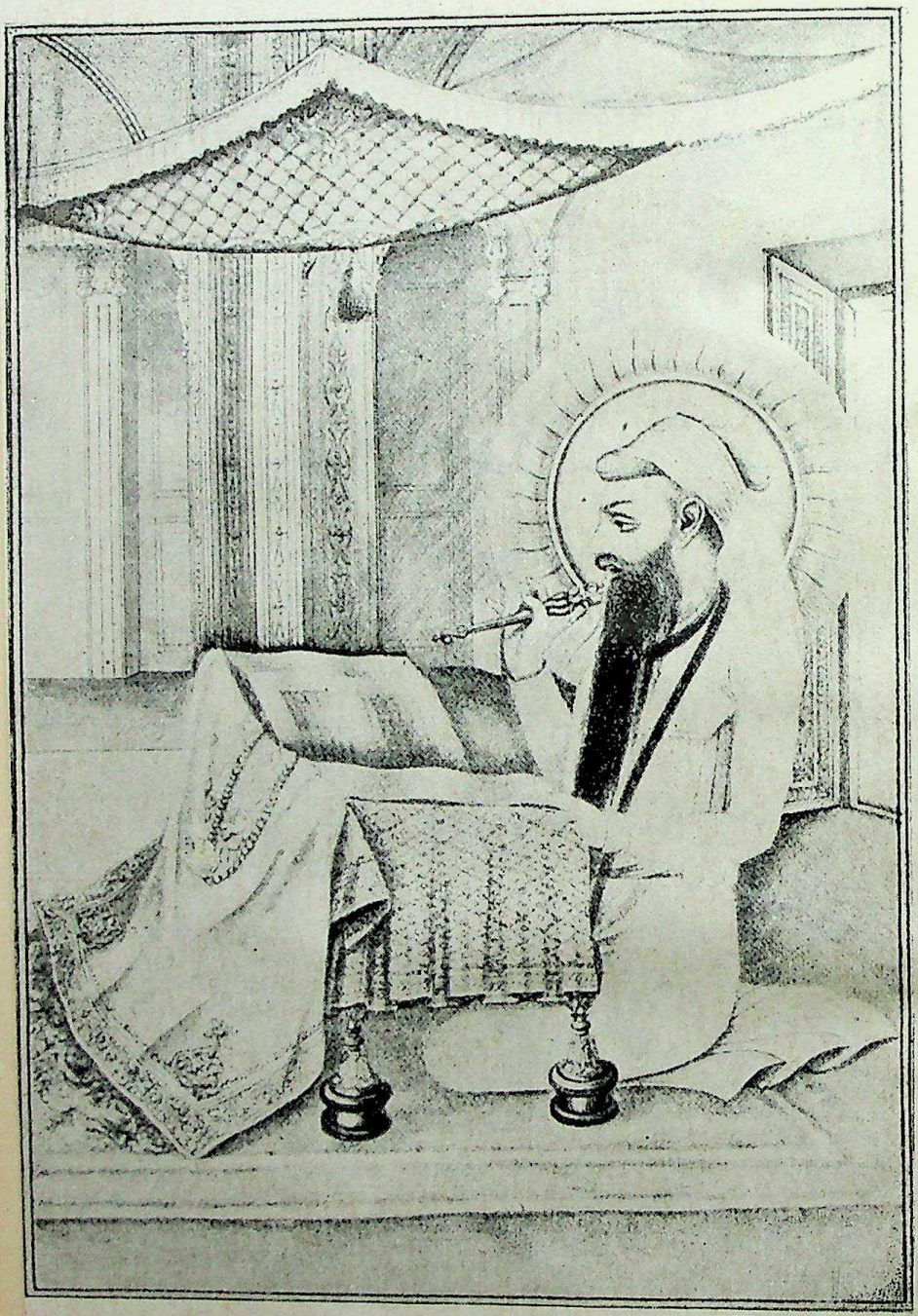

GURU ARJAN READING THE GRANTH SAHIB

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LIFE OF GURU ARJAN, THE FIFTH GURU

Chapter I

Bibi Bhani, wife of Guru Ram Das, gave birth to Arjan at Goindwal on Tuesday the 7th day of the dark half of Baisakh, Sambat 1620 (A.D. 1563).

We have already related one legend of Guru Amar Das's fondness for his grandson Arjan, and of his offer to him of the Guruship. Another legend is also current. The child Arjan one day found his way to the bed of Guru Amar Das while taking his repose. It was generally considered a serious thing to disturb the Guru in his siesta. Bibi Bhani on missing the child ran to fetch him. He had, however, already awakened the Guru, who said, 'Let him come to me; *yih mera dohita pani ka bohita howega*' —this grandson of mine shall be a boat to take mankind across the ocean of the world.

Arjan was in due time married to Ganga, daughter of Krishan Chand, a resident of the village of Meo in the Philor sub-collectorate of the present district of Jalandhar.

The details of Arjan's life up to the date of his father Guru Ram Das's death are given in the life of the latter. It will be remembered that he died in Goindwal. After his decease, Mohri, maternal uncle of Arjan, bestowed on him a turban as his father's heir, according to ancient custom. Prithia urged that it was he himself who, as eldest son of the late Guru Ram Das, should receive the turban. Upon this Guru Arjan conferred it on him and returned to Amritsar. A short time afterwards Prithia met Sulahi Khan, a revenue officer of the province of Lahore, and interested him in a complaint which

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he was preparing to make to the Emperor on the subject of his supersession by his youngest brother.

Prithia next complained to the chaudhris of Amritsar, that he and his brother had been left without maintenance. The chaudhris made a representation to Guru Arjan on the subject. He accordingly granted certain taxes and house rents to Prithia, the customs duties of Pasian ka Chauk (a ward of Amritsar) to Mahadev, his second brother, and merely reserved for himself the voluntary offerings of the faithful.[1]

As we have seen, it was under Guru Amar Das that Jetha, his son-in-law, afterwards Guru Ram Das, began the excavation of the tanks of Santokhsar and Amritsar and the foundation of the city. After the death of Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan applied himself to the task of completing the tanks and extending the city of Ramdaspur. It was his practice to go every day and sit under a shisham[2] tree, which had sheltered Guru Ram Das, and superintend the work.

When the tank of Santokhsar was approaching completion, it is said the workmen came on a hut in which a naked Jogi was seated in profound contemplation. The Guru clothed him, and restored him to consciousness. He was rubbed and the breath which was concentrated in his brain was diffused through his body. He then opened his eyes, and seeing the Guru and his Sikhs standing round him, inquired, 'Who are you and who reigneth now?' Bhai Budha answered these and many other queries. The Guru interrogated him as to how he had been so long concealed alive beneath the earth. The Jogi replied, 'I pleased my guru, and he granted me the privilege of lying in deep contemplation here. He promised that I should sleep till the coming of Guru Arjan, who would awaken me and grant me deliverance.' He then put

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rās II, Chapter 29.
[2] *Dalbergia Sissoo.*

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several questions to the Guru, who replied by the following hymn :—

A player playeth his part
And representeth many characters ;
But when he taketh off his disguises the play is brought to an end,
And he assumeth his original appearance.
What characters appeared and disappeared !
Whither did they vanish and whence did they come ?
Many waves are formed in the water,
And ornaments of many fashions are made of gold
I have seen seeds of various kinds sown :
When the produce ripeneth, the seed reappeareth in its original shape.
In a thousand water-pots there is one sky reflected.
When the water-pots burst the sky remaineth as before.
Man goeth astray through the sins of covetousness and worldly love ;
But, when he is freed from his error, he assumeth the likeness of God,
Who is imperishable and perisheth not,
Who neither cometh nor goeth.
The perfect Guru hath washed away the filth of my pride,
And Nanak hath obtained the supreme state.[1]

It is said that the Jogi on hearing this found his doubts resolved and obtained divine knowledge. He then cast aside his body, in the words of the Sikh chronicler, as a snake sloughs his skin, and by the favour of the Guru obtained salvation. The tank from the site of which the Jogi had emerged was completed on the first of Phagan, Sambat 1645 (A. D. 1588).

The Guru hastened the construction of the Amritsar, or sacred tank, and projected the Har Mandar or temple of God. He appointed his most trustworthy Sikhs—Bhais Budha, Salo, Bhagtu, Paira, Bahlo, Kaliana, and others—to superintend the work and

[1] Sūhi.

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procure lime, bricks, and all other necessary materials. The removal of the earth had all been effected under Guru Ram Das in Sambat 1634. The task of making the masonry side-walls and floor fell to Guru Arjan.

One day the Guru seated in court, said that in order to complete the work more money was required, and he suggested to his Sikhs to endeavour to obtain it from the hill chiefs. Bhai Kaliana said he would gladly act in furtherance of the Guru's wishes. He proceeded to the Hindu state of Mandi in the hills, and appreciating the beauty of the country after his residence in the plains decided to sojourn there. On the occasion of the Janam Ashtami—eighth day of the dark half of the month of Bhadon—the anniversary of Krishan's birth, the Raja decreed that all the inhabitants of his state should observe a rigid fast during the day, and not sleep the following night, but keep vigil and occupy their time uttering 'Krishan, Krishan'. In the morning they should repair to the temple to behold the salagram; and there they might break their fast by drinking water in which the salagram had been bathed.

Kaliana was the only one who heeded not these stringent orders. He did not fast, or go to the temple, or drink the water in which the idol had been bathed. In reply to several questions as to the cause of his disobedience he replied: 'My God is a living Being who speaketh and conferreth great happiness on His worshippers. Vain is the worship of a lifeless stone which neither eateth, nor speaketh, nor conferreth favours. It is true that you occasionally fast, but at the same time you refrain not from grievous sins. The Sikhs of my Guru eat little and thus are ever fasting. They ever restrain lust and wrath, and apply their hearts to God's worship.' He then repeated the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

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Did God put aside all the other days of the month
That He should have been born on the eighth ?
Man led astray by error uttereth nonsense.
God is not subject to birth and death.
Man taketh cakes [1] and giveth them secretly to an idol to eat.
O, brute of an infidel, God is not born, nor doth He die.
All thy sin resulteth from fondling the idol.
May the mouth which sayeth God entered a womb be burnt !
Nanak's God is everywhere ;
He is not born, nor doth He die ; He cometh not and goeth not.[2]

On hearing this everybody laughed and began to criticize Kaliana's words. They were repeated throughout the city, and the Raja was informed that there had come to the state a stranger who spoke slightingly of the salagram and called it a stone, and who did not fast on the holy anniversary of Krishan's birth. The Raja became very wroth, and at once sent an orderly to summon Kaliana. When he arrived, the Raja in imperious and angry tones asked him to tell his place of residence, his religion, and the name of his guru.

Kaliana replied: 'On the throne of the holy Guru Nanak, who was very famous in the world, now sitteth the holy and perfect Guru Arjan. We who are his disciples obtain the object of our desires from him. He giveth us instruction, which conferreth happiness here and hereafter. We ever read his hymns, wherefore we reverence not stones which neither see, nor hear, nor speak. How can a stone be pleased, and what can we gain by worshipping it ? God who is the life within our lives, by whose support we exist, and who is ever bounteous to us all—that God you suppose to be a stone. God who pervadeth sea and

[1] Made out of clarified butter, sugar, and flour kneaded without water.
[2] Bhairo.

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land, who conferreth happiness here and hereafter, who is contained in animate and inanimate nature, who is in the past, present and future, who is supreme in the three worlds and to whom none is equal—that God you imagine to be an inanimate object. How can He be pleased with you when you treat him with such utter indignity ?'[1]

The Raja finding Kaliana thus intractable ordered that he should be imprisoned. Next day he was again produced, and ordered to bow before the idol. Kaliana refused, and said his idol was Guru Arjan. The Raja then ordered him to lose one of his legs as punishment, and be expelled the country. After the delivery of this order the Raja fainted, and the execution was accordingly stayed. Every known remedy was employed to revive him, but in vain. The wise men at the royal court frankly said that this was all the result of the annoyance inflicted upon the holy stranger. Instead of being punished, he ought to have been received with hospitality and respect.

Better counsels having thus prevailed, Kaliana was called to the Raja's bedside. He said he could cure him if he promised to believe in the Guru and become one of his Sikhs; otherwise he had no healing power. His ministers promised on behalf of the Raja that he would act as Kaliana desired. Upon this Kaliana stood up, clasped his hands, and prayed to God to save the monarch's life. While Kaliana was thus praying, the Raja recovered consciousness. On seeing Kaliana as his physician standing before

[1] This teaching may be contrasted with the present idolatrous practices of many ignorant Sikhs. Sardar Kāhn Singh, in his *Gurmat Sudhākar*, states that some Sikhs go to temples of Shiv and imitate there the bleating of goats. They go to temples of Vishnu and there chew leaves of sweet basil, sacred in the estimation of the Hindus, and drink water in which the idol has been bathed. They go to temples of Durga and there offer goats in sacrifice, and put on red and yellow necklaces consecrated to the goddess. They also go to Muhammadan temples and cemeteries and there offer lamps, sweets, &c., after the manner of ignorant Muhammadans.

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him, he ordered that he should be received into his palace, and treated with all possible courtesy and distinction.

The Raja after complete recovery begged Kaliana to take him to the Guru. The Raja went with his queens, his concubines, and his army, and pitched his camp outside Amritsar. Kaliana proceeded to inform the Guru of the monarch's arrival, and of the circumstances which had led to it. The Raja next day, accompanied only by his macebearers, went on foot to see the Guru. On arriving in his presence he put his head on the Guru's feet, and begged him to save him now that he had come under his protection. The Guru imparted to him religious instruction upon which he realized his past errors. The Guru asked him to stay with him for three days, and he would reap the advantage thereof. The Raja consented to delay his departure and also to take his meals from the Guru's kitchen. In due time he took leave of the Guru and returned with all his suite to his own kingdom.

There is a story told of one Manj, a votary of Sakhi Sarwar, a Muhammadan pir, whose shrine is on the border of Balochistan. The Guru's fame had reached Manj; he had heard the Guru's hymns recited, and passionately desired to behold him. When this favour had been vouchsafed him, he made the following requests: 'O Guru, heal my three fevers, make me a Sikh, and, deeming me thy servant, save me and remove the great pain of transmigration.' The Guru replied: 'Thou hast made Sakhi Sarwar thy priest. His way is easy: Sikhism on the contrary is difficult. In it thou canst not put thyself forward or assert thyself. Thou canst not embrace it without being ready to sacrifice without a groan thy life on its behalf. If thou become my Sikh, thou shalt be an object of public obloquy. Thy relations will ridicule thee, and not allow thee to associate with them. They will also

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dispossess thee of all thy property. If thou art prepared to endure such hardships and sufferings, then mayest thou become a disciple of mine. Otherwise continue to worship the shrine of thy saint and talk not of Sikhism. Keep thy wealth, and the good opinion of thy family. Why heap on thyself trouble by embracing my religion ?'

Manj replied : 'O Guru, the very moment I saw thee and heard thy words I turned away from Sakhi Sarwar, and I was overwhelmed with shame when I reflected that in imitation of others I bowed my head at the shrine of a pretended saint possessing no real greatness. Thus do men forfeit their religion and lose the advantage of human birth.'

Manj thus spoke in his humility and tears clouded his eyes. The Guru replied : 'Accept Sikhism. Worship the true God, and it shall be a source of happiness to thee.' The Guru then told his visitor that he must go home, demolish the niche appropriated to Sakhi Sarwar's worship in his dwelling, return to the Guru, and place himself under his protection. Manj did all this, returned to the Guru, lived by manual labour, and contributed a fourth part of his earnings to the Sikh cause.

A Sikh named Bahilo came from Malwa to visit the Guru. He professed to know how to make bricks in the most durable manner. The Guru accordingly entrusted to him the whole of the brick-making necessary for the completion of the tanks and the temple. Indeed there were many Sikhs at the time who served the Guru with the utmost fidelity. Among others the names of Ajab, Ajaib, and Umar Shah are mentioned. They were masands who collected offerings for the Guru, and faithfully delivered them. On one occasion he asked them in what light they regarded the offerings which passed through their hands. They replied that they regarded them as poison not only for their bodies but for their souls.

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Chapter II

Unexpected help reached the Guru from various quarters. One Ganga Ram, a Brahman merchant, came from Bhatinda with corn to sell. He visited the Guru and remained with him for some time. During his stay the Guru's kitchen one day became empty, so Ganga Ram gave up all his corn and fed for a space of five days all the labourers on the tank. As the Baisakhi fair was approaching, the Guru persuaded him to stay and enjoy it. Large offerings were made to the Guru on the occasion, all of which he ordered to be given to Ganga Ram. This was done to test his devotion and sincerity. Ganga Ram, however, refused to accept them. The Guru, who was naturally pleased at meeting such a disinterested friend, commended and blessed him.

When the tank was excavated, it was represented to the Guru that Har Mandar, or the temple of God to be built in the midst of it, should be raised higher than all other buildings in the neighbourhood, so that it might receive proper respect. The Guru replied: 'No; what is humble shall be exalted. The more a tree is laden with fruit, the more its branches descend to the earth. By whatever way you approach the temple you must descend eight or ten steps, wherefore let the Har Mandar be made the lowest edifice of all.' The Guru himself was humble, but through his spiritual greatness he obtained the dignity of being visited by people of rank from all parts of India and receiving their rich offerings.

Hindu temples are closed on three sides and opened only towards the east or rising sun. The great Sikh temple at Amritsar was to be open on all sides. This meant that the Sikh worship was open to all, and was not concerned with sun-worship. The Granth Sahib is placed in the middle of the temple, so that no man may seat himself in its place.

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It was on the 1st of Magh, Sambat 1645 (A.D. 1589), the Guru laid the first brick of the masonry foundation of the Har Mandar, or the Darbar Sahib, now known to Europeans as the Golden Temple. A mason afterwards accidentally displaced the brick, whereupon the Guru prophesied that the foundation should again have to be laid. His words were subsequently fulfilled. Ahmad Shah Abdali, in Sambat 1819, destroyed the temple and desecrated the tank. Two years afterwards the great army of the Khalsa recovered possession of the temple, relaid its masonry foundation, and reconstructed it.

The Guru had given orders that only kiln-dried bricks should be employed. Some masands who had charge of the bricks, resolved to cheat the Guru and scamp the work. They smeared sun-dried bricks with plaster and laid them. The Guru heard of their dishonesty and ordered them to desist. They disobeyed his orders three times. He then dismissed them, and said that, when he became tenth Guru, he would visit them with condign punishment.

When the Sikhs in large numbers contributed their assistance, and the tank and temple were approaching completion, the Guru felt that God Himself had assisted in the work, and in joy and gratitude composed the following :—

God Himself came, and stood up to do the work of the saints.

Into the beautiful land and the beautiful tank He poured nectareous water.

He poured nectareous water, completed the work, and all our desires are fulfilled.

There are rejoicings in the world, and all anxiety is at an end.

The Veds and the Purans sing the praises of Him who is fixed and imperishable.

God hath been mindful of His usual function ; Nanak hath meditated on His name.

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The Creator gave me the nine treasures, wealth, and supernatural power ; I have not been in want of anything.

I have obtained happiness eating, spending, and living comfortably ; God's gifts ever increase :

His gifts increase, are never exhausted, and I have found the Searcher of hearts.

Millions of obstacles have been removed and trouble hath not approached me.

Peace, composure, and happiness in abundance are mine, and all my craving is satisfied.

Nanak singeth the praises of the Lord ; wonderful is His praise.

He did it whose work it was ; what is wretched man ?

The saints are adorned by singing God's praises, and ever wishing Him victory.

Pleasure is produced by singing God's praises and forming an alliance with His saints.

How shall his [1] praises be recounted who exerted himself in the *construction* of the tank ?

Bathing in this tank is equal to bathing in the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage, to the bestowal of alms, and the performance of great purifications.

The purification of sinners is the function of the Lord ; His word is Nanak's support.

Treasury of excellences, my God, Creator, what praises of Thine may I utter ?

The prayer of the saint is—' O Lord, grant us the great elixir of Thy name.

Give us the Name ; grant us this boon, forget us not for a moment.'

O tongue, repeat God's praises ; let us ever sing them night and day.

The mind and body of him who loveth the Name shall be filled with ambrosial essence.

Nanak representeth, my desires have been fulfilled. I live by a sight of Thee.[2]

[1] The reference is to Guru Rām Dās.
[2] Sūhi Chhant.

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The following also was composed on the same occasion :—

The Creator stood in the midst *of the work*,
And not a hair *of any man's head* was touched.[1]
The Guru will render ablution herein very profitable,
And by repeating God's name sins shall depart.
O saints, Ram Das's [2] tank is excellent :
He who batheth in it shall save his family ; his own soul too shall be saved.
He who here below singeth a song of rejoicing *over this work*,
Shall obtain the fruit his heart desireth.[3]
He who while meditating on his God
Cometh to bathe here shall be made safe and whole.
He who batheth in the saints' tank
Shall obtain final salvation.
Meditating on God's name,
He shall not die or suffer transmigration.
He to whom God is merciful
Knoweth divine knowledge.
His cares and anxieties shall depart
Who seeketh the protection of Baba Nanak and God.[4]

[1] That is, the Muhammadan authorities at the time did not interfere with the work.

[2] Rām Dās may also here mean God's servant.

[3] Also translated—Men will sing a song of rejoicing over this work, and obtain their heart's desires.

[4] Also translated—Guru Nānak hath sought God's protection ; and all men's cares and anxieties shall depart. Sorath.

The following is an alternative translation of this hymn :—

The Creator is within me,
And not a hair of my head can be touched,
The Guru maketh my ablution successful.
Repeat God's name and thy sins shall be washed away.
God's saints and servants form an excellent tank.*
He who batheth in it shall save his own soul and the souls of all his family.
The whole world shall congratulate him,
And he shall obtain the reward his heart desireth.

* From which others may draw the nectar of the Name.

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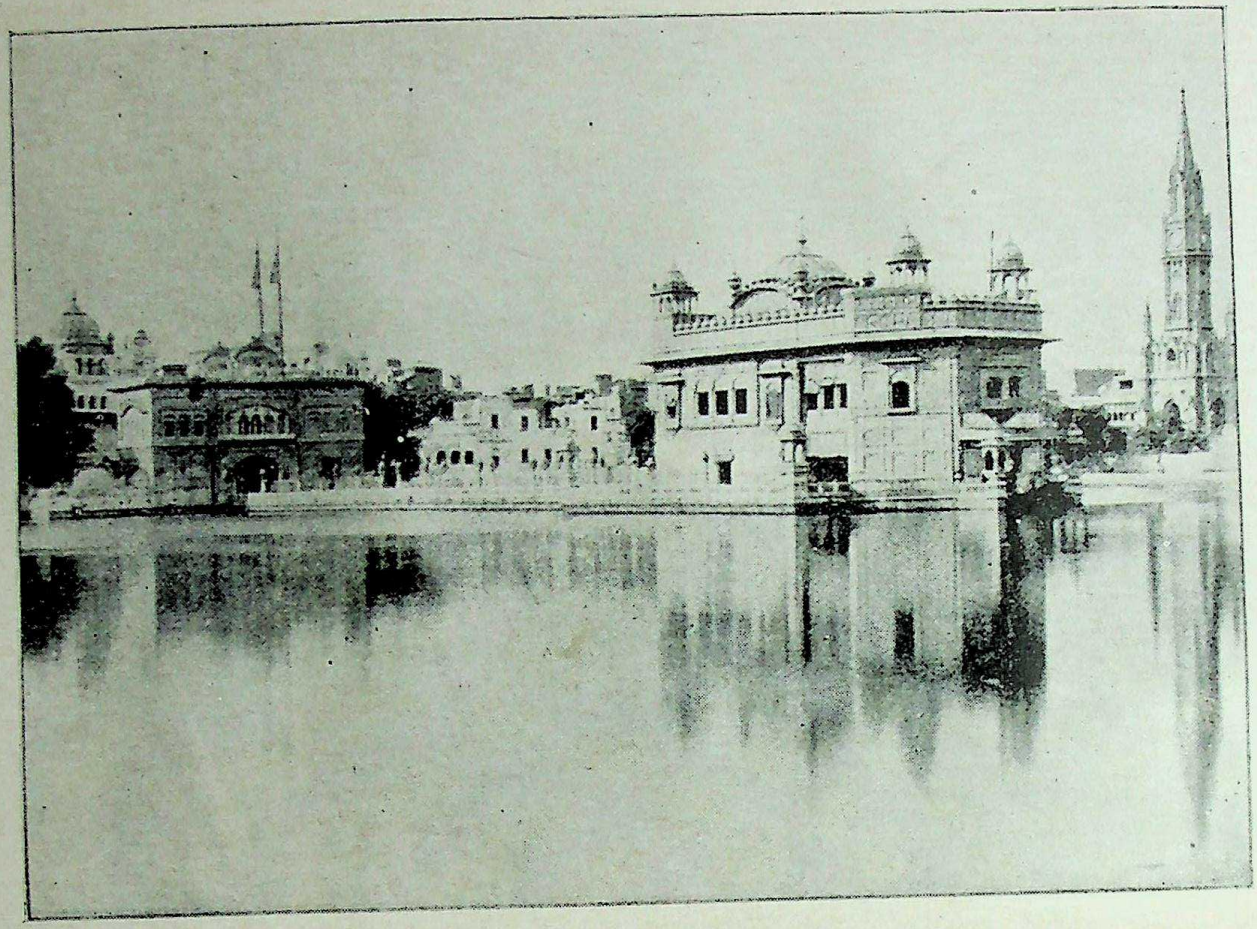

THE TANK AND TEMPLE OF AMRITSAR

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The Guru thus described the advantages of the tank :—

By bathing in the tank of Ram Das [1]
All the sins that man committeth shall be done away,
And he shall become pure by his ablutions.
The perfect Guru hath given us this boon.
When we meditate on the Guru's instruction,
God bestoweth all comfort and happiness,
And causeth the whole cargo to cross over safely.
In the association of the saints uncleanness departeth,
And the supreme Being abideth with us.
Nanak by meditating on the Name
Hath found God the primal Being.[2]

Chapter III

When the tank and temple were completed there were great rejoicings. The enormous exertions and personal sacrifices made by Bhais Budha, Bhagtu, and Bahilo are specially mentioned. One day as they were all bathing, Guru Arjan shed tears on seeing the state of their bodies as the result of their labours. The Guru said with mournful voice, that, as the tank had been constructed by such devout and sincere Sikhs, all sins should be removed and all desires fulfilled by bathing in it and duly worshipping God.

He who batheth herein, having meditated on his God,
Shall be completely restored to health.
He who batheth in the tank of the saints
Shall obtain salvation.
He who meditateth on God's name
Shall not die or suffer transmigration.
He to whom God is merciful
Is thoroughly acquainted with divine knowledge.
Guru Nānak hath entered God's sanctuary ;
He hath removed all my cares and anxieties.

[1] This line is also translated—By bathing in the tank of the saints of God.

[2] Sorath.

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The following was composed by the Guru on the same occasion :—

God Himself hath given the support of His lotus feet.
He who entereth God's asylum shall ever be renowned.
God is the Preserver, unequalled ; holy is His service.
The divine Guru hath made Ramdaspur God's empire.
Ever and ever meditate on God, and no obstacle shall thwart you.
Nanak, by praising the Name the fear of enemies fleeth away.[1]

The Guru wrote the following on the completion of the Har Mandar.

By repeating God's name I have made God's temple : ye saints and worshippers, sing God's praises.
Remember, remember the Lord your God, and ye shall be released from all your sins.
By singing God's praises the supreme position is obtained ; His word is the best.
The savour of divine knowledge is very sweet when the tale of the Ineffable is told.
Good the juncture, true the time and moment when I had the immovable foundation laid.
O slave Nanak, when God was merciful everything was completed.
The instruments of joy continually play ; the supreme Being hath taken His abode in my heart.
The performance of the work of the True One under the Guru's instruction is best of all ; by it false doubts and fears are dispelled.
The Guru hath spoken the divine Word ; on continually hearing it the mind and body are refreshed.
He whom God hath made His own, hath obtained all happiness ;
In his house are the nine treasures, his garners are filled with God's name which he loveth.
Nanak, the servant who is fully fortunate shall never forget God.

[1] Bilāwal.

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When God, the Lord of the umbrella,[1] affordeth shelter, all trouble departeth ;

The abode of sorrow and sin hath fallen and the work hath succeeded.

When the Lord God ordered it, misfortune was averted, and true religion and charity flourished.

Ever meditate on this God whether sleeping, sitting, or standing.

The Treasure of excellences, the Sea of happiness, the Lord is in sea and land, in the nether and upper regions.

O slave Nanak, there is no shelter except in God.

My house hath been constructed ; my garden and tank have been constructed ; may God enter therein !

My heart hath become glad ; my friends and associates rejoice, and sing songs of praise and gladness to the Lord.

They have sung the true God's praises, meditated on Him, and obtained all their desires.

They who are attached to the Guru's feet are ever awake ; in their hearts resound God's praises.

When the Lord who dwelleth in happiness casteth a look of favour, this world and the next are arranged.

Nanak representeth—ever repeat His name who supporteth soul and body.[2]

The Emperor Akbar's new prime minister, Raja Birbar, a learned and accomplished man, was on religious grounds hostile to the Guru and jealous of his daily increasing influence and popularity. The minister was a great favourite of the Emperor, who desired to have him always by his side. He is said to have been capable by the force of his intellect of telling the Emperor his secrets at any time. His energy blazed for a while, but it was only the expiring flicker of the lamp. On account of his hostility to the Guru evil days came upon him. On the failure of Zain Khan Kokah in his expedition

1 God who makes kings and emperors.
2 Sūhi Chhant.

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against the Yusufzais, Birbar was ordered to proceed to him with reinforcements. Before his departure he received a written permission from the Emperor to levy a tax of a rupee on the house of every Khatri on the way. He crossed the Bias and sent his agents to collect the tax in Amritsar. The Khatris there refused payment and complained to the Guru. He represented to the Prime Minister's agents: 'The tax is on Khatris. We are Sikhs and look for exemption. Up to the present the government hath never imposed forced labour or taxes on the Guru's house. My kitchen is kept open by the offerings of Sikhs and saints. No one is refused access to it. Take as much corn and food as you require, but I have no money to give you. I live on confidence in God.'

The agents repeated this speech to the Prime Minister, who became furious on hearing it. He said: 'I am a commander of many men; how dareth the Guru disobey me? Moreover I bear the Emperor's order. Even if it be the Guru's house, it is for Sikhs and not for me to reverence it.' Upon this Birbar sent some soldiers to the Guru with the following message: 'Thou art a Khatri, a subject, and in every way subordinate to the state. If thou come to meet me, it will be well; otherwise I will sack the whole of thy city.' The soldiers went, but were dumbfounded in the presence of the Guru. Divining their object he thus addressed them: 'My friends, I care not for any one, nor do I fear any one. Let Raja Birbar come and do what he pleaseth. The Creator will protect me.' The soldiers, fearing the Guru's words and also their master's wrath, went and falsely told him that the Guru would come on the morrow. Raja Birbar said: 'What mattereth it if he be a saint or an object of reverence, or even very old, if he have not fear of me? Well, if he come not to-morrow, I will sack Amritsar.' That

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night the Raja never slept through perturbation of mind.

Meanwhile another order arrived from the Emperor telling the Raja to make haste and proceed with his troops by forced marches to unite with Zain Khan against the Yusufzais. The Raja was much disappointed on receiving this peremptory command, as it left him no time to wreak his vengeance on the Guru. He ordered his staff to remind him of the Guru on his return, and said that if he did not then get a rupee from each house in Amritsar, he would raze the city to its foundations. As the sacrificial fire flames up when clarified butter is thrown on it, so did the Raja's spirit burn at the recollection of the Guru's language. When the Sikhs communicated to the Guru the Raja's wrathful words he merely said, 'If the Raja return he will give us trouble.' Zain Khan the Commander-in-Chief and Raja Birbar held divided councils. They were attacked and defeated by the Yusufzais. Zain Khan escaped with difficulty, but Birbar was slain.[1]

Prithi Chand in alliance with Sulahi Khan found ample opportunities of annoying the Guru. Wazir Khan, the Emperor's assistant Prime Minister, interposed on the Guru's behalf and prevailed on Sulahi Khan to bring the contending brothers to a compromise. The reason why Wazir Khan espoused the Guru's cause is said to have been the following: Once as he was lying ill in his house in Lahore, suffering from dropsy, a Sikh passed by singing the Guru's Sukhmani.[2] As Wazir Khan listened his pain decreased. When the Sikh had gone beyond hearing, the pain appeared again. When he returned by the same route singing the same strain, Wazir Khan's pain was again allayed. He called the Sikh and requested him to continue to sing the Sukh-

[1] This episode, in defiance of chronology, is often included by the Sikh chroniclers in the Life of Guru Amar Dās.

[2] A composition of Guru Arjan which will subsequently be given.

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mani for him. He then distributed sacred food in the Guru's name, and was soon restored to perfect health. When he found an opportunity he visited the Guru, told him the whole circumstance, and became a devout follower of his. Wazir Khan until his death retained Sikhs in his service to sing the Guru's hymns for him every morning before day-break, a time which the Sikhs call the ambrosial hour. When Wazir Khan solicited the Guru to give him instruction the Guru addressed him the following :—

O servant of God the Inscrutable,
Cease to think of worldly occupations.
Become the dust of the feet of poor travellers ; thus shall the darwesh be accepted at God's door.
Make truth thy prayer, faith thy prayer-carpet ;
Chasten desires and subdue thy feelings.
Make thy body the mosque, thy conscience the Mulla, and the very pure God thy creed.
Make thy shariat the practice of *real* sacred law.
Make thy tariqat the search for God and abandonment of the world ;
Make thy marifat, O devotee, the chastening of thy mind ; and thy haqikat the meeting of God, by which thou shalt not die again,
Make the restraint of thine organs of action and perception from evil ways.
Thy hearty practice of the precepts of the Quran and sacred books,
Make subjugation of the five thieves thy sidaq,[1] charity thy saburi,[2] and thou shalt be accepted.
Make kindness thy Makka, humility thy fasting,
Implicit [3] obedience to the word of thy priest thy heaven,
The service of God thy huris, thy nur,[4] and thy perfume ; and God thy lofty hujra.[5]

[1] Sincerity. [2] Patience.
[3] *Andāza.* According to measure, neither more nor less than what the guru tells thee.
[4] *Nūr.* Literally—light, then the sight of God.
[5] A small apartment or structure for private worship.

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He who practiseth truth is a Qazi ;
He who chasteneth his heart is a Haji ;
He who banisheth Satan is a Mulla, and he who praiseth *God* is a darwesh.
At every time and on every occasion
Remember God, the Creator, in thy heart.
Make the subjection of thy ten organs the rosary by which God is remembered in thy heart ;
Good conduct and great restraint *over thyself*, thy circumcision.
Know in thy heart that everything is for the moment.
Sports, banquets, and sodalities are all entanglements.
Kings, rulers, and nobles are perishable ; God's gate alone is the stable place.
Let first God's praises, second patience,
Third mildness, fourth almsgiving,
Fifth the five evil passions restrained in one place be thy five most precious times of prayer.
Make the knowledge that God is everywhere thy daily worship ;
The abandonment of evil deeds the water-pot in thy hand ;
The knowledge that there is but one God thy call to prayer ; such a Muazzin shall have an excellent reward.
What is honestly obtained eat thou as thy food ;
Wash away thy filth in the river of thy heart.
He who recognizeth his Pir is the man for heaven ; Azrail will not keep him in hell.
Make good works thy body, faith thy spouse,
And obedience to God thy pleasures and spectacles.
Purify what is impure, make God's presence thy Hadis [1] ; let a complete [2] body be the turban on thy head.
Let a Musalman be soft-hearted,
And wash away the filth of his heart.
Let not the pleasures of the world approach him ; and let him be pure as flowers, silk, clarified butter, or deer-skin.
He is the object of the kindness of the Kind One,
Who is a man, the manliest of men :

[1] The traditional sayings of the Prophet, which have the force of law among Moslems. [2] That is, uncircumcised.

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He is a Shaikh, a chief of Shaikhs, and a Haji ; the man on whom God's look of favour falleth is His slave.

Power belongeth to the Omnipotent, kindness to the Kind One ;

The attributes and love of the Merciful are unfathomable.

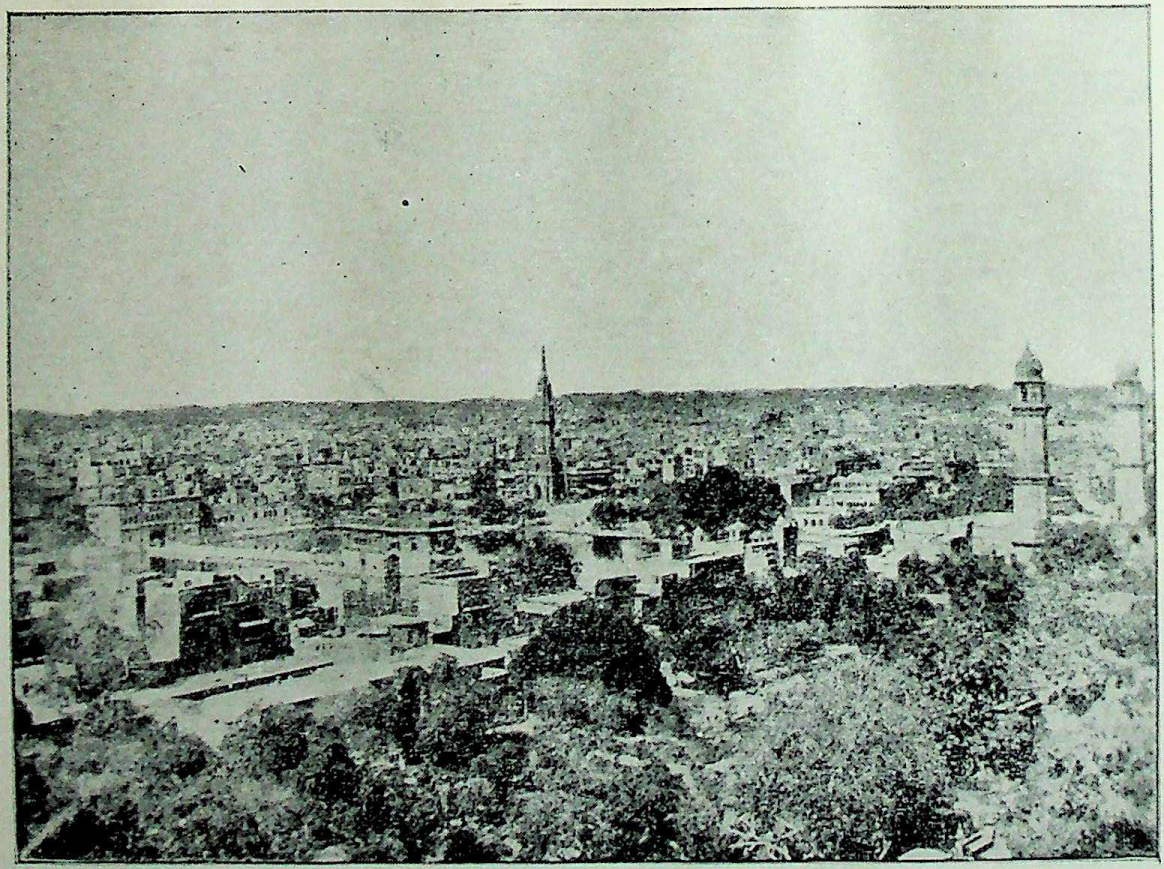
Understand God's order which is true, O Nanak, and thou shalt be released from thy prison.[1]

Chapter IV

When the buildings around the Guru's tank had increased, the Guru ordered his Sikhs and worshippers to take up their abode in them. Thus did the city of Amritsar gradually extend. A Sikh called Bhai Salo, who appears to have possessed much local influence, materially assisted the Guru in the accomplishment of his design. After a little time, however, the Sikhs finding there was no worldly advantage to them in living in Amritsar presented a humble address to the Guru : 'True king, there is here no trade or commerce of any sort, by which we may gain our livelihood and support our families. There are very few inhabitants, and consequently as yet no buying or selling.' The Guru in reply told them not to despair, that Amritsar should yet become a great city and possess a large population. He counselled them to depend on prayer and divine worship for their prosperity. They were to rise early, bathe and go to the temple to hear expositions of the Guru's hymns. After that they were to attend to their worldly affairs till evening, when their worship should begin anew by the repetition of the Rahiras and Sohila.

Notwithstanding the compromise that had been effected, the Guru's quarrelsome brother Prithia continued to give him every form of annoyance. Consequently the Guru decided to leave Amritsar and make a tour in the Manjha, or country between

[1] Māru Solha.



GENERAL VIEW OF AMRITSAR

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the Ravi and Bias. He first visited Khadur and Goindwal, and then proceeded to the village of Sarhali, where he sought to obtain land whereon to build himself a dwelling.

A Sikh of the village of Bhaini invited the Guru to visit him, and the Guru knowing his devotion consented. When he arrived in the village the day was far advanced. The Sikh's wife saw that the Guru was hungry, but at the same time it would take too long to cook vegetables for his dinner. She therefore prepared a dish of broken bread mixed with butter and sugar, and laid it before him. Having satisfied himself he inquired the name of the village. She said, 'Bhaini.' The Guru replied, 'The name of this village shall be Cholha, that is, tit-bit, or dainty dish.' Upon this he composed the following :—

I am a sacrifice to my Guru who implanted God's name in my heart ;

Who pointed out to me the straight road when I was in a great wilderness and darkness.

God is my life ;

He feeleth anxiety for me regarding everything in this world and the next.

By remembering Him I obtain all treasure, respect, greatness, and perfect honour.

By repeating His name, the dust of whose feet all saints desire, millions of sins are erased.

Let him who desireth all desirable things worship the one supreme Treasure.

The Lord is the supreme Being, limitless ; by remembering Him man crosseth over *the world*.

By abiding in the association of the saints man obtaineth comfort, peace, and great happiness, and his honour is preserved.

To amass God's wealth and make God's name my food—Nanak hath made these things his cholha (dainties).[1]

[1] Dhanāsari.

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On the same occasion the Guru composed the following :—

God's name is priceless ;
It is naturally comfortable.
God abideth with me and helpeth me ; He forsaketh me not ; He is unfathomable and unrivalled.
He is my beloved brother, my father, my mother, and the shelter of the saints.
The Invisible is seen when He is obtained from the Guru, who, O Nanak, is God's cholha (dainty).[1]

The name Bhaini was duly changed into Cholha in the government records of the period.

A Jat inhabitant of the village of Cholha represented to Guru Arjan that the inhabitants of the village of Buh would not allow his cattle to graze on their lands, though he had an ancient right of pasturage. The Guru replied, '*Buh juh howega,*' that is, 'Buh shall become sterile,' a prediction which was subsequently fulfilled.

Guru Arjan on this tour visited a village called Khanpur, between Goindwal and the present Tarn Taran. He was accompanied by five Sikhs, including Bidhi Chand and Gur Das, men famous in different ways, of whom we shall hereafter have much to say. He remained the whole day engaged in his devotions. In the evening it rained heavily and wintry winds were blowing. Bidhi Chand said to the Guru : 'That lofty house which thou seest in the village is very near. Let us go and rest there for the night.' The Guru objected, and said it would be better to remain where they were than associate with the evil people who dwelt there. Bidhi Chand, however, prevailed on him to let him go into the village and endeavour to secure shelter, as the night was piercingly cold. Bidhi Chand begged the people to let his party have even one room in which they could all sleep together. The villagers only laughed

[1] Āsa. Dainty here means darling, as in old English.

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at him, and called the Guru and his Sikhs hypocrites. Bidhi Chand went and duly informed the Guru of the character of his reception. The Guru replied: 'Pay no heed, I told thee they were foul-tongued people. Whoever hath devotion in his heart will come to us of his own accord, and give us accommodation for the night.'

As Guru Arjan had anticipated, Hema, a devout Sikh of the village, arrived and said, 'O true Guru, I have a tattered hut made out of grass and twigs which is at thy service. It will be hallowed by receiving thee.' Hema, who had been made a Sikh by Guru Ram Das, lived by grinding corn for the villagers. His leisure time he employed in repeating the Guru's hymns. Though he was extremely poor, and possessed only a coarse blanket to wear, his hut was ever open to the stranger. The Guru seeing his love and devotion gladly accepted his hospitality. He then cooked and supplied his distinguished guest with the best food in his possession. Before retiring he took off his sole blanket, and put it under the Guru as bedding, so that he might enjoy sweet repose. The Guru, seeing his devotion, composed the following :—

Very beautiful is that hut in which God's praises are sung,

While the mansion in which God is forgotten is of no avail.

There is a pleasure even in poverty when in the company of the saints God is remembered.

May that grandeur which is bound up with mammon perish !

Even when turning a handmill or wearing a coarse blanket, the heart may be happy and contented.

That empire is of no avail which conferreth not satisfaction.

They who wander even naked in the love of the one God obtain honour,

While vain are silks and satins, attachment to which maketh man covetous.

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Everything is in Thy power, O God; Thou actest and causest to act.

May Nanak obtain the gift of remembering Thee at every breath he draweth![1]

On the same occasion the Guru composed the following:—

The place where the name of the beloved God is repeated,
Is like a mansion of gold;
The city in which the name of God is not repeated is like a wilderness.
He who eating dry bread remembereth God,
Shall behold Him whether at home or abroad.
Know that he who through pampering his belly committeth bad deeds is planting for himself a garden of poison.
The spiritually ignorant man who loveth not the saints,
And committeth sins in company with the infidel,
Loseth his human body so difficult of attainment, and uprooteth himself.
I have entered Thine asylum, O compassionate to the poor.
O ocean of comfort, my great God,
Nanak singeth Thy praises, mercifully preserve his honour.[2]

The Guru remained for some time in Khanpur. During his stay Hema obtained his desire, and went to his heavenly abode. After the Guru's departure, the Emperor's viceroy, who had some reason to be dissatisfied with the inhabitants of Khanpur, sent an army against it, razed it to the ground, and massacred its chief inhabitants. The survivors had reason to reflect on the words of Kabir:—

Kabir, the house in which God and His saints are not served,
Is like a cremation-ground and ghosts dwell therein.

The Guru thence proceeded to the village of Khara, where he was pleased with the prospect around him

[1] Sūhi. [2] Mājh. [3] Slok 192.

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—the flowering woods and glades, the limpid water, and the fresh and exhilarating atmosphere. On entering the village he received a friendly reception from the headmen. They afterwards assisted him in obtaining land from the villagers on which he laid the foundation of what is now the famous Sikh city of Tarn Taran, and proceeded to construct a tank for the devotional ablutions of his Sikhs. The year in which these events occurred is stated to be A. D. 1590. The name Tarn Taran means a raft to take men across the world's ocean. The Guru, at great expense, built lime-kilns and caused bricks to be baked. When these were seen by Nur-ul-Din, the local Muhammadan governor, they were, according to the tyrannical custom of the age, seized by him for the construction of a seraglio designed by the Emperor for the public use. The Sikhs on seeing this suggested to the Guru to write to the Emperor to allow the tank to be finished and to inspire fear in Nur-ul-Din. The Guru, who was the essence of humility, refused to take notice of the outrage. He said that God had not yet ordered the tank to be made, wherefore they were to stop its construction altogether. 'Mercy', continued the Guru, 'is the basis of religious worship; wherefore we should have mercy on every one. All the acts of him who hath not mercy in his heart are vain.'

In the Sambat year 1832 (A. D. 1775) Sardar Khushal Singh of Faizullapur and Sardar Jassa Singh of Ramgarh destroyed Nur-ul-Din's edifice, and employed the bricks, of which Nur-ul-Din had robbed the Guru, in the construction of the tank.[1]

[1] The tank at Tarn Tāran is larger than that at the Golden Temple at Amritsar. At one corner is a tall minaret built by Ranjīt Singh. He intended to build three others, but died before he could accomplish his project. The money collected for the construction mysteriously disappeared from its custodians.

The approach to the temple has lately been opened by the demolition of some houses, to whose proprietors large sums of money have been paid by willing subscribers as compensation.

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The Guru then went into the Jalandhar district, where he purchased land to build another city, Kartarpur, or the city of the Creator, which has since risen to considerable spiritual and temporal eminence. It lies in what is called the Jalandhar Doab between the Bias and Satluj rivers.

The Guru with his own hands cut the first sod for the construction of the city and its necessarily accompanying well to supply water to the inhabitants. The well he called Gangsar, or the Ganges tank, for the following reason: A man called Baisakhi, who used every year to visit the Ganges, once called upon the Guru on his way. The Guru asked him not to go, but bathe in his well, worship God, repeat the true Name, and he should thus obtain all the advantages of bathing in the Ganges. Baisakhi respectfully represented that he had made a vow to go to the Ganges, and must accordingly proceed thither. The Guru, on seeing his determination, allowed him to continue his journey. When Baisakhi on the point of returning sought to fill a vessel with Ganges water, it slipped from his hand and was taken away by the current. He did all in his power to recover it, but in vain. When he returned to the Guru, and related the untoward incident, it is said that the Guru to his astonishment produced in his presence from the new well the very vessel that had fallen from his hands at the Ganges. Baisakhi was then convinced that his pilgrimage to Hardwar had been in vain. On this account the well at Kartarpur was called the Gangsar.

The Guru went to the country of Nakka at the invitation of Bhai Bhuria, Chaudhri Chuhar Mal, and other pious Sikhs. He visited Khemkaran, Chunian, and other villages, where he preached with great success. He then went to Jambar, where he remained for some time, during which he converted Kidara, Kheda, Samdu, Mukanda, Tulsa, Lalu, and others.

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The Guru then proceeded to Lahore at the request of the Sikhs who resided there. He rested in the Dabbi Bazar on the site of the present 'Guru's Bawali', and planned its construction. People of all classes hearing of his fame flocked to see him, receive his instruction, and make provision for their future salvation. Thither came the Jogi Sambhunath and the Hindu saints Kahna and Chhajju; the Moslem saints Shah Husain, Shah Sulaiman, Shah Inayat Qadari, Shaikh Wali Shah, and others, all humbling themselves before the Guru and beseeching soul-saving religious instruction. The Guru fixing his thoughts on God uttered the following hymn :—

O wise men, think of the Lord in your hearts.
The true King, the Releaser from bondage, dwelleth in the heart by the mind's affection.
Nothing is equal in value to the sight of God.
Thou art the pure Cherisher; Thou Thyself art the Lord great and incomparable.
Give me Thy hand, O Brave One, Thou art the only one to *assist* me.
O Creator, by Thy power didst Thou create the world; Thou art Nanak's prop.[1]

This hymn, when heard by the Viceroy of Lahore, produced a great impression on his mind. It is said that he reformed his life, and devoted himself to God's service. He invited the Guru to ask him a favour. The Guru did so, and the result was the excavation of the Bawali at the Viceroy's expense.

The Guru then went to the shrine of Guru Nanak at Dehra Baba Nanak in the Gurdaspur district. Thence he proceeded to Barath in the same district to visit Sri Chand, Guru Nanak's son. After mutual salutations they held a conversation. Sri Chand asked why the Guru wandered hither and thither and did not reside in Amritsar. The Guru replied

[1] Tilang.

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that Prithia was distressed at his residence there, and so he travelled to propagate his religion. After some further conversation, in the course of which Sri Chand censured the conduct of Prithia, and said it would be the cause of his damnation, the Guru took his departure for Amritsar, and thus consulted the wishes of his Sikhs and of Sri Chand.

Chapter V

After the Guru's return to Amritsar, Prithia continued to annoy him as before. Prithia's jealousy was to a great extent fanned by his wife's reproaches. She said to her husband: 'My lord, hadst thou pleased thy father by serving him, thou shouldst now be Guru, and I should be the Guru's revered wife. The eldest son hath been superseded. The youngest hath obtained the position of Guru and is worshipped by the world. The Emperor and kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him while the fates are against us.' Prithia replied: 'Thou hast the greatest wealth of all in thy son Mihrban. When he shall have grown up, he shall obtain the Guruship. Arjan hath no son himself, and his prosperity is but short-lived.'

The Guru's wife, who overheard this conversation, repeated it to her husband. He bade her pay no heed to it but continue to repeat the true Name. He then addressed her the following hymn :—

O my soul, grasp the shelter of the Supreme and Omnipotent God.

Repeat the name of God who supporteth the regions of the earth and the universe.

O saint of God, abandon thine intellectual pride, understand the will of God, and thou shalt be happy.

Accept the act of God as good : in weal and woe meditate on Him.

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The Creator saveth in a moment millions of fallen ones, and in this there is no delay.

The Lord is the destroyer of the pain and sorrow of the poor ; He rewardeth whom He pleaseth ;

He is mother and father, cherisher of life and soul, and a sea of comfort for all.

There is no deficiency in the Creator's gifts ; He is omnipresent, and a mine of jewels.

The beggar beggeth Thy name, O Lord ; Thou abidest in every heart.

The slave Nanak hath entered the sanctuary of Him from whom nobody departeth empty.[1]

The Guru continued his instruction :—

Fools love the world though it is as a mirage, an enchanted city, or the shadow of a tree.

In the same way, Nanak, *wise men* regard family and wealth as perishable, and remember God's name.[2]

O my good wife, even if Karmo's jealousy and pride please thee not, be not jealous and proud like her. If one throw a handful of dust at the moon, it will not reach it, but recoil on the thrower. If my eldest brother's wife hath addressed thee bad language, bear it. Shaikh Farid hath said :—

Farid, do good for evil, clothe not thy heart with anger ;
Thus shall thy body not suffer pain, and thou shalt obtain everything.[3]

The Guru's wife said : 'Although thine instruction is the best, yet my married life would be most happy if thou grant me a son. Great king, they who seek thy protection obtain happiness in this life and salvation in the next. If thou grant not thy servant a son, it will not be well.'

With the object of giving his Sikhs a lesson in humility he decided on referring her to Bhai Budha to pray for the desired boon, and gave her the following directions : 'My beloved, if thou really

[1] Gauri. [2] *Sahaskriti* verses. [3] Sloks.

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desire a son, then go to Bhai Budha, an ancient Sikh of Baba Nanak's time, and wait on him. He dwelleth in a forest. He is a humble man. He carrieth firewood and grass, and sendeth to my kitchen the corn which is the Guru's right after the cultivators have taken their share. He is ever engaged in worship, and only eateth when he receiveth food from the Guru's kitchen. If he be pleased, he will bless thee and thou shalt have a son. God arrangeth the affairs of His saints.'

Next day the Guru's wife set out in great state to see Bhai Budha. She took with her as her attendants the wives of the headmen of Amritsar. They rode in carriages, palkis, and sedans, and formed an imposing procession. She was also attended by servants male and female who carried plates of sweets as offerings to the saint. They reached his place in the forest in the afternoon when he was hungry and thirsty, and in momentary expectation of his meal from the Guru's kitchen. When he saw the dust of the *cortège* flying, and the carriages, palkis, sedans, bearers and horsemen approaching at high speed, he said, 'Is there a stampede from Amritsar that the inhabitants have left the city and sought shelter here?' The Guru's wife, on being informed of Bhai Budha's surprise, was much distressed, and remarked that her journey had brought her a curse instead of a blessing. Having made her obeisance and placed before him the delicious food she had brought, she addressed him: 'Thou hast seen and heard and served Guru Nanak. Thou art respected by us and worthy art thou of reverence. The Guru hath sent me to thee that by thy blessing I may obtain the boon of a son.'

Bhai Budha replied, 'Revered lady, I am but the grass-cutter and servant of thy house. If I possessed the power thou supposest, why should I cut grass and sweep the Guru's stables? It is the Guru himself who fulfilleth every one's desires. It is the

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Guru himself who is the ocean of supernatural power. Should he desire to dismiss me, I must be content. As for these savoury dishes thou placest before me, I am not worthy of them. They are only fitted for the Guru himself. If thou think I should take them, expect not service from me. Were I to eat them, how could I afterwards think of cutting grass? If thou desire menial service from me, then I am thy slave, but take away these viands.' The lady's further solicitations were useless. She had to return disappointed and crestfallen to the Guru.

The Guru on hearing the result of his wife's mission quoted to her the following hymn of Guru Amar Das :—

O man, be not proud of thy knowledge; become pious and humble.

Within thee are ignorance and pride of intellect: by the true Word wash away this filth.

Be humble before the true Guru, and allow not thyself to be at all noticed—

The world is burning by its own pride; allow not thyself to be noticed—

Act according to the will of the true Guru, and abide by his wishes.

Thus saith Nanak, forsake pride and continue to be of humble mind; thus shalt thou obtain happiness.[1]

The Guru continued: 'The saints and the true Guru are not pleased with display. If thou desire anything from them, never appear in the character of a superior. Come, I will teach thee how to succeed. With devotion in thy heart grind corn, knead the flour, and bake the bread with thine own hands. Dress it with onions. Then take it with some thick buttermilk on thy head to Bhai Budha. Dress thyself as a cultivator's wife, and go on foot and alone, so shalt thou obtain the saint's blessing.'

The Guru's wife, in accordance with his instruc-

[1] Āsa Chhant.

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tions, proceeded next day without attendants to Bhai Budha. She found him hungry as before and waiting for his meal. On seeing her he thought to himself: 'If a mother take not care of her son, who will do so? She hath brought me my meal, and I need it much. I was wrong in sending her away yesterday, but she hath pardoned mine error. Hail, lady! give me what thou hast brought.'

Bhai Budha while eating said, 'The Guru is the owner of the storehouse, but I have received an order to open it. As thou hast given me food to my heart's content, so shalt thou have a son to thy heart's content. He shall be very handsome and brave, possess spiritual and temporal power, become a mighty hunter, ride on royal steeds, wear two swords, be puissant in battle, and trample on the Mughals.' With every morsel he ate Bhai Budha uttered a blessing on the lady's progeny and said: 'As I now crush these onions thou hast brought me, so shall thy son crush the heads of his enemies, and be at once a great warrior and exalted Guru. His shall not be the humble seat of a village Guru, but a gorgeous imperial throne. As I am now filled with thy viands, so shall thy heart be filled with joy on beholding him.' A son who received at his birth the name of Har Gobind was duly conceived; and in memory of the event an anniversary fair is held in the forest where Bhai Budha resided.

The Guru, on hearing from his wife on her return home of the graciousness of her reception by Bhai Budha said, 'If the saints desire it, they can make a poor man a king, fill the empty, and poise a mountain on a blade of grass.'

It may be convenient here to give a panegyric of Bhai Budha, which a Sikh biographer put into the mouth of Guru Arjan :—

Budha Sahib is the impersonation of austerity, a mine of divine knowledge and virtue.

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Simple and pious he hath asserted himself; he is unequalled like the sun, the moon, and the philosopher's stone.

He hath adopted no religious garb nor in any wise practised hypocrisy; he hath subdued all his desires and organs.

Hear, O Ganga,[1] ineffable is the word of the saints in whose complete power God is.

The Guru on being satisfied of his wife's conception composed the following :—

That the words of holy men are immutable is apparent to all.

Whoever associateth with a saint shall meet the Lord God.

This faith and comfort are obtained by uttering God's name.

Everybody hath been making his own remarks;[2] the Guru hath brought *a child* to my house.

There is no doubt God is the preserver of him who seeketh His shelter.

Plant God's name in the soil of acts[3] since this opportunity is difficult to find.

God Himself is the Searcher of hearts; He doeth everything and causeth everything to be done.

It is God's function to purify many sinners.

Be not led astray, O man, by the deceit of mammon.

Nanak, God will preserve his honour whom He hath robed in His court.[4]

When Karmo, Prithia's wife, heard of the Guru's wife's pregnancy, she upbraided her husband with having falsely prophesied that no child should be born to Guru Arjan.

When Bhai Budha spoke of a stampede from Amritsar he little thought that there would be a stampede of another character, which would give his words literal fulfilment. Prithia instigated his friend Sulahi Khan, now grown insolent with power,

[1] Guru Arjan's wife.
[2] That Guru Arjan should never have offspring.
[3] That is, in this birth.
[4] Bilāwal.

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to proceed, under pretence of levying tribute, with a strong force to plunder Amritsar and inspire fear in the Guru. The Guru, anticipating the raid and otherwise apprehending unprovoked annoyance from Sulahi, resolved to leave Amritsar and seek shelter in Wadali, a village six or seven miles distant. A faithful Sikh, apprehending danger to the Guru, persuaded him to retire to a tract of barren land, called Raur in the local dialect, which belonged to him. It is said that after the Guru's arrival the land became green. It may be here mentioned that the Guru's retreat is still called the Guru's Raur, and possesses an imposing and well appointed temple.

The Guru was not suffered to abide long in peace in his retreat. Wadali, originally founded by the Chambal and Man tribes, had become a prosperous village, and on this account the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages grew jealous and made war on them. The Wadali people, unaccustomed to a marauding life, were defeated, and in their difficulties, hearing that Guru Arjan was encamped in the vicinity, sought his protection and mediation with their enemies. The Guru accepted the rôle thus offered him, and proceeded with the Wadali men to their village, where he lived for a considerable time.

Prithia, not wishing to undergo the expense of entertaining Sulahi Khan, went forth to meet him. Sulahi after salutation said, 'Prithi Chand, thou the eldest hast not obtained the Guruship. Where is thy youngest brother who hath obtained it?' Prithia replied, 'My lord, my brother Arjan, hearing of thine approach, hath left Amritsar and gone I know not whither.' Prithia offered Sulahi a present, which he refused, saying that it was more proper for him to give than to take a present from a guru. Sulahi requested Prithia to let him know when Arjan returned, and he would take measures to restrain his irregularities.

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The Guru, finding in Wadali a scarcity of water, ordered a large well to be dug and worked by six Persian wheels (*chheharat*), whence it was afterwards called Chhiharta. On the fifth day of the light half of Magh, the Indian vernal festival, there is a yearly fair held at the place.

Chapter VI

Sikhs from distant countries visited Amritsar during the Guru's absence, but their hearts withered and pined like a lotus without the sun. Prithia made many efforts to convince them that he was the real Guru, but the crane is not made a swan by pretence or by a coat of paint. He who has no spiritual peace, consolation, truth, love and devotion cannot communicate these gifts and virtues to others.

Har Gobind was born at Wadali on the 21st of the month of Har, Sambat 1652 (A. D. 1595). On his birth the Guru composed the following :—

The True Guru sent me *a son* ;
A long-lived son hath been born by destiny.
When he took up his dwelling in the womb,
His mother's heart was exceeding glad.
A son, a saint of God hath been born,
The destiny recorded in the beginning hath become manifest to all.
By God's order the boy hath been born in the tenth month.
There is no more anxiety ; great joy hath taken its place.
Our female friends sing the Anand, the composition of the Guru,[1]
Which is pleasing to the true Lord.
The *vine of my race* hath extended and shall last for many generations.
God hath erected the machinery of the faith.
The True Guru hath granted me what my heart desired.

[1] The third Guru, as we have already seen, composed the Anand on the birth of his grandson called Anand.

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Having fixed my attention on the one God, I have become free from anxiety.

As a child who is very proud of its father, *obeyeth his words*,
So I speak as it pleaseth God to have me speak.
It is not a secret or a concealed matter
That Guru Nanak, being pleased, bestowed this gift on me.[1]

The Guru composed the following also on the same occasion :—

God hath remembered His function and conferred all happiness on me.

The saint[2] hath been merciful, and all my family is delighted.

The True Guru himself hath accomplished the matter.

Long be the life of Har Gobind! *God* hath consulted our comfort, happiness, and peace of mind.

The woods, the dales, the three worlds are blooming and all creatures rejoice.

Nanak hath obtained the object of his heart's desires: God hath fulfilled them.[3]

On hearing of the birth of a son to the Guru, Karmo, Prithia's wife, became very sorrowful. She said to her husband: 'Hast thou heard of the rejoicings at Wadali? Arjan's glory is now like that of the sun, and thou art hidden like the stars before his brightness. All thy talk and boasting have been in vain.' Prithia's heart also burnt, and he impudently replied: 'My words are ever true. What if a son hath been born to Arjan? Shall I cherish grief in my heart? I will not allow the child to live.' Karmo took no sustenance the following night, and was quite unable to sleep. The birth of a young heir reminded the Sikhs of the time when the whole of Ajudhia rejoiced at the accession of Ram to the sovereignty, and Kekai, one of his father's wives, alone mourned the event.

Next morning Karmo sent for an old nurse of the

[1] Āsa. [2] That is, Bhāi Budha. [3] Bilāwal.

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family, and after some preliminary conversation asked her to go to Wadali, pretend to be a friend of the Guru's family, and find an opportunity of poisoning his newly-born son. Should the nurse succeed in this, she should have as much money as she pleased. At present she could have one hundred rupees, and, when Karmo's son Mihrban obtained the Guruship, she should be rewarded with a further pecuniary grant, an excellent house, and maintenance for life. The nurse replied: 'I have been employed in your family for many generations, and now when it is my turn to obtain the post of nurse, the Guru's wife hath employed another. My heart was already distressed before I heard thy tale. In a few days thou shalt see I will accomplish thy work.' Karmo gave her the promised money and a splendid shawl as a retaining fee.

The deceitful nurse went home, applied poison to the nipples of her breast, mixed some more in a medicine called gurhti given to infants in the East, and proceeded to Wadali. It was at a time when, owing to some temporary indisposition, the child refused the breast, and the family was in great anxiety in consequence. Sage women recommended each her own medicine. When Karmo's nurse arrived, Ganga the Guru's wife was much pleased to see her, and the nurse too rejoiced in the hope of being able to carry out her hostile design. She hypocritically said, 'O Queen Ganga, hundreds of thousands of congratulations to thee! May thy child and thy husband live for ever! Thou hast not remembered me, but I have remembered thee. I have come to wish thee happiness.'

Ganga told her the child was not well and ceased to suckle. The nurse replied, 'Bring him hither; I will give him infants' medicine. I understand infants' complaints, and I treat numbers of them who are brought to me from distant countries. After one dose of my infants' mixture they require no

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more. Prithia's wife always had her infant treated by me, and he was never ill afterwards.' The upshot of it was, that Ganga, deceived by her specious words, entrusted the child to her. The nurse took Har Gobind in her lap, and offered him the poisoned medicine, but he refused it. She caressed and fondled him and succeeded in putting the drug into his mouth, but he would not swallow it. She then drew out her breast, and offered it to him. The moment she did so she fainted and fell backwards. Some put water into her mouth, others sprinkled rosewater on her with the object of restoring her. Having become conscious, she looked about her and said, 'The bribe of one hundred rupees which Prithia and his wife gave me hath undone me. Why did I poison my breasts and undertake to kill the child ?'

The story of Prithia's instigation of the child's murder spread from house to house and caused him deserved obloquy. The Guru composed the following hymn on the occasion :—

The perfect Guru hath stretched forth His hand and preserved him.
The glory of His servant hath become manifest.
Ever repeat the Guru's name ; ever meditate on the Guru,
And lay before him thy heart's desires.
I have sought the protection of the true divine Guru,
And His servant's service hath been successful.
He hath preserved my soul, body, youth, and life.
Saith Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru.[1]

During Har Gobind's illness suggestions were made to the Guru that recourse be had to a local witch who possessed a high reputation for skill in sorcery, in the hope of obtaining from her a charm for the recovery of the child. This was to be done by repeating some cabalistic words over water and then giving it to the child to drink. The Guru

[1] Āsa.

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ridiculed such suggestions and such remedies, and composed the following on the occasion :—

The name of the Pure One is holy water ;
By repeating it with the tongue sins fly away.
God dwelleth in everything ;
God shineth in every heart.
By repeating God's name man descendeth not to hell ;
By serving God all boons are obtained.
God is the support of the soul ;
God is the ship of the world.
By repeating His name Death fleeth away.
God breaketh the witch's teeth.
God is ever the pardoner,
He giveth comfort and happiness,
God manifesteth His glory ;
He is the father and mother of saints :
God is with the holy ;
They continually sing of Him.
The Invisible Thing [1] is obtained by meeting the Guru.
His servant Nanak hath taken God's shelter.[2]

Owing to the perpetual importunity and taunting speeches of his wife Karmo, Prithia's mind became daily sadder, and he again plotted nefarious designs. He sent for a snake-charmer, gave him some money, and promising him a further large reward on his success, induced him to undertake to kill the child by exposing him to a cobra. As the mother was sitting at her door rejoicing in the sight of her son, and pleased with his youthful gambols, the snake-charmer escaping her notice let a black snake loose in the court-yard. Har Gobind took the hissing creature in his hand as it rushed towards him, and killed it immediately. Guru Arjan arrived on the spot soon after, and composed the following :—

Here and hereafter our protector
Is God, the true Guru, compassionate to the poor.

[1] God's name. [2] Gaund.

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He Himself protecteth His servants ;
His voice speaketh in every heart.
I am a sacrifice to the Guru's feet.
By day and night, at every breath we draw, He who filleth every place should be remembered.
Thou, O God, art my protector ;
True is the support of the True One.
Greatness is obtained by devotion to Thee.
Nanak, O God, hath sought Thy shelter.

When Har Gobind was about two years of age a deputation of the inhabitants of Amritsar went to the Guru at Wadali. They said to him, ' Wherever thou abidest there is happiness. Conscious of the advantage of beholding thee, we have abandoned our villages, our homes, and our relations to dwell in Amritsar, but thou continuest to dwell apart. Other Sikhs too come from distant countries to behold thee. When they arrive in Amritsar and find thee not, they return to their homes. Come now with us. Ramdaspur shall long prosper by thy presence.'

The Guru acceded to their request, and set out for his capital Amritsar. On arriving there he sent his wife, child, and servants to his private dwelling, and then walked to the Golden Temple. He bathed in the tank and distributed sacred food with the usual prayers. Then was sung the following hymn :—

I have meditated on my Guru,
And reached my home in comfort.
This *is due to* the greatness of the Name
Whose worth cannot be expressed.
Ye saints, worship God, God, God :
By worshipping Him ye shall obtain everything, and all your affairs shall be adjusted.
Very fortunate is He who findeth
Love and devotion to God.
The slave Nanak hath meditated on the Name,
And thus received the reward of all happiness.

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On that occasion, also, the Guru composed the following :—

I have meditated on God in my heart,
And so have returned home safe and sound.
Everybody is consoled
That the perfect Guru hath saved us.
O saints, my God is ever merciful.
God taketh no account from His worshippers, but preserveth them as His children.
I have clasped God's name to my heart,
And He hath arranged all mine affairs.
The perfect Guru being pleased gave it me.
Nanak shall have no further anxiety.[1]

The Guru, taking his son, waited with some sacred food on Prithia, as his eldest brother. Prithia hated the sight of the Guru and his son, but, pretending to be pleased, ironically said, 'May you both live long!' The Guru then went with his son to visit Mahadev, his second elder brother, and receive his blessing

There were great rejoicings and illuminations when the Guru, after such long absence, returned to Amritsar accompanied by the young heir to the Guruship. Prithia and his wife Karmo alone burned with jealousy. Karmo addressed her husband : 'My lord, thou hast made many efforts to secure for thyself the Guru's throne and kill Har Gobind, but thou hast not succeeded. Now our rivals who are near us indulge in ostentatious rejoicings. My breast is burning, I suffer intense agony and cannot endure their happiness. Thou didst formerly say—and thus consoled me—that the Guruship belonged to our house, and that after Arjan's death our son Mihrban should inherit it. Now even that hope is shattered, since a young prince hath been born in Arjan's house. Wherefore contrive some other plan by which the desires of our hearts may

[1] Sorath.

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be fulfilled.' Prithia replied, 'Hear me, my beautiful, have no anxiety; thy son shall sit on the Guru's throne. Har Gobind, Arjan's son, shall be the victim of small-pox. If he survive, then shall we contrive some other plan for his destruction. He must not live.'

When this conversation was reported to the Guru, he repeated the following composition of Guru Ram Das :—

The perverse are all day occupied with avarice, though they pretend otherwise ;

At night oppressed by drowsiness and their nine apertures relaxed, *they worship not God.*

Women exercise power over the perverse, and ever make fair promises ;

But they who act as women tell them, are impure, thoughtless, and foolish.

The impure who feel lust ask the way from women and travel thereby ;

But he who walketh as the true Guru telleth him, is a true man, the best of the best.

God produced all women and men ; He playeth every play.

Saith Nanak, all is the work Thou, O God, hast made—the best of the best.[1]

Har Gobind exhibited some feverish symptoms. On the third day afterwards his body became inflamed and showed red pustules which eventually assumed a confluent form. The child's eyes closed as if in perpetual sleep. Small-pox of a very virulent type had declared itself. The child's mother prayed, 'O great God, I have one son obtained after long waiting. May he be able to bathe and rise in health!' The Guru administered to his wife such consolation as suggested itself to him. The people of the city advised him to make an offering to the goddess of small-pox, and propitiate her by worshipping a young virgin. They said, 'The goddess is

[1] Gauri ki Wār I.

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pleased when an immaculate virgin is worshipped by offering her food and money, and paying her other abject service.' According to the 'Skand Puran' of the Hindus, the goddess of small-pox should be thus addressed: 'I bow to Sitala Devi who rideth on a donkey, who is naked, who weareth a broom as her diadem, and whose forehead is adorned with a sieve.' Hindus are in the habit of repeating this as an incantation in the hope of obtaining recovery from the malady. The Guru rejecting the advice of his Hindu friends addressed them the following :—

God is my sole prop ; I have relinquished other hopes.
God, the perfect Lord of excellences, is powerful over all.
The Name is the support of God's slave who entereth His protection.
Reliance on God is in the saints' hearts.
He Himself preserveth ; He Himself bestoweth ; He Himself cherisheth.
The compassionate to the poor, the ocean of favour remembereth us at every breath we draw.
What the Creator continueth to do is for our advantage.
The perfect Guru hath taught that happiness *is obtained* by the will of God.
They who dismiss care, anxiety, and calculations, recognize God's order.
Nanak, they who are imbued with God's love perish not, nor are they abandoned by Him.[1]

The child gradually began to show signs of recovery, upon which the Guru uttered the following :—

I have ever and ever repeated God's name,
And God Himself hath preserved my child.
The small-pox is stayed ;
Our troubles are removed by God's name.
My God is ever merciful.
He who is merciful to all creatures hath heard the prayer of His worshipper.

[1] Bilāwal.

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God is omnipotent to act and cause to act.
By remembering Him all sorrows depart.
He hath heard the supplication of His servant ;
Nanak, every one may now sleep in comfort.[1]

On the ninth day of the disease the child opened his eyes, whereupon the Guru composed the following :—

The divine Guru hath opened his eyes,
My anxieties have fled, my prayers have been successful.
God hath preserved my son from the small-pox ;
The Lord, the Supreme Being hath shown mercy.
Nanak, he who repeateth the Name shall live,
And quaff God's nectar in the company of His saints.

The Guru composed the following also on the same occasion :—

The fever hath departed, God hath granted relief.
My son is now well by the grace of God.
It is by God's favour *men* become happy,
And they who through various births were separated from God become united with Him.
By ever remembering His name
The abode of all diseases is destroyed.
With composure and devotion utter God's hymns,
And remember Him, O mortal, through the eight watches of the day.
Sorrow and pain and Death approach him not,
Saith Nanak, who singeth God's praises.[2]

God hath protected the honour of His servant.[3]
The Guru gave the medicine of God's name, and all the fever hath departed.
God of His mercy hath preserved Har Gobind.
The calamity was removed ; he obtained all happiness by ever reflecting on God's attributes.

[1] Sorath. [2] Gauri.
[3] In the Granth Sāhib protecting honour frequently means protecting life.

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My Creator consented to the magnification of the perfect Guru.

Guru Nanak laid a fixed foundation which ever groweth more secure.[1]

O God, Thou hast been merciful.

There is comfort and joy, O God ; my boy hath recovered.

Clasping both hands I made supplication and meditated on the Supreme Being in my heart.

God giving His hand hath preserved him and removed all his sufferings.

The husband and wife joined in rejoicing and singing victory to God.

Saith Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the man who saveth all.[2]

The following also was composed by the Guru on the same occasion :—

The primal Brahm, the Supreme Being, pardoned, and all *my son's* maladies are healed

They who enter the asylum of the perfect Guru are saved, and all their affairs adjusted.

God's servant remembereth the Name which is his support.

The True Guru being compassionate hath cured his fever.

Be ever happy, my beloved friends; the Guru hath preserved Har Gobind.

Nanak, great is the greatness of the Creator ; true is His word and true His speech.[3]

The authors of the 'Gur Bilas', the 'Suraj Parkash', the 'Guru Samhita' and other works, without paying due regard to the Guru's hymns, falsely asserted, each according to his own Hindu proclivities, that the Guru's wife went to worship in the temple of Durga, performed the Hindu ceremony of hom, and adored virgins, all for her son's recovery. There is no indication of this

[1] Gūjari.

[2] Devgandhāri. Guru Nānak is the man referred to in the last line of the hymn.

[3] Sorath.

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superstitious worship in the Guru's hymns. On the contrary, it is only the Anand of Guru Amar Das and the other hymns quoted herein which were repeated or sung on the occasion.

Chapter VII

When Har Gobind had completely recovered, there were illuminations and great rejoicings. Prithia's wife, however, kept raw the sore of her husband's inflamed mind : ' My lord and master, thy words have proved false. Thine enemies increase daily like the waxing, while thou decreasest like the waning moon. I cannot endure Arjan's greatness, therefore I will either drown or poison myself.'

Prithia sent for Har Gobind's male nurse and said to him : ' Thou art a high Brahman and on that account I ever take thought for thee. What are thy wages ? Thou wearest no necklace and no bracelets. Arjan squandereth on others and boasteth of his generosity. Thou gottest nothing even when the child was born. My friend, if thou do business for me, I will fill thy house with wealth, and thou shalt not want for jewellery. But since thou art intimate with Arjan's family, I will only tell thee what I wish thee to do on thy taking an oath on thy janeu to keep my secret.' When the servant complied, Prithia said, ' Take five hundred rupees from me and kill that boy. I will show thee how to do it. Thou wilt not find it difficult, for he is all day with thee. Put poison either in curds or bread-pudding, and extract the thorn from mine eyes. I will give thee half of the money now, and the other half when thou hast done the deed. Fear not in the slightest.'

The Brahman was thus persuaded to promise to poison the child. He took very powerful poison and ground it into powder. Next day when the

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boy's mother sent him milk by another servant, the Brahman found an opportunity of slipping the poison into it. The child turned his head away from the poisoned food, thrust it aside, and asked for something else to drink. The Brahman began to fondle and pat him on the head, and said, 'Thou oughtest certainly to drink this.' The child then began to cry. The Guru heard him, sent for the Brahman and inquired the cause of the weeping he had heard. The Brahman replied that he had offered the child sweet milk, but he would not take it, and when pressed to do so began to cry.

The Guru, taking the child in his arms, began to encourage him to drink what was offered him. The child, however, still turned away his head and would not touch it. The Guru then began to suspect another plot. He took some of the potion and gave it to a dog, which fell ill immediately, and very soon after died. The Brahman, seeing the state of the dog, was himself seized with colic, and began to suffer great agony. He confessed his intention of poisoning the child at Prithia's instigation, and then expired. Upon this the Guru composed the following :—

The poison produced no impression whatever on him ;
The evil Brahman died of the colic.
The Supreme Being Himself preserved His servant ;
The sinner died by the Guru's power.
The servant hath meditated on His Master :
God Himself hath destroyed the plotter against the innocent.
God like a mother and father protected His servant.
The face of the slanderer is blackened here and hereafter.
God heard the prayer of His servant Nanak,
And the vile sinner was destroyed without hope.[2]

Guru Arjan found an opportunity of reproaching

[1] Literally—not the size of a sesame.
[2] Bhairo.

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Prithia with his murderous designs. Prithia became furious at their discovery, and determined to set out with his family for Dihli to make a complaint to the Emperor Akbar against the Guru, and thus anticipate any charges the Guru might subsequently make against him. Mahadev endeavoured to restrain him, and quoted many passages from ancient writings to prove that brothers ought to live in harmony; but Prithia could not be restrained by any remonstrance. Prior to his departure for Dihli, he decided on going to the village of Hehar and paying a visit to his friend Sulahi. Sulahi conferred on him the proprietorship of the village, and there he tarried for some time and built a tank for public use. The Guru sent Bhai Gur Das to Prithia with the object of endeavouring to conciliate him. Bhai Gur Das failed in the negotiations, and only received abusive language to communicate to the Guru. Gur Das composed the following on that occasion :—

The crane, though dwelling at a place of pilgrimage, is not content.

It raineth near the chatrik, yet he drinketh not.

Even though the bamboo attach itself to sandal, it is not perfumed.

The owl, unlucky bird, seeth not the sun.

The musk is in the deer's navel, yet he fleeth elsewhere *in quest of it.*

The true Guru Arjan is the true king ; the mina *Prithia's* face hath been blackened.[1]

The meaning of this hymn appears to be that no one knows when he is well off. Prithia did not appreciate the advantage of dwelling near the Guru.

A letter was in due time received from the Emperor summoning Sulahi to Dihli. He took Prithia with him to present a complaint against the Guru. The Emperor decided in the first place that he

[1] Wār XXXVI.

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would not interfere in the affairs of religious men, and secondly that the memorial was false. Prithia, crushed by his disappointment, became seriously ill. The Guru, on hearing the total result of his enemy's proceedings, composed the following :—

God Himself showed the memorial to be false,
And affliction befell the sinner.
Death shall not approach him
Whose helper my God is.
The blind fool told lies in the true court,
And smote his head with his hands.
They who commit sin contract disease.
God Himself sat as the judge.
Prithia is involved in *the consequences of* his own acts ·
All his wealth shall pass away with his life.
Nanak, my Creator guardeth the honour of those
Who seek the protection of His court.[1]

When Har Gobind was of a suitable age to receive instruction, the Guru went to his own brother Mahadev, and requested him to take the boy under his protection and educate him. Mahadev recommended that the delicate and responsible duty should be entrusted to Bhai Budha, who was experienced, who had seen Guru Nanak, and by whose intercession the child had been born. The Guru accepted Mahadev's advice and sent for Bhai Budha. He modestly pleaded that he was himself quite uneducated. The Guru replied, 'Thou hast all eloquence in thy heart.' As a preliminary to Har Gobind's education, prayers were read in the temple. The Guru publicly announced his intention of entrusting his son's education to Bhai Budha, and quoted a line from one of Guru Nanak's hymns :—

He who hath meditated on knowledge conferreth favour on others.[2]

Bhai Budha began his tuition. He first wrote the

[1] Gauri. [2] Āsa.

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thirty-five letters of the Gurumukhi alphabet on a wooden tablet and told Har Gobind their names. The pupil immediately repeated them from memory as if he had previously known them. In a few days he knew how to join vowels with consonants and mastered spelling. He then began to read the Guru's hymns, upon which his faculty of perception and comprehension was developed. In a short time he received the gift of tongues. He was then taught the use of offensive and defensive weapons, riding, swimming, chemistry, astronomy, medicine, agriculture, administration, and other sciences. On the completion of his education the Guru took him to the temple, offered thanksgiving to God and acknowledgement to Bhai Budha for his successful and comprehensive instruction.

A Sikh called Paira lived with Guru Arjan, and used to wait on him day and night. The teaching of the Guru made a great impression on his mind. At that time a proud ritualistic pandit arrived to hold a religious controversy with the Guru. On the morning after his arrival he put a tilak on his forehead and went and sat in devotional attitude on the margin of the Guru's tank. He was provided with a salagram, a bell, and a shell, which he ostentatiously displayed.

It was the Guru's custom to bathe every morning in his tank. After that he used to go into the temple and make four circumambulations. Then going forth he used to make four more. When making the first round he passed by the pandit, but did not make obeisance to him or his salagram. The pandit became angry, and said the Guru and his Sikhs had sadly fallen away from orthodox worship. 'Although he calleth himself a guru', said the pandit, 'and hath followers and worshippers, yet he is only a Khatri and a family man, while I am a rigidly continent Brahman. He therefore ought to have worshipped me. Ram and Krishan, who

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were incarnations of God, used to reverence and worship Brahmans.' The Guru knew what was passing in the Brahman's mind, and stopped to speak to him at the second circumambulation. 'Excellent twice-born, what fancies hast thou conceived that thou art angry? Pray explain the cause thereof.' The Brahman briefly stated the cause. The Guru upon this gave utterance to the following hymn :—

Thou readest *the Veds* with their commentaries,
But the all-pervading God abideth not in thy heart.[1]
Thou givest instruction to make men firm in their faith,
But thou practisest not thyself what thou preachest.
O Pandit, study the Veds
And banish the greed of thy heart.
Thou placest a salagram before thee,
But thy thoughts are dispersed in every direction.
Thou puttest a tilak on the salagram and fallest at its feet.
Thou blindly followest the world.
Thou performest the six duties, thou *spreadest* thy mat and *wearest* a loin-cloth ;
But it is *only* in wealthy houses thou ever readest thy books,
Tellest thy beads and beggest for alms—
O my friend, no one hath thus been saved.
He is a pandit who acteth according to the Guru's instruction :
Maya with her three qualities departeth from him.
Nanak, seek the protection of that God
With whose name the four Veds are filled.[2]

The Brahman replied, 'O Guru, even if thou think me not a fit person to bow to, thou oughtest at least to have bowed to the salagram. The Guru then extemporized the following hymn intended to confute and humble the Hindu priest :—

I have obtained God as my salagram :

[1] Also translated—God is not in thy heart, nor are thy ways perfect.
[2] Rāmkali.

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Saith Nanak, the Guru hath made me this gift :
It is such a salagram I serve.
God is my worship, my adoration, my obeisance ;
He batheth all day long.
He, the Supreme Gyani, is ever banqueting,
And leaveth no one unprovided for :
I touch His feet again and again.
His bell is heard in the four corners of the world,
His seat is ever in heaven,
His fan waveth over all,
His incense is ever diffused,
Every heart is His casket,[1]
The company of the saints is His perfect court.[2]
Singing God's praises, which ever bestoweth pleasure, is my adoration.
His greatness is beautiful and ever endless.
He who hath come under the protection of the saints' feet
And is fortunate, shall obtain *such a salagram*.[3]

The following was also quoted by the Guru on the same occasion :—

O blind one, thou seest not with thine eyes ;
Thou must leave all these vain things and depart.
Saith Nanak, O God, mercifully grant me
The favour of the company of the saints.
Man obtaineth something when he becometh the dust *of the saints' feet.*
He to whom God giveth understanding repeateth His name.

The Brahman desired to continue the controversy, but the Guru avoided it as much as possible. At

[1] *Samput*, a small box in which Brāhmans keep the salagram, flowers, rice, and other things offered to idols.

[2] Small brass idols are placed around the sālagram, and these are said to form a court.

[3] Āsa. In the translation of this hymn it has been found necessary to alter the order of the verses

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last he consented to hear the Brahman speak on the Veds and Upanishads.[1] The Brahman wound up with a discourse on the nature of Brahm. When he had finished, Bhai Salo presented himself, and was welcomed by the Guru as his own special Ananya Bhagat, or monotheistic saint. The Brahman contended that such an appellation might only be applied to himself. The Guru denied this on the ground that the Brahman worshipped many gods. On this the Brahman produced all the books he had brought with him, but they failed to satisfy the Guru. The Brahman then proposed to send his son to Banaras for the remainder of his library. An auspicious time for the son's departure was fixed by the astrologers, but after he had set out on his journey, he met an ass which brayed. Deeming this an unlucky omen he returned. The circumstance afforded much banter and amusement to the Sikhs, who became the more convinced of the truth of their own religion

The Guru summoned Paira, and told him that when Guru Nanak visited Ceylon he composed the Pransangali, and left it there until a successor of his should demand it. The Guru gave Paira directions to go and bring the volume. While the question of funds for the distant journey was under consideration, a Sikh came forward and offered the Guru five paise—all he had in the world. The Guru gave this sum to Paira for his travelling expenses, and dispatched him without consulting an astrologer. The Brahman remarked on this omission, whereupon the Guru read him a lecture on the evils of superstition. Bhai Gur Das, who happened to be with the Guru, wrote the following stanza on the occasion :—

O Brahman,[2] thou art a worshipper of Vishnu and of the

1 Theological and philosophical supplements to the Veds.

2 The ironical epithet *ananya*, which means not worshipping other gods, has not been translated.

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salagram; thou listenest to the Gita,[1] yet thou callest thyself a monotheist.

After inquiring of astrologers and calculating auspicious times, thou goest on religious pilgrimages and on visits to holy places.

When thou goest forth, if thou meet a donkey or a dog, superstition is aroused by the omen and thou returnest home.

Thou hast not the gift of continence, and art not content with the support of one God; indecision being in thy heart, thou shalt not obtain the supreme rank.

Such is the power of association with the company of the Guru's Sikhs that continence is produced, *man relieth on* one support, and his indecision is removed.

He will not consult the astrologers or the Veds, or ask the lunar or week day; nor will he clasp to his heart any superstition regarding the planets and the lunar mansions.

He will take no note of omens or conjunctions of planets or serve other gods; and he will fix his attention, love, and affection on the word of the Formless One.

The Sikhs and the saints are as children; the holy Guru is their cherisher; they who meditate on God shall obtain salvation while alive.[2]

On hearing this the Brahman's pride was thoroughly humbled, and he was obliged to admit that the Sikhs were better than his own co-religionists. His burning heart obtained comfort from the Guru's instruction. He threw away his salagram, began to utter the true Name, was initiated into the Sikh religion, and thus obtained salvation. Several other learned pandits followed his example, and accepted the pure faith of Guru Nanak.

Paira reached Ceylon with great difficulty, as was natural considering the restricted travelling expenses allowed him. The King of Ceylon received him with respect, treated him hospitably, and gave him the required volume, with a letter and many presents

[1] The episode in the *Mahābhārat* in which Krishan declares himself to be God. [2] Gur Dās's *Kabit.*.

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for the Guru, and allowed him to depart on his return journey to Amritsar. The Pransangali was subsequently stolen by a pretended sadhu, or holy man.[1]

Chapter VII

Guru Arjan now felt the necessity of laying down rules for the guidance of his followers in the performance of their daily religious duties and expiatory rites. This course would reduce his religion to consistency, and hinder divergent tenets and rituals. That consummation, however, could only be attained when the exact words of the Gurus were permanently recorded in one grand volume. The Guru was strengthened in this determination by information he continually received that Prithia was composing religious hymns of his own which he described as the compositions of Guru Nanak and his successors, and the ignorant populace had not sufficient intelligence to discriminate. Guru Amar Das, in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth pauris of the Anand, had decided that only the real hymns of the Guru should be repeated and reverenced by Sikhs. Accordingly, such compositions should be collected and arranged for the guidance of the faithful. Nothing but evil could result from the hymns which Prithia endeavoured to impose upon the public.

In addition to the hymns of the Gurus, Guru Arjan praised the compositions of Gur Das, especially his 'Waran'. Being thus commended, Gur Das volunteered to go to Goindwal, to Mohan, elder son of the third Guru, for the volumes containing the Guru's compositions. Gur Das, however, failed to attract Mohan's attention. He had locked himself in his house, and was said to be intent on his devotions. Gur Das remained knocking at his door for

[1] A printed Prānsangali on the science of Jog can now be purchased, but the Sikhs do not accept it as genuine.

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a whole night, but failed to receive an answer. He then returned to Amritsar, and told the Guru the story of his failure.

Bhai Budha then volunteered to go. On arriving in Goindwal he endeavoured to gain Mohan's attention, but also failed. He then broke open his door, and found Mohan in a state which simulated unconsciousness. Mohri, Mohan's younger brother, came on hearing the tumult, and advised Bhai Budha not to awaken the sleeper. Upon this Bhai Budha desisted and returned to Amritsar. The Guru, on hearing of his ill-success, decided that he would go himself. On arriving at Mohan's house he called out to him, but received no answer. The Guru then addressed him the following stanza, which might be considered partly as addressed to God and partly to Mohan—Mohan meaning the enchanter, being one of the names of the Divinity :—

O Mohan, lofty is thy mansion, and matchless thy palace
O Mohan, saints adorn the doors of thy temple.
In thy temple they ever sing the praises of the infinite and merciful God.
Where the company of the saints assemble, there they meditate on thee.
Show compassion and kindness, O compassionate lord ; be merciful to the poor.
Nanak representeth, I am thirsting for a sight of thee, grant it to me, and all happiness shall be mine.

On hearing this, Mohan opened the door, to find that the Guru himself had come to visit him. Not being totally appeased by the verses he had heard, he reproached the Guru with having taken the Guruship out of his family, and come to steal the religious and literary memorials of his predecessors. The Guru took no notice of his blustering, but proceeded to address him another stanza :—

O Mohan, incomparable are thy words, and superior thy deportment.

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O Mohan, thou believest in one God, all others *thou treatest* as refuse.

Thou believest in the one invisible God who holdeth the whole fabric *of the world.*

Under the Guru's instruction thou hast subjected to thyself God the primal Being.

Thou Thyself movest, O God; Thou Thyself standest still; Thou Thyself supportest the whole fabric.

Nanak representeth, preserve mine honour; all Thy servants seek Thy sanctuary.

Mohan, somewhat softened on hearing this, descended from the upper chamber in which he had been seated, in order to receive his distinguished visitor. The Guru followed up his poetical address with a third stanza :—

O Mohan, the company of saints meditate on thee and consider how they shall behold thee.

O Mohan, at the last hour Death shall not approach him who repeateth Thy name.

The god of death shall not touch him who with single heart meditateth on *Thee.*

All who worship Thee in thought, word, and deed, shall obtain the fruit thereof.

The impure, the foolish, and the stupid on beholding Thee obtain divine knowledge.

Nanak representeth, O omnipresent God, abiding be Thy sovereignty.

When Mohan examined the Guru's face, he saw in it such preternatural splendour, that he recognized the light of all the Gurus. He then surrendered the books, deeming the divine Guru before him their proper custodian. Upon this the Guru uttered a fourth stanza, and thus completed the hymn :—

O Mohan, mayest thou be successful with thy family!

O Mohan, thy children, friends, brethren, and family, all hast thou saved.

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Thou hast also saved those who having beheld thee have dispelled their pride.

Death never approacheth those who magnify Thee.

Endless are Thine excellences ; they cannot be described, O True Guru, and Supreme God.

Nanak representeth, Thou hast preserved a prop by clinging to which the world shall be saved.[1]

The Guru composed the following also on that occasion :—

I am wealthy and fortunate in the true Name ;

I sing God's praises with composure and love.

When I opened and saw my father and grandfather's[2] treasury of *sacred books*

My soul was enriched ;

My storehouses were filled with gems and rubies

Inestimable, inexhaustible, and unweighable.

O my brethren, let us eat and spend *this wealth* together.

It shall not diminish, but continue to increase.

Saith Nanak, he on whose forehead such destiny hath been written,

Will join us in availing ourselves of this treasure.[3]

After this the Guru and Mohan held a long conversation on the subject of the Gurus from the time of Guru Nanak. Mohan was so pleased with the interview, that he pressed his visitor to remain with him. The Guru excused himself on account of the project he had formed to compile the hymns of his predecessors. He then departed, promising to visit Mohan again whenever he was honoured with an invitation.

On the Guru's return journey to Amritsar he stayed at Khadur. Datu, Guru Angad's son who had kicked Guru Amar Das off his throne, went to

[1] Gauri Chhant.

[2] Rām Dās, the fourth Guru, was Guru Arjan's father. His maternal grandfather was Guru Amar Dās. The Guru doubtless means all his predecessors.

[3] Gauri

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meet him, and for the sake of self-abasement and as an act of contrition put himself the following questions in presence of the Guru : ' How can there be worship without merits ? How can there be honour without learning? How can there be victory without bravery ? How can there be meditation without mental composure ? How can the heart have peace without contentment ? How can empire be obtained without the performance of meritorious acts ? How can there be divine knowledge without the true Guru ? How can there be honour without virtue ? Since the ocean of life is unfathomable, how can one cross it without a vessel ? How can there be worship without loving God's lotus feet ? How can there be deliverance without God ? How can there be singing without a tune ? How can one acquire fame without verse, praise without the bestowal of gifts ? The ocean of the world is wide : how can one cross it without the Sikh religion ? How can there be day without the sun ? I had no virtues or good qualities, so how could I have been Guru ? Such have been my reflections.'

Datu then narrated to the Guru all his misconduct and the result thereof. He said he still felt pain in his foot which the robbers had injured. He had gone to visit Guru Amar Das on his deathbed, and begged pardon for his violence. Guru Amar Das told him that the fifth Guru would heal him. Guru Arjan, in consideration of Datu's descent, put his hand on the injured limb and made it whole. He then, after a conversation with Datu on the subject of the preceding Gurus; and after an interview with his brother Dasu, set out for Amritsar.

On the Guru's arrival in Amritsar, he made plans for the compilation of the Granth Sahib. He fixed for the purpose on a secluded spot, where jand[1], wild caper, Indian fig, and pipal trees yielded agreeable shade, while green herbage gratified the eye and

[1] The *Prosopis Spicigera.*

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afforded a pleasant carpet for the feet. Tents were erected for the accommodation of the Guru and his bards and minstrels. The Guru decided to have a tank constructed there also, and set about its excavation.

On the completion of the tank, and at the time of giving it the name Ramsar, the Guru composed the following, which may be understood literally or spiritually :—

Ever bathe in God's tank ; [1]
Stir it up and drink the great nectareous juice.
God's name is holy water ;
He who batheth in it shall have all his desires fulfilled.
Where God is spoken of in the company of the saints,
The sins of millions of births are erased.
The saints rejoice on remembering *God's name*,
And their souls and bodies feel supreme delight.
The slave Nanak is a sacrifice to him
Who hath obtained the treasure of the dust of God's feet.

The Guru, on taking up his abode near the tank, was accompanied by a crowd of Sikhs. He now occupied himself with collecting further materials for his compilation, and with composing hymns of his own. He therefore instructed Bhai Budha to take his place in the Har Mandar and do duty for him by giving religious instruction to all who presented themselves. He sent for Gur Das and appointed him to write the hymns of the Gurus from his dictation. He ordered that they should afterwards be translated by learned men into Indian and foreign languages, so that they might extend over the whole world as oil spreads over water.[3]

The followers of the principal Indian saints, Hindu and Muhammadan, since the days of Jaidev,

[1] Rāmsar is also used in a spiritual sense to mean the association of the saints.
[2] Gauri.
[3] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rās III, Chapter 41.

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were invited by the Guru to attend and suggest suitable hymns for insertion in the sacred volume. They repeated hymns of their respective sects ; and such as conformed to the spirit of reform then in vogue, or were not wholly inconsistent with the Guru's teaching, were adopted and incorporated in the Granth. It may be here conceded that those hymns received some alterations in the process of transmission from the saints to their followers who were contemporaries of Guru Arjan ; and this will explain why so many Panjabi words are found in the Bhagats' writings, and why they differ from their compositions preserved in other parts of India. According to the Hindu religion it was deemed a sin to listen to the teaching of Musalmans, to say nothing of that of Sudars. It was one of the Guru's objects to show the world that there was no such superstition in the Sikh religion, and that every good man, no matter of what caste or creed, was worthy of honour and reverence.

The hymns are arranged according to Rags, or musical measures. The hymns of the first Guru, Mahalla I, come first, then those of the second Guru, Mahalla II, and so on. After the Guru's hymns the hymns of Bhagats, or Indian saints who had previously conceived reformatory ideas, were inserted, though without any fixed order of precedence.

Satta, the minstrel who had visited Guru Ram Das, now came and completed the long hymn begun by Balwand by adding the following pauri in praise of Guru Arjan :—

The four Gurus illumined the four ages of the world ; thou, Arjan, art the fifth in their place.

It is thou thyself who didst create *the world* ; thou art its standing pillar.

Thou art the tablet, thou art the pen, thou art the writer.

The human race cometh and goeth ; thou art *ever* new and whole.

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Guru Arjan sitteth on *Baba Nanak's* throne ; the true Guru's canopy shineth over him.

Thou hast illuminated every direction from the east to the west.

They who worship not the true Guru are subject to transmigration.

Thy miracles increase twofold and fourfold ; this is a true offering to the true Guru.[1]

The four Gurus illumined the four ages of the world ; thou art the fifth in their place.

Kahna, Chhajju, Shah Husain, and Pilo—four religious men of Lahore—also came and requested the Guru to find a place in his Granth for their compositions. He invited them to give him specimens of their poetical abilities. Kahna was the first to deliver his composition—

I am He, I am He
Whom the Veds and Purans sing, but whom none hath found by search.

This, a deification of Kahna himself, was promptly rejected by the Guru as rank blasphemy.

Chhajju's composition was the following :—

Look thou not on woman, even though she be cut out of paper ;
Like a plundering band of Baloches she will take thee away and kill thee.

This was rejected as being too derogatory to the female sex. According to Guru Nanak, domestic life was the best of all, and he had no wish to depreciate women.

Shah Husain's turn came next. The following was his composition :—

Be silent, *O my friend*, be silent ;
There is no necessity, O my friend, for speaking ;
My friend, there is no necessity for speaking.

[1] Also translated—Thou art the true successor of the true Guru

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Within and without us is the one Lord; to whom else shall we address ourselves ?

The one Beloved pervadeth every heart ; there is nowhere a second.

Saith the humble faqir Husain, I am a sacrifice unto the true Guru.

This was rejected by Guru Arjan on the ground that he did not consider it the duty of holy men to conceal the message which God had commissioned them to give to the world.

Pilo, the last to claim the honour of immortality in the Granth Sahib, submitted the following :—

They who have died at their birth are superior to us ;
They do not thrust their feet into the mire, and are not befouled therewith.

This was also rejected on the ground that better is the man who struggles with the world to make his life profitable than he who quits the scene at the outset.

Krishan Lal and Har Lal, two elderly learned pandits of Banaras, came to behold the Guru. They told him that Guru Nanak had given them much instruction on his visit to their holy city. That instruction was now incorporated in the Asa ki War, and had become the common property of men ; but they came to Guru Arjan to receive from him special instruction to suit their own particular case. He composed what are called the Sahaskriti sloks, written in a species of Prakrit, for their edification. To these compositions he subsequently added the Gatha, now found near the end of the Granth Sahib.

The Guru, probably to make trial of his learned and able scribe Bhai Gur Das, whose compositions he admired, offered to insert them in the Granth ; but Bhai Gur Das said that they were not worthy of such honour. The Guru complimented him on his modesty and ability, and said that whoever read

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the Bhai's writings should acquire spiritual profit and instruction and faith in the teachings of the holy Gurus.

Several bards who had accepted the Sikh religion appeared before the Guru, and offered him panegyrics of himself and his predecessors. The Guru graciously gave such compositions a place in the sacred volume.

When all the hymns for insertion had been determined on, the Guru sat within his tent and dictated them to Bhai Gur Das. After much time and labour the volume was completed on the first day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1661 (A.D. 1604). The Guru then wrote the Mundawani as a conclusion, and affixed his seal thereto. The Mundawani is as follows :—

Three things have been put into the vessel[1]—truth, patience, and meditation.

The ambrosial name of God the support of all hath also been put therein.

He who eateth and enjoyeth it shall be saved.

This provision should never be abandoned ; ever clasp it to your hearts.

By embracing God's feet we cross the ocean of darkness ; Nanak, everything is an extension of God.

After this the Guru in his self-abasement inserted the following slok :—

I did not appreciate what Thou didst for me, and yet Thou madest me worthy.

I am full of demerits ; I possess no merit, and yet Thou Thyself hast compassion on me.

Thou showest compassion and kindness unto me ; I have found the true Guru, the friend.

Nanak, if I obtain the Name, I shall live, and my body and soul shall be refreshed.

A Muhammadan poet called Alim in A.H. 991

[1] The Granth Sāhib is meant.

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(A.D. 1583) wrote a work in 353 stanzas generally from four to six lines each, called 'Madhava Nal Sangit', which purports to be an account of the loves of Madhava Nal and a lady called Kam Kandala.[1] The Rag Mala, which forms the conclusion of the Granth Sahib and contains a list of the rags and raginis and their subdivisions, is a portion of Alim's work extending from the sixty-third to the seventy-second stanza. It is not understood how it was included in the sacred volume. The rags mentioned in it do not correspond with the rags of the Granth Sahib.

The Guru invited all his Sikhs to see the precious compilation, the fruit of so much anxious labour, and distributed sacred food amongst them as a thanksgiving for the completion of his toil. The volume was by the advice of Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das deposited in the Har Mandar.

At the conclusion of his task the Guru told his Sikhs that the Granth Sahib was the embodiment of the Gurus, and should therefore be held in extreme reverence. He then considered to whom he could entrust the sacred volume. If he entrusted it to the Bedis, Tehans, Bhallas, or Sodhis—the tribes from whom the Gurus had sprung—they might become proud, and consider themselves far superior to their surroundings; or they might perchance, owing to their mutual jealousies and quarrels, treat it with disrespect. He therefore decided on giving charge of it to Bhai Budha, who had seen Guru Nanak, whose devotion had been often tried, and who would perform the duty with reverence and love.[2]

Supplementary to the instructions contained in the Granth Sahib the Guru prescribed the rites to be observed on the decease of a Sikh, and also on occasions of rejoicing.

[1] An account of the same lovers is also found in the ninety-first *Chalitar* or tale in the tenth Guru's Granth.

[2] Gur Bilās, V.

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When Bhai Budha first opened the sacred volume in the temple, his eyes fell on the hymn quoted above, beginning, 'The Creator stood in the midst of the work,' which he regarded as auspicious and having a direct reference to the compilation.

Bhai Banno, who lived at Mangat in the Gujrat district of the Panjab, took a keen interest in the work, and went with a large following to see it. His curiosity was aroused, and he considered how he could obtain possession of the precious volume. He asked the Guru for the loan of it to show to his flock. The Guru, for obvious reasons, was most unwilling to part with it, but was finally prevailed on to do so. According to his order Bhai Banno might read it for Sikhs on the way, but he was not to detain it in his village for more than one night. Bhai Banno, instead of expediting his journey, proceeded by slow and short marches, and thus contrived to obtain a full copy of the Granth Sahib before he returned it. Into his own copy he introduced some hymns which had been omitted by the Guru. The Guru, on hearing of this, told him the volume might remain as he had compiled it. There is another story, namely, that the Granth Sahib was entrusted to Bhai Banno to have it bound in Lahore, and that in taking it there he had an unauthorized copy prepared.

Chapter VIII

A deputation of Sikhs came to the Guru from Kashmir and represented to him that the pandits of that country had advised them to discontinue the reading of the Guru's hymns and turn their attention to Sanskrit sacred compositions and Hindu worship, otherwise they would have no communication with them. They therefore prayed the Guru to send a competent Sikh to Kashmir to silence the pandits

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and extend the Guru's faith in that direction. The Guru accordingly sent Madho on that important errand. He commissioned him to instruct the Kashmiris to rise before day, perform their ablutions, repeat and sing the Gurus' hymns, associate with holy men, observe the Gurus' anniversaries, distribute sacred food, give a tithe of their earnings to the Sikh cause, share their food with others, speak civilly, live humbly, and adopt the other rules and observances of the Sikhs.

Numerous stories are told by the author of the *Suraj Parkash* to illustrate the miraculous power and teachings of the Guru. A Sikh called Tiloka, an officer in the Kabul army, had thoughtlessly killed a female deer. On opening the animal two embryos were discovered. Tiloka was much distressed at his inhumanity in killing the animal, and vowed never to go hunting again. In furtherance of his humanitarian vow he resolved to wear a wooden sword for the future. When the king heard of this, and held a parade for the purpose of examining the officers' arms, Tiloka's sword was, as the result of his invocation of the Guru, changed into polished steel, and he thus escaped punishment for what would otherwise have been a grave military offence.

One Kataru, the king's weighman, also came from Kabul. When he solicited instruction from the Guru, he was told to use just weights and discharge his duties honestly. When he returned to his office in Kabul, a bania, or petty shopkeeper, with evil and malicious intent, placed in his shop a false weight, which he unknowingly used. The bania went to the king to lay information against Kataru. The king proposed to inspect the weighing apparatus, and Kataru, hearing this, prayed to the Guru to protect him. The Guru, who was in Amritsar, knew by his occult power of his distress. At that moment a poor Sikh came to the Guru with a small offering of five paise. The Guru took the coins, passed them from

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one hand to the other simultaneously with the king's inspection, so when the king tried both scales the weights appeared correct. The Guru explained the meaning of his act to an inquiring Sikh. The king of Kabul was satisfied with his inspection, and Kataru on paying a second visit to Amritsar attested the Guru's explanation in every respect.

One Chuhar, a chaudhri, went to the Guru for religious instruction. The Guru told him ever to speak the truth. The village dignitary said it was impossible for a man in his position to avoid speaking falsehood. The Guru directed him to depart, and keep an account of his lies and of his good acts, and bring it to him at the end of every month. The first month the good acts were *nil*, and the lies many. The Guru obliged him to read out the account in open darbar, and thus publicly confess his sins, whereat he was much ashamed. The second month the account showed better. There was steady progress in virtue until the eighth month, when no lies appeared, and there was a clean sheet. The Guru then absolved him and granted him release from transmigration.

Lalu, Balu, and Haridas asked the Guru to tell them how they could be saved. He replied, 'Banish pride, worldly love, and envy. Bear not ill-will to others, so shall others bear not ill-will to you. Cheerfully meet and salute with both hands the Guru's Sikhs. Walk humbly and speak civilly to all. When you eat, share your food with others, and live by honest labour. By observing these instructions you shall obtain all happiness.'

The following was the Guru's instruction to a soldier who went to him for spiritual advice: 'He who exerciseth bravery shall be fearless in the battlefield. He who resolveth to conquer or die in arms, and who, when dying, claspeth the True Name to his heart, shall efface the sins of many births and obtain deliverance. Without remembering God

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none shall obtain a place in the heroes' heaven. He who fearlessly challengeth the foe and falleth amid the clash of arms, shall feel the ecstasy the Jogis long for, and arrive at a permanent abode of bliss. Many pleasures shall await him as he abideth in the realms of the brave. The greatest merit of a soldier is not to show his back to the enemy. A hero obtaineth for himself bliss both here and hereafter by the might of his arms. If he conquer he obtaineth the sovereignty of the earth, while if he die celestial happiness is his portion. Fight for him whose salt thou hast eaten. Give thy life for thy sovereign, and great shall be thy fame in both worlds.'[1]

Bhai Lalu and Bhai Nihalu were very successful preachers and expounders of God's word. The Guru, on being asked how this result was achieved, replied as follows : ' When the preacher practiseth what he preacheth, his words make an impression on all. People treasure them in their hearts and thus obtain salvation. The tree must put forth roots before it can afford shade to the wayfarer. He who readeth and preacheth and yet doeth not good acts himself, shall produce no impression on others. They may listen to his words, but will never act on them.'

Guru Arjan gave the following instructions to Nanu and Kalu : ' He who liveth honestly, who with good intentions readeth or listeneth to the Guru's words, who pondereth on their meaning, who divesteth himself of evil inclinations, and who devoutly repeateth the True Name, shall be freed from transmigration and obtain an abode in Sachkhand; but he who readeth for the sake of gain doeth evil and shall not be honoured. When the snake obtaineth the light of the jewel in his head, he availeth himself of it to pick up and eat insects by night. Such is the man who for gain readeth sacred texts. He committeth sinful acts,

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rās III, Chapter 60.

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adultery with other men's wives, and respecteth not the most excellent True Name. He shall receive no assistance from the Guru, but proceed to hell and suffer the punishment there provided for the wicked.'

Setha, Gobinda and Bhaga, residents of Chaniot in the Jhang district of the Panjab, went with troubled minds to the Guru to inquire whether the corn they had distributed in alms for the repose of the souls of their ancestors ever reached them. The Guru replied in the negative, quoting in support of his decision the seventeenth slok of the Asa ki War. The Guru added that they could not know whether their ancestors were in heaven or hell, so it was of no avail to make them offerings.

Paira and Jetha one day visited the Guru, and said it was their custom to throw some of their cooked food into the fire before eating. The Guru denied the necessity of throwing food into the fire. Men need only repeat God's name, 'Wahguru! Wahguru!'

In the time of Guru Arjan crowds were converted to Sikhism in the Panjab, Hindustan, and all the neighbouring countries. It is said that the hill rajas of Kulu, Suket, Haripur and Chamba visited the Guru, and became his followers, as the Raja of Mandi had previously done.

At that time Chandu Shah was the Emperor's Diwan or Financial Minister. He was a native of the Panjab, but his official duties necessitated his residence in Dihli. He possessed wealth, learning, and various accomplishments, youth, high caste, and above all, power in the land. He had a young daughter seven years of age called Sada Kaur, to whom God had given extreme beauty without the good fortune which so often accompanies inferior natural gifts. One day her mother, as she saw her playing, said to Chandu: 'Our daughter is growing to maturity. We ought to search for a husband for her. The Turks now hold sway. They practise oppression and dark deeds, among which is the

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forcible abduction of Hindu virgins. It hath therefore become a practice of the Hindus to marry their daughters when very young, so it is our duty to provide for Sada Kaur, and form an alliance with some respectable family.'

Chandu was of the same opinion, and sending for his family priest and his barber [1] ordered them to go and search for a suitable husband for his daughter. The detailed instructions usual in such cases were duly given. The priest and the barber searched in every city as far as Peshawar, but could find no suitable mate for Sada Kaur. They then returned and duly informed their employer of their ill-success. The matter remained in abeyance for a time.

One of the main objects of an Oriental woman's anxiety is to procure the marriage of her children. She thinks and dreams of her supposed duty in this respect almost from the time of their birth. Chandu's wife again addressed him: 'We must no longer keep our daughter in our house. Thou art all day occupied with affairs of state. I can go nowhere, I sit at home and think of our daughter's future. The more I see her, the more I sink into the pit of anxiety.' Chandu explained that he had already done his best but failed. 'Where there was a boy of suitable age, his family was not good enough; and where the family was good enough the boy was not of a suitable age.' He admitted that his daughter was a thorn in his side. She was too old to be put to death.[2] At the same time he could find no family equal to his own. His wife replied, 'Take God's name and kill not our daughter. No

[1] It is customary in India to send the family priest and family barber on such errands.

[2] In former times Indians of high family frequently killed their daughters to avoid the necessity of giving them in marriage to men of inferior birth. The Sikh Gurus resolutely set themselves against the practice. At the time of administration of the Pāhul or Sikh baptism, one of the obligations imposed on neophytes is not to kill their daughters, and to avoid all association with those who do.

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such dark deed could be concealed. We must be humble, for it is usual for the father of the bride to bow before the father of the bridegroom.

Upon this Chandu again sent his family priest and his barber with instructions as before. They travelled as far as Lahore, but could not find a suitable bridegroom. There they heard the good report of Guru Arjan's son in Amritsar, and thither they proceeded. On arriving they were astonished at the regal state and retinue of the Guru of whom the bard Mathura had sung :—

In this world there is no such great saint as he ; he assumed birth to lighten the darkness *of the age.*

Millions of troubles have departed from those, O Mathura, who through him have quaffed the nectar of the Name.

Miss not the road to him, O man ; think not of any other.

God the Omnipresent Brahm hath in person taken His dwelling in Guru Arjan's heart.

Until good fortune appeared on man's forehead, he roamed and wandered long *in transmigration.*

He was drowning in the terrible ocean of this Kal age ; but now no regret remaineth him.[1]

The main thing is this, Mathura, that Guru Arjan assumed birth to save the world.

They who repeat his hymns shall not again suffer the pain of birth.[2]

The matchmakers' admiration of Har Gobind and of the respect in which he and his father were held, exceeded all bounds. They thought of proposing the marriage to Guru Arjan themselves, but on second thoughts decided on first consulting Chandu.

The priest and the barber reported to Chandu that they had seen the Guru's son in the new city of Amritsar, and thought that he would be a suitable *parti* for Sada Kaur. They dilated to Chandu on

[1] Literally, regret that his life was not profitable.
[2] *Sawaiyas* of the bard Mathura in praise of Guru Arjan.

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the excellences of Har Gobind, whose lineage they gave, on the enormous respect in which his father was held, and on the splendour they had witnessed in the Guru's city. Chandu was not pleased at hearing the Guru's praises, and said, 'Do you think him equal to me? What if he hath many followers? He liveth on offerings, which is an ignominious form of livelihood. If the offerings come, the cup is held straight; if they do not it is reversed. He sitteth and watcheth, and even if wealth cometh, his kitchen can with difficulty be supplied. He hath no store of money. Such wealth is like a mountain stream. Whatever he appeareth to possess, he is in reality only a beggar, while I am the Emperor's Minister by whom millions of money are collected and millions of law-suits decided. What power hath he? while on the contrary none can reverse my order. Moreover the Guru's caste is inferior to mine. O Brahman, I have tested thy wisdom and knowledge in this matter. Thou desirest to put the ornamental tile of a top story into a gutter. Where am I, imperial Financial Minister? and where is the Guru, though he may be an object of veneration to his followers? I think he must have stuffed you both with sweets [1] that you come to me and propose an alliance with his family.'

Chandu's wife who had been listening said, 'My lord, we have been searching for a husband for our daughter for the last two years, and no family hath yet pleased thee. Of the boys thou hast seen none hath remained unbetrothed or unwedded. At last we must wed our daughter somewhere. She cannot always remain with us. Wherever she is married, it must be into a family beneath ours. Thou art the greatest minister in this empire. As everybody boweth before thee, so doth everybody bow before the Guru. Therefore let the matter be now concluded. If our daughter enter the Guru's house she shall be called the revered

[1] This is a euphemism for a bribe.

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wife of the Guru ; and obtain the happiness which God destined her.'

Chandu still urged his objections : 'The Guru acteth not in conformity with the customs of the Khatris. He shaveth not, he eateth from the hands of men other than Brahmans and Khatris, and he hath adopted a new form of religion.' After the husband and wife had wrangled the whole night over the matter, it was at last decided that Sada Kaur should be given in marriage to Har Gobind, and the marriage presents duly dispatched to Amritsar.

It came to the ears of the Sikhs of Dihli that Chandu had used injurious expressions regarding the Guru. They also knew that he did not really desire the alliance, but only consented in order to save himself from his wife's importunity. The Sikhs met to consult over the matter, and it was decided to inform the Guru of Chandu's utterances. Accordingly the following letter was dispatched, 'O true Guru, great king, Chandu is very proud. He hath likened his house to a top story and the Guru's to a gutter. He hath called himself the head and thee the feet. He styleth himself a great minister and thee a mendicant. When he uttereth such insolent language beforehand, what will he not do in the future ? His words are not only slander of thee, but of Guru Nanak on whose throne thou sittest. Even if he be a rich man or a diwan, what carest thou for him ? In the Guru's house rich and poor are alike. The Sikhs cannot endure his insulting expressions. As Guru Amar Das hath said :—

> Nanak, it is wise to break with the perverse to whom worldly love is dear.[1]

If thou consent to an alliance with such a haughty man, thou shalt lay up for thyself enduring misery. Thou wantest for nothing. Thou art king of kings.

[1] Bihāgre ki Wār.

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Our urgent request is that thou pay no regard to the Financial Minister, and that thou reject his alliance.'

The messenger entrusted with this letter was ordered to speed night and day so that he might arrive before Chandu's priest and barber had concluded the contract of betrothal. He succeeded in doing so. The Guru, who was a searcher of hearts and knew the future, was aware that this letter sowed the seed of strife and had been dispatched to him with inconsiderate zeal; but at the same time he felt obliged to accept the advice of the Sikhs of Dihli. He accordingly rejected the marriage presents, telling the priest and the barber that an ornamental tile should not be put into a gutter. The match-makers, astonished to hear these words repeated, defended their master and remonstrated to the best of their ability, but in vain. The Guru repeated to them what the Dihli Sikhs had written and said, 'I am contented with my humble lot, and desire not an alliance with the great. If a man's foot slip on the brink of a lofty tower, he falleth to the ground a shapeless mass; but if a man slip on a mat he sustaineth no injury. Guru Nanak hath said regarding himself:—

Nanak is with those who are low-born among the lowly;
Nay, who are lowest of the low: how can he rival the great?'[1]

The Guru also quoted from one of his own hymns:—

He who riseth high falleth into the pit—
Death reacheth not those who remain on the ground.[2]

While the priest and the barber were further remonstrating, a Sikh rose in the assembly and addressed the Guru: 'Great king, put not acid into milk. Spurn an alliance with that dog of a Karar.[3]

[1] Sri Rāg. [2] Āsa.
[3] Karār, above called a *banīa*, means a petty Hindu shopkeeper.

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Let him knock his head against his top story. That consumer of wealth of the impure who revileth thee hath gone mad. Why demean thyself ? Thou art king of kings. What need hast thou of such an alliance ? '

The Guru chid the Sikh for this language and quoted from the twentieth slok of the Asa ki War :—

Nanak, the mind and body of him who talketh evil are evil:
He is most evil, and most evil is his reputation.
The evil person is rejected in God's court ; his face is spat upon.
The evil person is a fool, and receiveth shoe-beatings as punishment.

' Wherefore,' said the Guru, ' it is not proper for Sikhs to use bad language. I am not proud ; the proud please not God. I am His slave. Our honour, strength, trust, and support are in the Creator. Ever fear Him.'

Then in full assembly uprose a native of Dalla, one Narain Das, a grandson of Bhai Paro, who had been a Sikh of Guru Amar Das. Putting his sheet round his neck in the manner of a lowly suppliant, he said : ' True Monarch, I am the slave of thy feet. I have a daughter whom my wife and I have vowed to offer thy son. If thou make her too the slave of thy feet, I shall be very fortunate. I am a poor unhonoured Sikh. Thou art the honour of the unhonoured. Make thy servant happy, and send me not disappointed away.' The Guru replied, ' If thou have love in thy heart, then is thy proposal agreeable to me. The seventh day of the light half of the month of Maghar, fixed on by Chandu as an auspicious date for offering the marriage presents, hath not been in vain.' Upon this Narain Das went off at once and purchased marriage presents in the city. They were put into Har Gobind's lap, and a saffron tilak as a symbol of the completion of the betrothal was affixed to his forehead.

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Upon this another Sikh called Hari Chand stood up, and said, 'O true king, I have also decided to give my daughter to thy son. If my petition please thee, I will give my daughter as a servant to Har Gobind, and thy reputation as cherisher of the poor shall shine the brighter.' Guru Arjan, also, though at first unwilling to accept a second wife for his son, felt he could not reject the offer of a faithful Sikh, and so agreed to the marriage of the young people. Moreover Hari Chand had refused all other alliances for his daughter, and vowed to bestow her only on the young Guru.[1] Hari Chand went immediately and brought the marriage presents. These were placed in Har Gobind's lap and a patch attached to his forehead as before. All this took place in the presence of Chandu's priest and barber, who returned sad and disappointed to their master.

The seventh day of the light half of the month of Magh, Sambat 1661, was fixed for Narain Das's daughter's marriage—practically a betrothal—to Har Gobind; Narain Das went to his village and made all preparations for the wedding. Songs expressing a hope that the bridegroom may outlive the bride, were sung by the women of his household. The following hymn, setting forth the humility of the bride and her devotion to the bridegroom, was also sung on the occasion :—

O God, Thou hast no love *for me*; Thou hast so many handmaidens like me.

1 Up to the time of Guru Arjan the Gurus were so trusted and held in such high estimation that religious people frequently thought it their duty to vow to them their lives, their children, and their property. Several Sikhs used on the birth of daughters to register oaths that they would only bestow them on the Guru or his relations. Girls so dedicated were always styled mothers by the Sikhs, and none might marry them except those to whom they were vowed. The Guru therefore felt bound to meet the wishes and vows of the Sikhs so solemnly made. This to a large extent will explain the polygamy of some of the Gurus.

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Thou art an ocean and mine of jewels ; I know not Thy worth.

I know not Thy worth ; Thou art very wise ; be gracious unto me, O Lord.

Mercifully grant me wisdom to meditate on Thee during the eight watches of the day.

O my soul, be not proud, become the dust *of men's feet,* and thou shalt obtain deliverance.

Nanak's God is over all ; He hath many handmaidens like me.

Thou art the jewel of a very deep and profound sea ; Thou art my husband, I am Thy bride.

In proportion as Thou art very great—yea, more exalted than the great—I am small.

I am nothing ; Thou art the only One ; Thou art wise of Thyself.

O God, if Thou cast on me even for a moment Thine ambrosial glance, I shall survive and enjoy all delights and sweetness.

I, the slave of Thy slaves, am under the protection of Thy feet ; my soul bloometh and my body groweth young.

Nanak's Lord is contained in all things : He doeth what He pleaseth.

Thou art my pride ; Thou art my strength.

My understanding, intellect, and skill are Thy gifts ; what Thou causest me to know I know.

It is he on whom the Creator casteth a look of favour who knoweth and understandeth.

The perverse woman hath gone astray on many paths, and hath been ensnared by worldly occupations.

She who is virtuous is pleasing to God ; she enjoyeth all pleasure.

O Lord, Thou art Nanak's support; Thou art Nanak's pride.

I am a sacrifice, I devote myself to Thee ; Thou art my shelter *firm as* a mountain.

I am hundreds of thousands of times a sacrifice to him who hath removed the curtain of error *from before me.*

My darkness is dispelled ; I have renounced sin, and my soul is reconciled with the Lord.

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I have pleased the Lord ; I care for no one ; my life hath been profitable and I am accepted.

I have become a priceless *jewel* of great weight ; the gate of happiness in this world and the next hath opened for me.

Saith Nanak, I have become fearless ; God hath become my shelter.[1]

Chapter IX

When the priest and the barber returned to Dihli they told Chandu everything they had heard and seen in Amritsar—the Guru's refusal and the reason thereof, the abuse of Chandu uttered by the Sikh in Darbar, the betrothal of Har Gobind and the actual appointment of a time for his marriage. Chandu was naturally very much incensed, but he wrote the Guru a letter, in which as a matter of policy he concealed his resentment. He began by magnifying the Guru and demeaning himself, and then continued : 'It is certainly true that I said thou art of inferior caste to me. This expression thoughtlessly escaped my mouth, and some one hath written and exaggerated it, and made thee displeased with me. Thou art now the most worshipful Guru in the world, and it is right for thee to consider everything. It is not proper for thee to fall out with me for what lunatics and base people tell thee. If I interest myself for thee with the Emperor, he too will be at thy service. I can give a large dowry to my daughter. Retain for thy son the other girls with whom thou hast formed alliances, and accept mine also. Great people contract many marriages. If thou tell me I used overbearing language, I may or may not have done so ; but it was in my own private house and not meant for others to hear. Your people in public darbar have called me a dog. Well, let bygones be bygones, and I will

[1] Guru Arjan, Sūhi Chhant.

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have many favours conferred on thee by the Emperor. Thou art already on bad terms with thy brother Prithi Chand. Thou oughtest to make me an ally. If thou fall out with me too, thou shalt nowhere find an abiding-place. There are now sparks flying about. If they increase there will be a blazing fire which it will be difficult to extinguish. Thou shalt not again have this opportunity. And if thou hast called me a dog I may become mad, and do thee harm contrary to my saner judgement.'

Chandu dispatched this letter by the hands of the Brahman. The Guru having read it said: 'It is pride that ruineth men. Pride of wealth is the basis of all ills. Man must suffer for his acts. Now know that Chandu must not form an alliance with us. They whom the Creator joineth are united; but they whom man joineth are not. It is the Guru's rule to comply with the wishes of his Sikhs. Their words are immutable. What they once reject, it is not proper again to accept. Even were I to consent to Chandu's alliance, no good could result. He tempteth me with gain, but who would forfeit his soul therefor? As for his threats, I have no fear of them. God alone is the guardian of all.' The priest returned with this message without being able to prevail on the Guru to alter his determination.

The Guru then made all preparations, and invited guests to his son's wedding with Narain Das's daughter. He even invited his own brother Prithi Chand, but the invitation was refused. The marriage was duly celebrated with all suitable ceremony and rejoicing.

The women of Narain Das's household sang the following composition of the bridegroom's father on the occasion of the marriage :—

It is a time of rejoicing, I sing my Lord ;
I have heard of the imperishable Bridegroom, and joy hath arisen in my heart.

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My mind longeth *to know* when I shall be fortunate enough to meet the perfect Lord.

Grant me, O my friend *Guru*, understanding *to know* when I shall meet God and be absorbed in Him.

Day and night I stand and wait *to find* by what way I may obtain the Lord.

Nanak prayeth, have mercy and attach me to the hem of Thy garment.[1]

Prithia addressed himself to the qazis and pandits who bore enmity to the Guru on account of his compilation of the Granth, and induced them to complain to the Emperor Akbar that Guru Arjan had compiled a book in which the Muhammadan priests, prophets, and leaders, and the Hindu incarnations and gods, were spoken of with contempt. Akbar was at that time touring in the Panjab and the complaint of the qazis and the pandits was placed before him by Chandu on his arrival in Gurdaspur. Chandu supported the complaint by saying that he knew the charges were based on facts. Upon this the Emperor ordered that Guru Arjan and his Granth should be produced before him. The Guru did not go himself, but sent Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das to read to him from it. The first hymn which caught the Emperor's eye was the following of Guru Arjan's own composition in the Persian language :—

From earth and light God made the world :

The sky, earth, trees and water are God's creation.

O man, whatever the eye can behold is perishable.

The world is an eater of carrion, neglectful *of God* and greedy *of mammon*.

Like an ogre or a beast it killeth and eateth forbidden food.[2]

Restrain thy heart, or the Omnipotent will take and punish thee in hell.

1 Bilāwal Chhant.

2 Also translated—The world (men) is like a demon or a beast; it killeth what is unlawful and eateth carrion.

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When Azrail shall seize thee, of what avail
Shall patrons, brothers, courts, possessions, and mansions be ?
The pure God knoweth thy condition.
Slave Nanak, utter thy prayer to the holy man *to guide thee.*[1]

The Emperor on hearing this said it was a very proper hymn. The qazis and pandits represented that the hymn was specially selected for the Emperor's hearing, and begged him to procure some one else to read the Granth to him, none among them being acquainted with the Gurumukhi characters in which the sacred volume is written. The Emperor turned over its pages himself, and pointing to a particular spot asked Gur Das to read from there. On this, the hymn already given, beginning 'O servant of God the Inscrutable', was read to His Majesty.

The Emperor on hearing this was much pleased. Chandu, however, was not to be thwarted. He said that Gur Das had repeated this from memory. The Emperor must have the Granth read to him by some one else who knew Gurumukhi. Chandu found a man called Sahib Diyal, who possessed the necessary knowledge. Chandu turned over the leaves of the Granth and told him to read the hymn he pointed out. The hymn was the following :—

Thou fastenest a stone to thy neck,
And seest not God who dwelleth in the heart.
O infidel, thou wanderest astray in error :
Thou churnest water and shalt die in agony.
The stone which thou callest God
Shall take thee with it and drown thee.
O sinner, untrue to thy salt,
It is not a boat of stone which will ferry thee over.
On meeting the Guru, Nanak recognizeth the Lord.

[1] Tilang.

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The Arranger is contained in the water, the dry land the nether regions, and the firmament.[1]

When the Emperor heard this, he was still more pleased with the teaching of the Granth, and displeased with the Guru's slanderers and enemies. He then gave his decision : 'Excepting love and devotion to God I so far find neither praise nor blame of any one in this Granth. It is a volume worthy of reverence.' He then made an offering to it of fifty-one gold muhars[2], and gave Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das dresses of honour for themselves and a third for Guru Arjan. He told them to give his respectful salutations to the Guru, and promised to go to visit him when he was returning from Lahore whither he was then proceeding.

When Chandu and his party heard the Emperor's decision and his message to the Guru, their faces became pale and they hung down their heads through shame. All good people cursed Chandu, and his evil reputation spread from house to house. The Emperor, true to his word, visited the Guru on his return journey to Dihli, and was charmed with his saintly bearing. He was also so pleased with the imposing and beautiful temple which the Guru had constructed, and the delightful melodies to which the hymns of the Gurus had been set, that words failed him to express his gratification. He called himself the Guru's slave and asked for instruction to render him happy and secure peace for his soul. The Guru then repeated for him the following hymn :—

One man invoketh Ram, another Khuda ;
One man worshippeth Gosain, another Allah ;
Some speak of the Cause of causes, *others of* the Benevolent.
Some talk of the Extender of mercy, *others of* the Merciful.
Some bathe at the Hindu sacred places, others visit Makka.
Some perform the Hindu worship, others bow their heads *in the Muhammadan fashion.*

[1] Sūhi.
[2] A gold *muhar* is now about the value of an old English guinea.

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Some read the Veds, others the Musalman books.
Some wear white, others blue.
Some call themselves Hindus, others Musalmans.
Some aspire to the heaven of the Hindus, others to the heaven of the Muhammadans ;
But he who recognizeth God's will, saith Nanak,
Knoweth the secret of the Lord God.[1]

The Emperor partook of the Guru's hospitality, and prayed to be allowed to make a contribution to his large expenditure, so that thereby he might secure spiritual and temporal welfare and happiness. The Guru replied, 'The welfare and happiness of monarchs depend on cherishing their subjects and doing justice. The monarch whose subjects are happy shall himself be happy in this life, and in the next obtain praise, glory, and honour.'

The Emperor remitted the revenues of the Panjab for that year in compliment to the Guru, who represented that there was a severe famine in the land and the cultivators required His Majesty's consideration. The Guru's fame and influence largely increased owing to the respect the Emperor had shown him. This, in the words of the chronicler, was the cause of such agony to Prithia as would last till it had taken his life with it.

Badaoni states that on another occasion, namely, the thirteenth of the month of Azur (Jamadi ul sani), Akbar, with a gorgeous military retinue, crossed the Bias and went to Goindwal to visit Guru Arjan, whose teaching and character he appreciated. Badaoni also writes that people reverenced the successive Gurus as spiritual leaders, and solicited their benedictions.

Unfortunately for the Guru the tolerant Emperor Akbar died soon after, and was succeeded by his son Jahangir. Jahangir's son Khusro, nominated to the

[1] Rāmkali. The words in the first part of the lines of this hymn are Hindi, and refer to the Hindus and their worship. The words in the second part are Arabic, and refer to Muhammadans and their worship.

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throne by Akbar in supersession of Jahangir, claimed the Panjab and Afghanistan, which his father was unwilling to concede him. Jahangir accordingly desired to obtain possession of Khusro's person, but Khusro escaped from Agra pursued by the Imperial army, and directed his steps towards Afghanistan. On the way he visited the Guru at Tarn-Taran and begged him to grant him pecuniary assistance. The Guru said he had money for the poor, but not for princes. Khusro replied with great humility that he himself was now very poor, needy, and unfriended, and had not even travelling expenses.

Guru Arjan, seeing the Prince's evil plight and humility, took compassion on him. He, moreover, felt friendly to the Prince, who had visited him a few times previously with the Emperor Akbar ; and he also felt a debt of gratitude to the Prince's grandfather, the late monarch, so he gave him five thousand rupees to defray his expenses to Kabul. Khusro, however, was seized by the imperial troops as he was crossing the Jihlam, and taken in chains to his father.

Prithia managed to retain Sulahi Khan's assistance and co-operation to ruin the Guru. Sulahi, on the pretext of having to collect revenue in the Panjab, obtained leave from the Emperor to proceed thither. On his way he visited Prithia in his village of Kotha. Under the pretence of hunting they spent their time concocting plans for the Guru's destruction.

The Guru, on hearing of the further conspiracies of his enemies, composed the following :—

Death laugheth over man's head, but, brute that he is, he knoweth it not.

Involved in quarrels, pleasures, and pride, he thinketh not of death.

Serve thy true Guru ; why wander, O luckless one ?

On beholding the brilliant safflower, why make the mistake of attaching thyself to it ?

Constantly sinning thou hast accumulated wealth to use it thyself ;

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But thou shalt depart naked, and thy dust shall be blended with dust.

They for whom thou didst take trouble are at variance and enmity with thee.

At the last hour they will flee from thee ; why burnest thou with wrath ?

He on whose forehead such destiny hath been written, becometh the dust of the holy man's feet.

Saith Nanak, *by seeking* the protection of the true Guru man is released from his bonds.[1]

One day Prithia took Sulahi to admire some brick-kilns he had made. On arriving, Sulahi's horse started at the accidental flight of a bird from under his feet, and ran with his rider straight into a kiln in full blast. In a few minutes horse and rider became a mass of cinders. On hearing of this event the Guru composed the following :—

If any one *flout the* poor by stroking his beard at them,
The supreme God will burn him in the fire.
The Creator who protecteth His servant
Hath administered perfect justice.
Before and through the ages His glory was manifest—
The calumniator died in great agony.
None saveth him who is accursed of God :
In this world and the next evil shall be his reputation.
God embraceth and protecteth His servant :
Nanak, meditate on God's name, and seek His shelter.

The Guru composed the following also on the same subject :—

God preserved me from Sulahi.
Sulahi by no means succeeded ; Sulahi died unclean.
God drew forth His axe and smote off his head, and in a moment he became ashes.
He was consumed ever meditating evil ; He who created him thrust him *into the fire.*

[1] Bilāwal.

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Son, friend, wife, nothing remaineth for him now; his brethren and relations have all abandoned him.

Saith Nanak, I am a sacrifice to that God who fulfilled the words of His servant.[1]

The following was uttered by the Guru on the same occasion :—

The slanderer by the Guru's favour hath been turned away.

God the supreme Being was merciful : He killed him with unerring arrow.

Death and Death's noose cannot affect me since I have established the sect of the True One.

The jewel of God's name I have earned as wealth, which will never decrease by eating and spending.

In one moment the slanderer became ashes and obtained his deserts.

Nanak foretold what was hidden; the whole world saw the truth of his prophecy.[2]

Prithi Chand was naturally most displeased at the death of his faithful ally in evil. In the meantime Chandu was considering how he could procure the marriage of his daughter with Har Gobind or avenge himself on the Guru. He accordingly wrote to Prithia to request him to use all his influence to bring about the marriage, and in the event of his failure threatened to confiscate the fief he had recently obtained from the Emperor. Prithia, however, required no threats; he was only too willing to assist Chandu in his nefarious designs. He wrote in reply that Arjan, who had deprived him of his rights, was already his enemy; and he would be only too happy to assist in meting him adequate punishment. He begged Chandu to use his influence with the Emperor to bring the Guru to justice. On receiving this letter Chandu summoned Prithia to Dihli. There they both concocted a plan to induce the Emperor by some means to visit the Panjab, where they would have an opportunity of entering

[1] Bilāwal. [2] Todi.

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into some conspiracy against the Guru. Chandu informed the Emperor of the abundance of game in the Lahore district, and also explained that Lahore would be a convenient place to rest on the Emperor's way to Kashmir, where he ought to spend the summer on account of the beauty of its scenery and the salubrity of its climate. Upon this Prithia returned home.

Chandu's scheme proved successful. In a short time the Emperor proceeded to the Panjab. On reaching the Bias he encamped on its banks and went a-hunting. Chandu, in conversation with him, represented that there were several thieves in the country who, during the night, had stolen some of the Emperor's property. The Emperor inquired how thieves could exist in his empire. Chandu replied that the Emperor had a rival in the Panjab, namely Guru Arjan, who entertained thieves and exercised independent authority. Upon this the Emperor issued an order to the Guru through Sulabi Khan, nephew of the late Sulahi Khan, to abstain from such practices. The Guru's business, he said, was to restrain others from evil, and it behoved him not to do evil himself. Chandu wrote on his own account to Sulabi Khan to endeavour to induce the Guru to consent to the marriage alliance, and also to grant a more liberal distribution of property and offerings to Prithia than had been formerly agreed on. Sulabi Khan went to Amritsar to endeavour to carry out these measures.

When the Sikhs heard of Sulabi Khan's intention they proposed that they should be allowed to kill him, but they were dissuaded by the Guru. He was already sufficiently armed and protected against his enemies. On that occasion he composed the following:—

Humility is my mace,
And being the dust of the dust of all men's feet my two-edged sword :

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These no evil doer can withstand.
The perfect Guru hath arranged this matter.[1]

On Sulabi's journey to Amritsar his party fell in with a Saiyid who was accompanied by several Pathans. The Saiyid represented to him that these Pathans had been in his uncle Sulahi Khan's service, and that a year's salary was due to them. Sulabi put them off with excuses, whereupon an affray arose. Sulabi's escort, reverencing the Saiyid as a descendant of the Prophet, did not strenuously defend their master, and he was killed. When Chandu heard of Sulabi Khan's death he represented to the Emperor that it had been done through the machinations of the Guru. He added that the Guru had perpetrated many other misdeeds. For instance, he had deprived his elder brother Prithia of the Guruship, and had endeavoured to deprive the Hindus and Muhammadans of their religions. Prithia had made complaints in person to the late Emperor, who promised to summon the Guru when he visited the Panjab. When His Majesty on one occasion did visit the Panjab, he had not time to make the necessary inquiry into the charges against Guru Arjan, but now was the time to do so. The Guru only became bolder with delay and impunity. Upon this the Emperor ordered Chandu to send for Prithia, and he accordingly did so. Prithia was overjoyed on receiving the invitation. On the way he for some business of his own visited Tarn Taran, where the Sikhs invited him to bathe. He said that the Guru's tank there was only a common pool, and he would only bathe in his own tank at Hehar. Thither he accordingly proceeded, and after bathing in it and eating a surfeit at dinner, he got cramp in the stomach, and died the same night.

Mihrban, son of Prithia, took advantage of the Guru's gift to Khusro to rouse the ire of the Emperor

[1] Sorath.

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against the Guru. He informed Chandu of it, and Chandu informed the Emperor, adding that the Guru had blessed Khusro and promised him that he should become Emperor. Chandu also represented to the Emperor that, if he did not have Khusro quickly arrested, the pretender would receive great military assistance from the followers of the Guru. The people of the Panjab, he said, were all highway robbers. The pandits and the qazis also thought it a favourable opportunity to institute new proceedings against the Guru on the old charge of having compiled a book which blasphemed the worship and rules of the Hindus and the prayers and fastings of the Muhammadans. By such accusations Chandu induced the Emperor to summon Guru Arjan. Chandu's heart was now gratified, for he knew he had at last secured his revenge.

Chapter X

The Guru now felt that his enemies were victorious and that his end was near, but he was confident at the same time that the vials of God's wrath would burst on their heads. Before his departure for Lahore he appointed his son Har Gobind his successor with all ancient ceremony and formality, and gave him injunctions suitable for the occasion. The Guru then addressed his wife Ganga: 'This body abideth not for ever. Wherefore a wise person should not love it. Whatever is born perisheth, and whatever is high falleth sooner or later. This is nature's law. To love the body is a grievous error. All bodies daily grow old and preserve not their original strength. From a child one groweth to be a man, and then cometh old age, which seizeth on the body and causeth it to waste away until it falleth into its final sleep. Live thou when I am gone, mourn not for me, and make no effort of

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thine own to separate thy soul from thy body.' The latter was an injunction not to cremate herself on his death.

The Guru took with him Bhai Bidhi Chand, Bhai Langaha, Bhai Paira, Bhai Jetha, and Bhai Pirana. The Emperor Jahangir was at first disposed to treat the Guru with respect, but Chandu reminded him of the Guru's pecuniary assistance to Khusro. The Emperor then addressed him: 'Thou art a saint, great teacher, and holy man; thou lookest on all, rich and poor, alike. It was therefore not proper for thee to give money to my enemy Khusro.' The Guru replied: 'I regard all people, whether Hindu or Musalman, rich or poor, friend or foe, without love or hate; and it is on this account that I gave thy son some money for his journey, and not because he was in opposition to thee. If I had not assisted him in his forlorn condition, and so shown some regard for the kindness of thy father the Emperor Akbar to myself, all men would despise me for my heartlessness and ingratitude, or they would say that I was afraid of thee. This would have been unworthy of a follower of Guru Nanak, the world's Guru.'

The conclusion of this speech was not calculated to soothe the Emperor's feelings. He ordered the Guru to pay a fine of two lakhs of rupees, and also to erase the hymns in his Granth which were opposed to the Hindu and Musalman religions. The Guru replied: 'Whatever money I have is for the poor, the friendless, and the stranger. If thou ask for money thou mayest take what I have; but if thou ask for it by way of fine I shall not give thee even a kauri, for a fine is imposed on wicked worldly persons and not on priests and anchorets. And as to what thou hast said regarding the erasure of hymns in the Granth Sahib, I cannot erase or alter an iota. I am a worshipper of the Immortal God, the Supreme Soul of the world. There is no monarch save Him; and what He re-

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vealed to the Gurus, from Guru Nanak to Guru Ram Das, and afterwards to myself, is written in the holy Granth Sahib. The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or any Muhammadan prophet. It is certainly stated that prophets, priests, and incarnations are the handiwork of the Immortal God, whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and the destruction of falsehood; and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune.'

The Emperor made no reply, but rose and left the hall of audience. After this a magistrate informed the Guru that he must pay the fine or be imprisoned in default. When the Sikhs of Lahore heard this decision, they proposed to unite and raise a subscription to discharge the Guru's obligation. The Guru would not agree, and sent them word, that whoever contributed to pay the fine imposed on him should be deemed a pervert, and would for the sake of momentary gratification imperil his future salvation. Men devoted to religion, the Guru said, never paid fines. Fines were for thieves, adulterers, slanderers, and robbers. As the Guru would not allow the fine to be paid, he was placed under the surveillance of Chandu. The qazis and Brahmans offered the Guru the alternative of being put to death or of expunging the alleged objectionable passages in the Granth Sahib and inserting the praises of Muhammad and of the Hindu deities.

The Guru replied, 'The Granth Sahib hath been compiled to confer on men happiness and not misery in this world and in the next. It is impossible to write it anew, and make the omissions and alterations you require.' On hearing this the Guru's enemies concluded that he would yield to no ordinary threats, so they put fetters on him, and began to torture him in various ways. They poured burning sand on him, seated him in red-hot caldrons, and

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bathed him in boiling water. The Guru bore all this torture with equanimity and never uttered a sigh or groan. He was given another opportunity to recant and comply with the demands of his enemies. He replied, 'O fools, I shall never fear this treatment of yours. It is all according to God's will; wherefore this torture only affordeth me pleasure.' On this occasion the Guru repeated the following :—

The egg of superstition hath burst ; the mind is illumined :
The Guru hath cut the fetters off the feet and freed the captive.
My transmigration is at an end.
The heated caldron hath become cold ; the Guru hath given the cooling Name.
Since the holy man hath been with me, *Death's myrmidons,* who lay in wait for me, have left me.
I have been released from him who restrained me ; what shall the judge do to me now ?
The load of my karma is removed ; I am freed therefrom.
From the sea I have reached the shore ; the Guru hath done me this favour.
True is my place, true my seat, and truth I have made my special object.
Truth is the capital ; truth the stock-in-trade which Nanak hath put into his house.[1]

When Chandu threatened to put the Guru to further torture he addressed him as follows :—

The earth, the firmament, and the stars *are under the influence* of fear ; over their heads is unchanging law.
Wind, water, and fire are under the influence of fear ; so, too, is helpless Indar.
There is only the one God without fear, as I have heard.
He who meeting the Guru singeth God's praises, is happy and ever at peace.

[1] Māru.

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Corporeal beings and gods are under the influence of fear ; Sidhs and their disciples have died through fear.

The eighty-four lakhs of beings which die and are born, which again and again are yoked to wombs, *are under the influence of fear.*

All beings which Thou, *O God*, hast created *subject to the qualities* of passion, goodness, and darkness are under the influence of fear.

The helpless Lakshmi [1] *who produceth* illusion is under the influence of fear, and greatly so is Dharmraj.

All things are filled with fear—it is only the Creator who is devoid of it.

Saith Nanak, God is the Companion of saints ; saints adorn His court,[2] *and are therefore without fear.*

Several Jogis and religious men who had met the Guru and appreciated his sincerity and exalted doctrines, went to condole with him in his afflictions. Mian Mir, the Moslem saint of Lahore, also went and contributed his sympathetic tears. He found the Guru's body all blistered and suppurated, and requested his permission to appeal to the Emperor for his release and the punishment of his torturers. The Guru requested him to cast his eyes towards heaven. On doing so, it is said, Mian Mir saw angels begging the Guru's permission to destroy the wicked, the proud, and the perverse. Mian Mir on beholding this supernatural vision asked the Guru why, when he possessed superhuman power, he consented to endure suffering at the hands of such vile sinners. The Guru replied, ' I bear all this torture to set an example to the teachers of the True Name, that they may not lose patience or rail at God in affliction. The true test of faith is the hour of misery. Without examples to guide them ordinary persons' minds quail in the midst of suffering. In the second place, if he who possesseth power within him defend not

[1] Lakshmi, is here called Kaula (Kamala) or the dweller on the lotus.
[2] Māru.

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his religion by the open profession thereof, the man who possesseth no such power will when put to the torture abjure his faith. The sin will light on the head of him who hath the power but showeth it not ; and God will deem him an enemy of religion. In the third place, the body is naturally subject to woe and weal, but not the spirit. The body is perishable, the soul imperishable. To set aside by the exercise of supernatural power the law of nature which applieth to all things perishable, and thereby to engender pride in the heart, would be supreme folly.' Mian Mir on hearing this departed commending the Guru's fortitude and singing his praises.

Upon this the Guru's enemies again applied themselves to his torture. They kept him for three hours seated in a caldron heated by a blazing fire. The Guru's life was well-nigh extinct, but he would not even submit to Chandu's conditions, namely, to allow his son Har Gobind to marry Chandu's daughter.

The Guru repeated the following also during the period of his torture :—

SRI RAG ASHTAPADI

When very great troubles befall, and nobody receiveth one ;

When enemies pursue, and relations flee away ;

When all from whom man *looked for* assistance have fled, and all succour is at an end,

If he then remember God, no hot wind shall strike him.

God is the strength of the strengthless.

He neither cometh nor goeth ; He is permanent ever ; by the Guru's instruction know Him as the True One.

If man be weak from the pangs of nakedness and hunger,

If he have not a paisa in his purse, and there be none to console him,

If no one gratify his aims and desires, and he be never successful,

Yet, if he remember God, he shall obtain a permanent kingdom.

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If any one have excessive anxiety and bodily suffering,
If bound up in household and family, he feel alternate joy and sorrow,
If he wander in every direction, and cannot rest even for a moment,
Yet if he think upon God, his body and soul shall be happy.
Man may be in the power of lust, wrath, and covetousness ; he may become a miser through love of greed ;
He may have committed the four great sins [1] and *all venial* sins ; he may be a demon to destroy ;
He may never have listened to *sacred* books, hymns, and poetry ;
Yet shall he be saved if he think upon God and repeat His name even for a moment.
Even though man repeat by heart the Shastars, the Simritis, and the four Veds ;
Though he be a penitent, a leader of penitents, or a Jogi and have made all pilgrimages ;
Though he perform the six duties twice over, though he bathe and perform worship,
Yet if he love not the supreme God, he shall assuredly go to hell.
Man may have empire, dominion, and principality ; enjoyments may be scattered *around him* ;
He may have delightful and beautiful gardens, and his orders may be such as cannot be disobeyed ;
He may have merriment and spectacles of many descriptions, and he may continue devoted to pleasure ;
Yet if he think not of the supreme God, he shall be born again as a serpent.
Man may be very wealthy ; he may be attentive to ceremonial duties ; his reputation and conduct may be ostensibly spotless ;
He may love his mother, father, children, brothers and friends ;
Armies in full panoply and all men may show him honour ;

[1] Guru Amar Dās gives in his additional sloks the four sins which the Hindus believe to be the most heinous.

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Yet if he think not of the supreme God, he shall be taken and consigned to the abode below.

Man's body may have no disease or blemish ; he may have no heart-burning or grief ;

He may not think of death, but day and night enjoy himself ;

He may have made everything his own and fear no one ;

Yet if he think not of the supreme God, he shall fall into the power of Death's myrmidons.

He to whom the supreme God is merciful obtaineth the society of the saints.

The more that *association* increaseth, the greater his love for God.

He is the Lord of both worlds ; there is no *resting* place but in Him.

If the true Guru be pleased, Nanak shall obtain the true Name.

A daughter-in-law of Chandu, daughter of a pious Sikh, who had heard of the Guru's torture, considered what she could do to save him whom her father had ever reverenced, and from whom he had ever obtained the object of his desires. She said to herself, 'The Guru hath eaten nothing, and not even drunk water or slept for several days. Accursed is my life in this house that I hear of the Guru's torture, and still see the light of day!' She prepared some sharbat and took it in the dead of night secretly to the Guru's prison. When stopped by the sentry on guard, she drew forth a piece of jewellery and gave it to him. He allowed her to pass with strict injunctions to return quickly. She told the Guru who she was: 'Recognize in me the daughter of a Sikh of thine. I am wife of the sinner's (Chandu's) son, but I ought never to have been married to him. I must have committed some great sin in a previous existence, and this is the result of it. Hence I desire to live no longer. Take this sharbat and also eat something. Look on me as thy slave, and have pity on me.'

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The Guru replied, ' Hail to thee who hast so much devotion ! Thou hast now but few days to live and thou mayest accompany me. Keep thy secret to thyself. I cannot take food or drink from Chandu's house.' On hearing this, the lady begged him to take her as his companion to the unknown world.

Chandu was all night meditating further torture for the Guru. He said to himself, ' The Guru manifesteth no pain under ordinary torture, therefore I will cause him further suffering.' Notwithstanding all the tortures employed, the Guru would not abate a jot of his determination.

For five days the Guru suffered torture and then asked permission to bathe in the Ravi and take his five Sikh companions with him. Chandu might afterwards order what he thought fit. Chandu was very pleased at the Guru's proposal and said, ' When the Guru's body is cool after bathing, he will certainly consent to his son's alliance with my daughter.' He accordingly granted the Guru's request and said, ' Thy life shall be saved, if thou hearken to my words.'

Chandu sent with his prisoner an escort of soldiers armed with swords and matchlocks. He ordered them to keep a close watch on the Guru. They were not to speak to any one on the way lest they should reveal the Guru's sufferings. They also received orders not to allow the Guru to make any détour, but proceed straight on, and not halt before he had arrived at the bank of the river. While the Guru was bathing and subsequently drying himself, the soldiers were not to address him or interrupt him in any way. They were then to return with him and keep him and his Sikhs in front of them so that he might not escape.

The Guru enveloped himself in a long sheet and set forth. The whole of his body was blistered, and the soles of his feet sore and festered. Looking where he might tread with the least pain he pro-

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ceeded very slowly. Seeing his servant Pirana near him he leaned on his shoulder, and emerged from the city by a wicket opening towards the river. Several people bowed as he passed. The bystanders were astonished on seeing him weak from hunger and suffering, and said, 'In what a state the Guru is travelling!' His mind however appeared collected and fixed on divine meditation as in his earlier and happier days. His devotion like a mountain which cannot be moved was in no way affected by his bodily pain.

On arriving with very slow and painful steps at the Ravi he took up some of its cold water—recently melted from Himalayan ice—and bathed his feet and hands therewith. He then went into the water and bathed his whole body. Meanwhile he recited with great devotion the Japji, which confers salvation on Sikhs. His men, who were like a halo round him, followed his example. The Guru bowed at the end of his devotions and thus addressed his Sikhs: 'I have succeeded in effecting the object of my life. Go to my son the holy Har Gobind, and give him from me ample consolation. Bid him not mourn or indulge in unmanly lamentations but sing God's praises. Let him also restrain from grief the other members of my family. Let him sit fully armed on his throne, and maintain an army to the best of his ability. Let him affix the patch of Guruship to his forehead according to ancient custom, and ever treat his Sikhs with the utmost courtesy. Let him hold Bhai Budha in honour, and in all respects, except the wearing of arms hereby enjoined, adopt the practices of the preceding Gurus. Cremate not my body, but let it flow on the bosom of this river.

Having thus spoken the Guru observed a minstrel approach with a two-stringed instrument, and invited him to take a seat on a pleasant spot near the river, sing the Guru's hymns, and accompany himself on his instrument. The minstrel accordingly began

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to sing with great feeling and expression, whereupon the heavenly hosts thronged to listen, to witness the Guru's departure, and to congratulate him on his victory over torture and tyranny. Some recounted the Guru's deeds, while others listened with admiration. They vowed that the earth itself had not such patience as the Guru. There was nothing animate or inanimate to be compared with him. 'He hath shown extreme patience and endurance, though, had he chosen to exercise his miraculous power, he might have averted his sufferings. He hath never meditated retaliation on his enemy; his praise suits none but himself for having endured extreme suffering and heeded it not. He now cometh to us to abide in glory and bliss after his earthly misery.'

The Guru's death occurred on the fourth day of the light half of the month Jeth, Sambat 1663 (June, A. D. 1606).

When Chandu's daughter-in-law heard of the Guru's death she too abandoned her body, as if it were a worthless blade of grass. Her corpse remained concealed in her chamber and none knew that her spirit had accompanied the Guru's in its heavenly flight.

Thus did Guru Arjan for his sanctity, his conversion of the Hindus and Muhammadans, his compilation of the Granth Sahib and his assistance to the grandson of his former benefactor, fall a victim to the bigotry and inhumanity of a Muhammadan emperor.[1]

[1] The statement of the author of the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* on the subject of Guru Arjan is as follows:—'Guru Arjan blessed the Emperor's son Khusro who had risen in rebellion against his father, and when Khusro was arrested the Emperor ordered Guru Arjan also to be punished and a large fine imposed on him.' This the Guru was unable to pay, and he was subsequently imprisoned in what the historian calls the sandy country of Lahore, where he died from the effects of the heat and the tortures inflicted on him by those who sought to realize the fine imposed.

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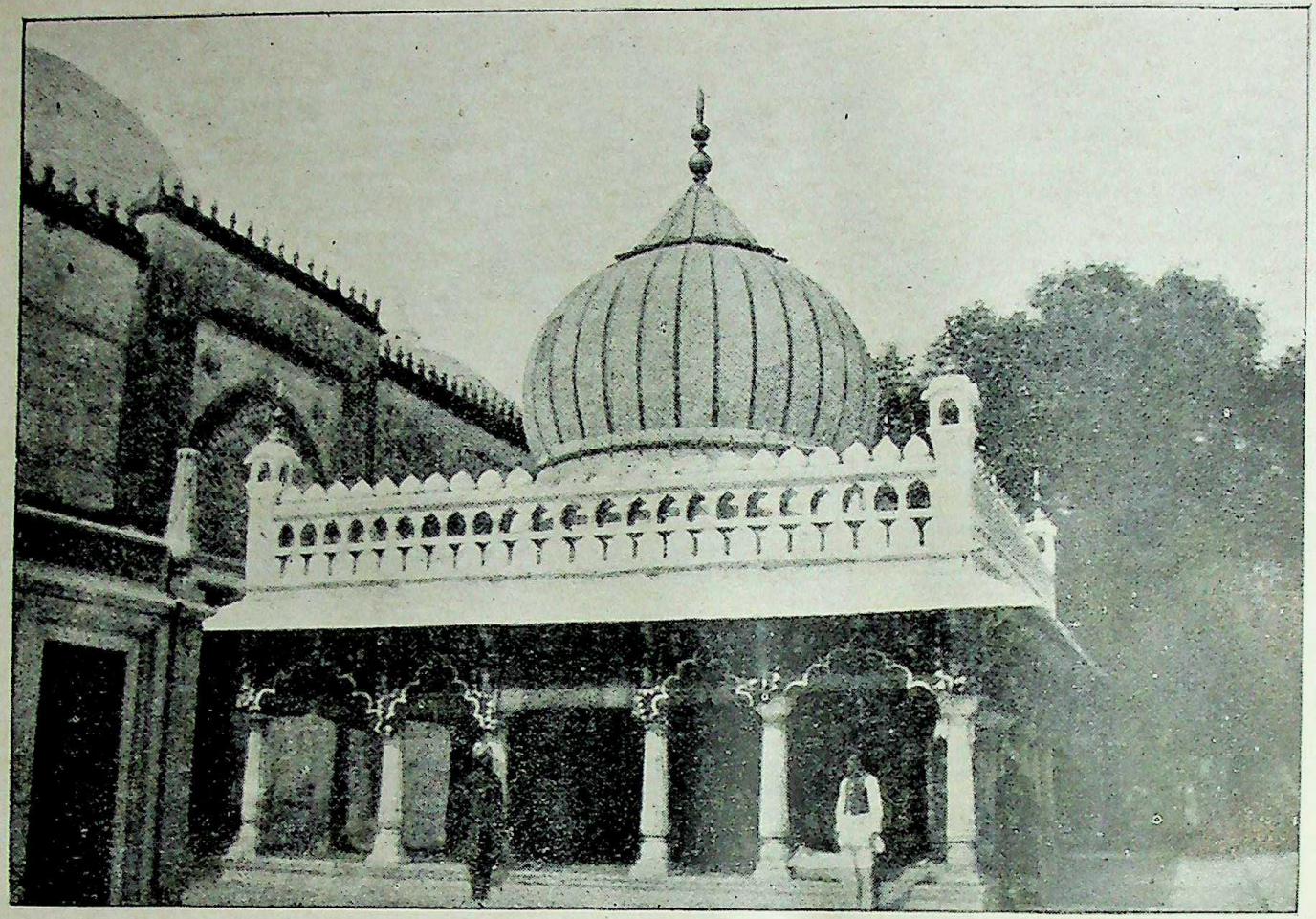

GURU ARJAN'S SHRINE

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The temple dedicated to the Guru in Lahore bears the following inscription of his own composition :—

Perform ablution, remember your God, and your minds and bodies shall be free from disease.

Millions of obstacles shall be removed by God's protection, and good fortune shall dawn on you.

I have uttered the compositions and the hymns of God.

O my brethren, ever sing, listen, and read them, and the perfect Guru will preserve you.

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HYMNS OF GURU ARJAN

Sri Rag

Life is uncertain and man ought to repent betimes :—

Though only a guest for a ghari or two, man arrangeth his affairs.

He is absorbed in mammon and lust ; and, fool that he is, knoweth not *that he is but a guest.*

He only repenteth after his departure, and so falleth into the power of Death the executioner.

O blind man, thou art sitting on a falling bank.

If thou art so fated from the beginning, then act according to the Guru's instruction.

The Owner [1] *may gather* the crop whether it be green, half-ripe, or ripe and fit to be cut.

The reapers [2] make preparations, bring sickles, and arrive on the ground.

They cut the crop as it is measured out to them when the Landlord giveth orders.

The first watch of night is gone in business ; during the second man sleepeth his fill ;

The third is passed in idle discourse ; and at the fourth the morning dawneth.

He who gave soul and body never entereth into man's mind.

I sacrifice and devote my life to the society of the saints,

Through whom understanding entered my heart, and I met God the Omniscient.

Know that Nanak hath ever seen God who is the Searcher of hearts with him.

[1] God. [2] Death's myrmidons.

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The attributes of God :—

I love that true One who dieth not or suffereth transmigration ;

Who, being contained in everything, will not be separated from me though I separate from Him ;

Who removeth the pain and sorrow of the poor, and truly loveth His servant.

Wonderful is the form of the Pure One ; the Guru hath caused me to meet Him, O my mother.

O my brethren, be friends with such a God.

Accursed is the love of worldly things ; no one attached to them appeareth happy.

God is wise, generous, mild, beautiful, and infinite ;

He is the companion, the helper, exceeding great, exalted, and altogether without limit ;

He is not known as young or old ; everlasting is His court.

What we ask Him we obtain ; He is the support of the weak.

On beholding Him sins vanish, and the soul and body are at peace.

If man with single mind meditate on Him, mental doubts shall be dispelled.

He is the treasury of excellences ; ever new and complete are His gifts.

Ever and ever adore Him ; forget Him not by day or night :

He is the companion of those who are so destined from the beginning.

Devote your body, your soul, and your wealth all unto Him ; sacrifice your whole life unto Him.

He beholdeth, He heareth, He is ever present, He pervadeth every heart.

He cherisheth even the ungrateful ; O Nanak, God is ever the Pardoner.

God's beneficence :—

Ever and ever remember God and clasp Him to thy heart, who gave thee soul, body, and wealth, and adorned thee ;

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Who constructed all the materials *of thy body* and infused into it immortal light.

O my soul, there is none but God.

Ever remain under God's protection and thou shalt feel no sorrow.

Jewels, wealth, gems, gold, and silver are all dust.

The affinities of mother, father, sons, and kinsmen are all false.

The perverse man, unclean beast that he is, knoweth not Him who made him :

He deemeth that God who is within and around him is distant ;

Avarice clingeth to him, and his heart is attached to pride and falsehood.

Boatfuls of persons without devotion or God's name come and go.

O God, the Creator, mercifully preserve man and Thine other creatures.

There is no protector but Thee ; very unfeeling is the god of death.

Saith Nanak, O God, have mercy on me that I may not forget Thy name.

Nothing can be concealed from the omnipotent God :—

In the dust of the saints' feet are found the merits of hundreds of thousands of pilgrimages, fastings, and mortifications.

From whom canst thou hide thine evil deeds, since God ever present beholdeth thee ?

My God pervadeth and filleth every place.

True is His empire, true His authority, and truest of the true[1] His seat.

The True One exerteth true power in the creation of the world.

Nanak, repeat the true Name to which I am for ever and ever a sacrifice.

[1] In this hymn as in many passages of the Granth Sāhib the word true means eternal.

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The Guru counsels the rejection of worldly pleasures :—

Deeming the *pleasures of the world* sweet, man partaketh of them, but they prove to have a bitter taste.

He causeth his brethren and friends to love him heartily ; he is vainly devoted to sinful pleasures.

These shall pass away in a trice, and he shall be astonished without the Name.

O my soul, apply thyself to the service of the true Guru.

Whatever is seen is perishable, abandon thy perversity.

As a mad dog runneth in every direction,

So the avaricious man distinguisheth not, but eateth both what is allowed and what is forbidden.

He who feeleth lust, wrath, and pride shall enter the womb again and again.

Mammon hath spread out her net and placed a bait within it :

The greedy bird is snared and cannot escape, my mother.

Man knoweth not Him who made him ; wherefore he shall suffer transmigration again and again.

This world hath in many ways and forms bewitched man.

He who is preserved by the omnipotent and eternal Being shall be saved.

The people of God are saved by their love for Him ; to them Nanak is ever a sacrifice.

Man during his brief measure of life ought to practise devotion :—

When the herdsman goeth *only for a few days* to the pasture ground, why should he prefer *a claim to it* ?

When thy time is completed, thou must depart ; yet thou art arranging thy household affairs.[1]

O man, sing God's praises and serve the true Guru with love.

Why art thou proud of a trifle ?

Like the guest of a night thou shalt depart in the morning.

[1] Also translated—Arrange thy household affairs; that is, make preparation for thy journey.

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Why art thou attached to thy family? everything is *short-lived* as the flowers of the garden.

Why ever speak of thy property? Long for the God who gave it thee.

Thou must assuredly depart and leave thy lakhs and karors.

Having wandered among the eighty-four lakhs of existences, thou hast at last obtained human life so difficult to obtain.

Nanak, remember thou the Name; the day *of thy departure* is near.

While life remains learn wise conduct:—

O body, as long as *the soul* thy companion is with thee, so long thou livest happily.

When thy companion departeth, thou shalt be blended with the dust.

If thou have felt love of God and a desire to behold Him, blest shall be thine abode.

As long as the soul dwelleth with thee, every one will say 'Sir, Sir,' to thee;

But when it departeth no one will care for thee.

Serve thy Bridegroom in thy father's house, and thou shalt abide in happiness in thy father-in-law's.

Having met the Guru, learn wise conduct; and sorrow shall never befall thee.

All must go to their father-in-law's; God taketh every one away.

Nanak, blest is that happy wife who loveth the Bridegroom.

Some moral injunctions:—

Store up God's wealth, worship the true Guru, and renounce all sin.

Remember that God who made and adorned thee, and thou shalt be saved.

O man, repeat the name of the one eternal God,

Who gave thee soul, mind, and body, and who is the support of the heart.

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The world is intoxicated with the prevailing lust, wrath, and pride.

Enter the asylum of the saints, fall at their feet, and thy misery and mental blindness shall be removed.

The practice of truth, patience, and mercy is the best work *man can accomplish.*

He to whom God the Formless One granteth grace, renounceth pride and becometh the dust of all men's feet.

Whatever is seen, the extension of creation, is all Thou, O God.

Saith Nanak, the Guru hath cut away doubt ; and I consider all things God.

The Guru addresses God as a child his father :—

Relying on Thee, O Beloved, I have been made happy.

Even if I have gone astray, I am Thy child, O God , Thou art my father and mother.

It is easy to talk,

But to act as Thou pleasest is difficult.

In Thee I repose mine honour and my strength ; I know Thee as mine.

Thou art within and without everything ; Thou needest nothing, O Father.

O Father, I know not Thy ways.

God freeth me from entanglements, O saints, and cherisheth love for me.

The Lord hath been merciful, and my transmigration is at an end.

On meeting the Guru, Nanak hath recognized the Supreme God.

ASHTAPADI

Better seek God's protection than join any of the current Indian religious sects :—

I know not what things please *the Lord* ;

O my soul, seek His way.

The meditator practiseth meditation.

He who is possessed of knowledge may employ his knowledge,

Yet few know God.

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The Bhagauti[1] acteth according to the rules *of his sect*;
The Jogi claimeth that he *alone* is emancipated;
The Penitent is absorbed in his penance;
The Silent observe silence;
The Sanyasi, the Brahmachari,
And the Hermit are devoted to their lonely lives;
The Bhagats worship in nine ways;[2]
The Pandits shout the Veds;
The householders who practise household duties,
The Eksabdis,[3] Bahurupias,[4] the Audhuts,
The Kaprias, the Kautas, the Jagutas[5] *all plume themselves on their religious merits.*
Some bathe at places of pilgrimage.
The Nirahars fast; the Aparasas touch nothing they deem impure;
Some hide and do not allow themselves to be seen.
Some in their own estimation know everything:
Nobody admitteth any deficiency in himself.
All say that they have found God;
But it is only the saint whom God uniteth with Himself.
All the above-mentioned efforts
I abandon, and seek God's protection;
Nanak, I fall at the Guru's feet.

The Guru confesses the benefits he has received from God:—

I fall at *God's* feet to conciliate Him;

[1] The Bhagauti in the Sikh writings is a worshipper of God. In the Guru's time the Bhagautis appear to have formed a separate sect.

[2] Bhagats enumerate nine forms of devotion. They are *shrawan*, or hearing God's praises; *kīrtan*, singing God's praises; *simiran*, remembering God; *bandan*, prostration before God; *dāsatwa*, menial service of God; *sakkyatwa*, believing God to be one's companion; *archan*, invocation of God; *ātam naiwedan*, sacrificing one's life for God; *pādsewan*, worship of God's feet.

[3] The Eksabdis, on going to a house for alms, repeat the one word 'Alakh' or Alekh, the Invisible. If they receive nothing, they walk quietly away.

[4] The Bahurūpīas and Kautas are men who perform in religious dramas.

[5] Men who watch at night.

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The true Guru hath blended me with God; there is none so great as He.

The Lord of the earth is my Beloved;

He is dearer to me than mother, father,

Sisters, brothers, and all friends; there is none like Thee, O God.

By Thine order Sawan [1] hath come,

And I have yoked the plough of truth.

I begin to sow the Name in the hope that God in His beneficence will cause it to yield heaps of corn.

Having met the Guru, I recognize the one God;

I know nothing of any one else.

God appointed me to the one duty; [2] as it pleaseth Him, so I perform it.

Do you, my brethren, eat and enjoy yourselves;

The Guru hath invested me with a robe of honour in God's court.

I have become master in my own village; [3] I have taken its five claimants [4] captive.

I have entered Thine asylum, O *God*.

The five claimants have now become my tenants.

None of them can interfere with me; [5] Nanak, the village is *now* thickly populated. [6]

I am a sacrifice and devote myself to Thee,

O my Sovereign; on Thee alone I meditate.

Thou hast re-peopled a ruined village: I am a sacrifice unto Thee.

I continually meditate on God, the Beloved,

And thus obtain the fruit my heart desireth.

God hath arranged all mine affairs and appeased the hunger of my soul.

I have abandoned all mine avocations,

[1] The month when the rains begin in India. Here it means human life.

[2] To lead men to holiness.

[3] That is, my own body.

[4] The five evil passions or deadly sins who claim a partnership in the village of the body.

[5] Literally—Can put his ear forward to *hear complaints against me.*

[6] The body is now full of merits instead of demerits.

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And I serve the true God.

God firmly tied the Name, the receptacle of the nine treasures in my robe.

I have found the comfort of comforts.

The Guru hath implanted his instruction in my heart.

The true Guru placing his hand on my forehead hath shown me God.

I have built a true temple :

I search for and bring into it the disciples of the Guru.

I bathe their feet, fan them, and ever prostrate myself before them

Having heard of the Guru I went to him :

He implanted in my heart the *virtues* of the Name, of charity, and of ablutions.

The whole world, Nanak, having embarked on the true boat [1] hath been saved,

The whole creation waiteth on Thee,O Lord, day and night.

Lend Thine ear and hear my supplication.

I have seen and examined every one ; it is Thou alone who graciously deliverest us.

The order of the Merciful hath now been issued

That no one should annoy another ;

That all should dwell in peace, and that this should be a benign reign.[2]

Nectar falleth in torrents.

I speak as the Master inspireth me.

I am very proud of Thee, O Lord ; do Thou accept me.

Thy saints ever hunger for Thee ;

O God, fulfil my desires.

Giver of comfort, grant me a sight of Thee and embrace me:

I have found none so great as Thou.

Thou art in the earth, the heavens, and the nether regions ;

Thou art contained in every place, saith Nanak ; Thou art the true support of the saints.

I am the wrestler of the Lord :

Having met the Guru I put on a tall turban.[3]

[1] Having clung to the Sikh religion.

[2] The reign of the Sikh religion.

[3] Victorious wrestlers in former times were decorated with lofty

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All are assembled for the wrestling ; God Himself is seated to behold it.

The music of the drums and clarions striketh up ;

The wrestlers enter the arena and walk round.

I have vanquished the five youths—*the deadly sins* ;—the Guru patted me on the back.

All came together *to see the wrestling*,

And they shall take their various ways homewards.

The holy have obtained profit ; the perverse have lost even their capital.

Thou art devoid of colour and marks ;

O God, Thou appearest ever present.

O Lord of excellences, Thy saints hear *Thy praises*, meditate on Thee, and love Thee.

I am God's servant in every age.

The Guru cut the rope of *ignorance which bound me.*

I will not again engage in wrestling ; Nanak hath searched and found this opportunity *of deliverance.*

CHHANT.

The happiness of the saints :—

When the Lord is merciful, men bathe in the dust of the saints' feet.

Nanak hath obtained all things in God who is wealth and property.

Beautiful, O Lord, is Thy house ; the saints live in the hope of rest in it.

Their souls and bodies dissolve in love on remembering God's name, and they drink its nectar ;

They drink its nectar, live immortal livès, and while drinking deem the water of sin insipid.

When my God the Lord of the earth became merciful, I deemed the saints' society a treasure.

O beloved saints, all happiness and abundant joy are theirs who have sewed God's jewel in their hearts.

They forget not for a moment the support of life ; O Nanak, they live by repeating God's name.

turbans. The Nihangs, a small sect of Sikhs. quote this line in justification of their tall head-dress.

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MAJH.

Gratitude to God who treats all men as equal.

That season is pleasant when I remember Thee, O God ;
That work is pleasant which is done for Thee.
O Thou who bestoweth on all, that heart is happy in which Thou dwellest.
Thou art our universal Father.
In Thine inexhaustible storehouse are all treasures.
He on whom Thou bestoweth is satisfied and satiated, and he is Thy worshipper.
Every one reposeth his hopes in Thee.
Thou abidest in every heart,
All are partners in Thee ; Thou disownest none.

Favour with God is likened to a woman's happy married life :—

In the house where the Beloved celebrated His marriage
Female friends sang songs of rejoicing,
Where the Spouse hath adorned the bride, there reign joy and pleasure.
The woman who is dear to her husband, is beautiful, clever, skilful,
Well conducted, and distinguished :
She is accomplished, and very fortunate ;
She possesseth sons and is a virtuous wife ;
She hath all decorations, and it is she who is wise.
She who is adorned with the love of her Spouse, is of good family and a queen.
The greatness of her whom her Spouse
Hath embraced cannot be described.
The married life of her who hath the support of the love of the Unapproachable and Inapprehensible Spouse shall be eternal.

The Hindu Shastars and religious ceremonies are of no avail :—

I have searched and searched in the desire to behold Thee, O God ;

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I have traversed every variety of forest.

Is there any one who will bring me my God—who is devoid of qualities, and yet possesseth all qualities—and introduce me to Him ?

Man may recite aloud the wisdom of the six Shastars ;

He may worship, apply frontal marks, and bathe at places of pilgrimage :

He may perform the nivali feat, and sit in the eighty-four postures of the Jogis, but he shall obtain no comfort therefrom.

Man may perform devotion and penance for many years ;

He may travel and roam over the earth ;

Yet peace shall not enter his heart for a moment, and his soul shall wander again and again.

God being merciful hath caused me to meet the saint.

My soul and body are refreshed, and I have obtained consolation.

The immortal God resideth in my heart, and Nanak singeth to God a song of rejoicing.

Praise and prayer to the Almighty :—

Darling God, merciful, joyous,

Deep, profound, endless, Sustainer of the earth,

Lofty, unfathomable, eternal Lord, I live by remembering Thee.

Destroyer of sorrow, priceless treasure,

Without fear or enmity, unfathomable, unequalled,

Deathless, unborn, self-existent ; the mind becometh refreshed by remembering Thee.

O God, Thou joyous One, be ever with me.

Thou art the Cherisher of high and low.

Thy name is the elixir which satisfieth my heart ; under the Guru's instructions let me drink the nectar.

In pain or pleasure I meditate on Thy name, O dear One :

This wisdom have I obtained from the Guru.

Thou art Nanak's support, O God ; by Thy love I shall be saved.

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The Guru expresses his love for God by familiar similes :—

Thou art, O God, an ocean of water ; I am Thy fish :
I a chatrik thirst for the drops of Thy name.
In Thee is my hope, for Thee I thirst, my heart is absorbed in Thee.
As a child is satisfied by drinking milk,
As a poor man is happy on finding wealth,
As a thirsty man is refreshed by drinking water, so is my soul happy with God.
As a lamp shineth in the darkness,
As *a woman's* hopes are fulfilled on beholding her spouse,
As one becometh happy on meeting one's beloved, so is my soul gladdened with God's love.
The saints have put me on God's road,
And being merciful have made me intimate with Him.
God is mine ; I am His slave ; Nanak, the Guru hath given me the true Word.

God's name is the sweetest and most potent of all relishes :—

The ambrosial Name is ever pure.
God is the bestower of comfort and the Destroyer of sorrow.
I have tasted and tried all other relishes, but to my mind God is the sweetest dainty of all.
They who drink the nectar of His name are satisfied,
And become immortal on possessing it.
The treasure of the Name is obtained by him in whose heart the Guru's word abideth.
He who obtaineth the essence of God's name is satisfied and cloyed.
He who hath obtained God's sweets wavereth not.
God's name is obtained by him on whose forehead favourable destiny *was recorded.*
God hath come into the possession of one man, the Guru, from whom many receive favours.
On meeting him many obtain salvation.
The pious obtain the treasure of the Name, but few, O Nanak, are they who have seen them.

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God's praises :—

God is my ocean, God is perfection, God is my wealth ;
O deep and profound One, Thou art the boon of my life.
He who toucheth the Guru's feet enjoyeth countless pleasures and delights.
They who have seen God are pure,
And save all their brethren and friends.
My Lord is inaccessible, and inapprehensible ; I meditate on Him, the True One, by the kindness of the Guru.
A few by great good fortune have obtained a sight of Him,
Whom men make every effort to find.
His palace, exalted, infinite, and invisible, the Guru hath shown me.
Deep and profound is Thine ambrosial name, O God ;
He in whose heart it dwelleth obtaineth deliverance.
Nanak, they whose bonds are all cut off by the Guru are absorbed in God.

The Guru delights in his devotion :—

By God's favour I meditate on His name,
And by His mercy I sing a song of joy.
All your lives whether standing, sitting, sleeping, or waking, meditate on God,
The holy man hath given me the Name as medicine ;
He hath cut off my sins, and I have become pure :
All my pains have departed, all my pangs have been assuaged, and I have become happy.
He whom my Beloved assisteth
Shall be delivered from the ocean of the world.
Why should he who recognizeth the Guru as true be afraid?
Since I have obtained the society of the saints
And met the Guru, the demon of pride hath departed.
At every breath Nanak singeth God's praises ; the true Guru hath cast a veil over his sins.

The condition of God's worshipper :—

God pervadeth His worshipper as warp and woof ;
God, the Bestower of comfort, cherisheth His worshipper.

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I draw water, I fan, I grind corn for him, and am ever ready to do the work of the Lord.

God hath cut off my chains and applied me to His worship.

The order of the Lord is pleasing to the worshipper's heart.

He acteth as is pleasing to the Lord ; he becometh versed in spiritual and wordly knowledge.

Thou art wise, O God ; Thou knowest all things.

God's worshippers enjoy His love.

What belongeth to God belongeth to His worshipper ; the worshipper is distinguished in the company of his Lord.

He whom God hath clothed with His robe of honour,

Shall not again be called on for his account.

Nanak is a sacrifice to that worshipper ; he is a gem of the Deep and Unfathomable.

The devotion of the householder is superior to that of the anchoret :—

Everything is found at home, nothing abroad :

He who searcheth abroad is lost in doubt.

He who by the Guru's favour hath found God in his heart, is happy in mind and body.

A stream of nectar raineth *on him* in torrents.

The man who drinketh it after hearing and reflecting on the Word,

Rejoiceth and is glad day and night, and ever sporteth with God.

Separated from God through many births, I have now found Him,

And though dried up have revived by the Guru's favour.

Having met pious men I have obtained excellent wisdom, and meditated on the Name.

As waves blend with water,

So light is blended with light.

Saith Nanak, the doors of error have been opened for its escape, and there shall be no more wandering.[1]

The Guru's devotion to the holy :—

I am a sacrifice to him who hath heard Thy praises ;

[1] *Jaulān* has two meanings—chains or wandering.

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I am a sacrifice to him who uttereth Thy name ;

I am ever a sacrifice to him who worshippeth Thee with heart and soul.

I will wash his feet and behold

That merciful person who walketh in Thy path.

I will bestow my heart on that friend of mine who meeting the Guru hath found God.

Greatly fortunate are they who know Thee ;

Among crowds they live apart unaffected by them ;

In the company of the saints they subdue all passions and cross the terrible ocean.

Having renounced pride, insolence, and the darkness of worldly love,

My soul hath entered their asylum.

Ye saints, grant Nanak the gift of the name of that inacccessible and unfathomable God.

God pervades creation :—

Thou art the tree ; Thy branch [1] hath blossomed ;

From being small Thou hast become great.

Thou art an ocean, Thou art its foam and its bubbles ; there is nothing seen besides Thee.

Thou art the string, Thou art the beads *of the rosary*,

Thou art its knots, Thou art its chief bead.

God is in the beginning, the middle, and the end, and none besides is seen.

O Bestower of comfort, Thou possessest no attributes, and yet Thou possessest all.[2]

Thou dwellest at ease ; Thou art the Enjoyer ; Thou art saturated with love.

Thou knowest Thine own affairs ; it is Thou who remem-berest Thyself.[3]

Thou art God, and again Thou art Thine own worshipper ;

Thou art concealed, O God, and again manifest.

[1] The world which has been expanded from God.

[2] *Nirgun sargun.* God is said to possess no qualities when He has drawn the world within Him. He is said to possess all qualities when He projects matter from Him to form creation.

[3] Man remembers and worships God through Him as He is seated in each person's heart.

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The slave Nanak ever singeth Thy praises : look on him with a little kindness.

Man is happy on meeting the Guru and hearing his universal instruction :—

O God, Thy Word is nectar :
On hearing it my final emancipation is obtained.
On beholding the true Guru the burning of my mind hath been quenched, and it hath become cool ;
Happiness is obtained and sorrow fleeth far away.
When the saints repeat God's name,
Water, dry land, and lakes are completely filled with it ; there is no place without it.
The Creator showing mercy
Cherisheth all men and lower animals.
By the kind, merciful, and compassionate One all living things are satisfied and satiated.
God made the forests, the glades, and the three worlds :
He created them all in a moment.
Under the Guru's instruction, Nanak, adore Him who fulfilleth the desires of the mind.

God's relationship to man :—

Thou art my father, Thou art my mother,
Thou art my kinsman, Thou art my brother ;
Thou art everywhere my protector ; then why should I feel fear and anxiety ?
By Thy favour I recognize Thee ;
Thou art my shelter, Thou art mine honour.
Besides Thee there is none other ; the whole world is the arena of Thy play.
Men and lower animals all hast Thou created ;
Thou didst appoint them to whatever duties pleased Thee.
Everything Thou hast created is Thine ; there is nothing ours.
I have obtained great comfort by meditating on Thy name,
And my heart is refreshed by singing Thy praises.
The perfect Guru hath congratulated me ; Nanak hath overcome his difficulties.

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Divine instruction refreshes the mind:—

By God's order the rain beginneth to fall.
Let us, my friends, having met the saints, repeat His name.
I have obtained coolness, peace, composure, and comfort, since God Himself infused coolness into my heart.

By God's grace the Guru's instruction has been promulgated:—

The Lord God hath become merciful;
Rain hath fallen everywhere.
The Creator, compassionate and ever merciful to the poor, hath bestowed comfort on us,
And cherished His human beings and lower animals
As a mother taketh care of her child.
Thou, O Lord, art the Destroyer of grief, an Ocean of comfort, and Thou givest sustenance to all.
The Kind One filleth sea and land:
I ever devote myself and am a sacrifice to Him;
I ever meditate on Him night and day, who in one moment saveth all beings.
Since God Himself preserveth them,
All their sorrows and afflictions depart.
When the Name is repeated,
And God looketh on us with favour, O Nanak, the soul and body are refreshed.

The universal happiness produced by the diffusion of the Guru's instruction:—

Rain hath fallen; God made it fall:
He hath caused all men and animals to dwell in comfort:
Their sufferings have departed, and they have obtained true happiness by remembering God's name.
He whose they are cherisheth them;
The supreme God hath become their Protector.
My God hath heard my supplication, and my labour hath been successful.
By the Guru's favour I have beheld Him
Who is the Benefactor of all living things.
The things that dwell in sea and land, beneath the earth,

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and in the firmament, are all satisfied, and I shall now wash the feet of holy men.

I am ever and ever a sacrifice to Him
Who fulfilleth the heart's desires.

O Nanak, the Destroyer of pain hath bestowed this boon on me, and I am dyed with the love of Him who is the abode of pleasure.

Praise and thanksgiving :—

My soul and body are Thine ; my wealth also is Thine ;
Thou art my Lord and Master ;
My soul and body are all Thy capital ; my power is from Thee, O God.

Ever and ever Thou alone art the Giver of happiness.
I bow and bow and touch Thy feet.

If it please Thee, and Thou give me work, O Merciful One, I will perform it.

O God, it is from Thee alone I receive ; Thou art mine ornament.

Whatever Thou givest I treat as happiness.

Wherever Thou placest me, there shall be heaven for me : Thou art the Cherisher of all.

Nanak having remembered Thee hath obtained happiness.
He hath sung Thy praises all day long ;
All his heart's desires have been fulfilled, and he shall never more be unhappy.

God sent the Guru to comfort the world :—

The supreme God hath sent the cloud,[1]
And hath caused it to rain on sea and land in all directions.
Comfort hath ensued, all thirst is quenched, and there is joy everywhere.

An exhortation to holiness :–

My soul and body are dyed with the beloved God.
Sacrifice to Him all that thou hast :
Sing God's praises the live-long day, and forget Him not even for a moment.

[1] The true Guru.

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He who meditateth on God's name in the company of holy men,
Is my beloved saint and friend.
In the company of holy men thou shalt cross over the world's ocean and cut Death's noose.
By God's service the four boons [1] are obtained.
Repeat His name who is the Tree of Life unseen and inscrutable.
The Guru hath cut off my sins of lust and anger, and my hopes have been fulfilled.
The mortal who hath perfect good fortune
Shall meet God in the company of holy men.
Nanak, he within whose heart the Name abideth shall be acceptable, whether a householder or an anchoret.

Prayers ought *only* to be offered for worthy objects :—

If any one pray for worldly objects,
He shall not take long to perish.
He who ever worshippeth the Supreme Being, shall on meeting the Guru abide everlasting.
He in whose heart there is love and devotion,
Ever waketh day and night singing God's praises.
God will take his arm and blend with Himself him whom He hath destined to receive from Him.
God's lotus feet dwell in the hearts of the saints.
Without God's *assistance* all men are robbed.
Ever desire the dust of the saints' feet : the name of the True One is their ornament.
Whether standing or sitting sing God's name :
By remembering it a permanent boon is obtained.
O God be merciful to Nanak ; what Thou doest must be endured.

Majh Ashtapadi

The Guru replies to several questions of his Sikhs :—

Who is saved ? Who hath found the right way ?
Who hath divine knowledge ? Who is the preacher ?

1 *Dharm* (faith), *arth* (wealth), *kām* (the fulfilment of desires), *mokhsh* (salvation).

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Who is householder ? Who is anchoret ? Who hath found God's price ?

How is man bound ? How is he set free ?

How shall he escape from transmigration ?

Who doeth good works ? Who doeth unselfish works ? Who speaketh of God and causeth others to speak of Him ?

Who is happy ? Who afflicted ?

Who turneth towards the Guru ? Who turneth away from him ?

How is God met ? How doth man separate from Him ? Who shall explain this to me ?

What is that word by which the mind's wandering ceaseth ?

What is that instruction by which man may bear weal and woe alike ?

What is that way by which man may meditate on the Supreme God ? What is that way by which man may sing His praises ?

The following are the replies seriatim to the above questions :—

The believer is saved : the believer hath found the right way ;

The believer possesseth divine knowledge ; the believer is the preacher.

Blest is the believer, whether householder or anchoret ; the believer hath found God's price.

By pride man is bound ; by the Guru's instruction he is freed.

The believer escapeth from transmigration.

The believer performeth good works ; the believer performeth unselfish works ; whatever the believer doeth is acceptable.

The believer is happy ; the unbeliever is afflicted.

The believer listeneth to the Guru ; the unbeliever turneth away from him.

The believer meeteth God ; the unbeliever is separated from Him—the Guru hath explained this.

The Guru's instruction is the Word by which the mind's wanderings cease ;

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By the Guru's instruction woe and weal are borne alike.
The Guru's teaching is the way by which the supreme God is meditated on, and man singeth His praises.
Thou Thyself hast made the whole creation.
Thou art the Cause of causes, and hast established everything.
Saith Nanak, from being one Thou hast become endless, and in the One *the Endless* is absorbed.

God's praises :—

God is indestructible, then what anxiety can there be ?[1]
God is Omnipotent, so His slave is perfectly happy.
O Giver of life, soul, honour, and happiness, we obtain happiness from what Thou doest for us.
I am a sacrifice and my life is a sacrifice to that holy man to whose soul and body Thou art pleasing.
Thou art my mountain ;[2] Thou art my shelter ; none can rival Thee.
He to whom Thy works are agreeable
Hath seen Thee, O Supreme God, in every heart.
Thou art the one sole God contained in every place.
Thou gratifiest all the heart's desires :
Thy storehouses are filled with devotion and love.
He whom Thou mercifully protectest shall be absorbed in Thee by perfect good works.
God hath brought man to the surface out of the blind well.
He mercifully regardeth His servant with a favouring eye.
The servant singeth the perfect and immortal God's praises in repeating and hearing which there is no end.
In this world and the next Thou art the Protector, *O Lord* ;
Thou cherishest the child in its mother's womb.
The fire of Maya cannot affect those who are dyed with God's love and sing His praises.
What excellences of Thine can I remember and relate ?
In my soul and body I behold Thee.

[1] That is, God will ever watch over man.
[2] To which to retreat for protection.

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Thou art my Friend, my Saint, and my Lord ; I know none but Thee.

He whose helper Thou art, O God,

Feeleth no hot wind.

Thou art the Lord ; Thou givest comfort to those who seek Thy protection ; by repeating Thy name in the company of the saints, Thou becomest manifest.

Thou art exalted, unfathomable, infinite, and inestimable.

Thou art the true Lord ; I am Thy servant and slave ;

Thou art the King, true is Thy sovereignty. Nanak is a sacrifice unto Thee.

The Twelve Months of Guru Arjan

Majh

O God, mercifully unite with Thee those who by their past acts are separated from Thee !

Weary of wandering in the four corners of the world and in every direction, we have come to Thy protection.

A cow without milk is of no avail :

Without water the tree withereth and beareth no fruit.

If we meet not the Lord God, the Friend, how shall we find rest ?

The city or village or house where God is not seen is as a furnace.

All decorations, betel, and tasteful viands are unstable together with the body.

Without the Lord God all friends are as the god of death.

Nanak's supplication is, ' Mercifully grant me Thy name ;

' O Lord God, whose abode is immovable, unite me with Thee.'

In Chet worship God and you shall greatly rejoice.

You shall obtain Him by meeting saints and repeating His name.

It is only those who have found their God, whose advent into the world is of account :

Vain is his birth who liveth even for a moment without Him.

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God is equally contained in sea and land, the nether regions, the firmament, and the forests.

With how much pain shall man reckon if God enter not his heart?

They who repeat God's name are very fortunate.

Nanak, my mind desireth, my mind thirsteth for a sight of God.

I shall touch his feet who causeth me to meet God in the month of Chet.

In Baisakh how can they find consolation who are separated from God, in whose hearts there is no love,

Who forget Him the Friend, and attach themselves to deceitful mammon?

Son, wife, wealth remain not; God alone perisheth not.

The whole world is strangled in its love of false occupations.

All but the name of the one God shall be lost on man's last journey.

He who forgetteth God is ruined; there is none but Him.

Pure is the fame of those who are attached to the feet of the Beloved.

Nanak's prayer, O God, is—'Unite me with Thee that I may obtain Thee.'

Baisakh is then delightful when the saints cause man to meet God.

In Jeth man should unite with God before whom all bow.

He who clingeth to the skirt of God, the Friend, shall never be bound by any one.

God's name is like gems and pearls which none may steal.

In God are all the loves which delight the mind.

What God desireth He doeth, and creatures act according to His will.

They whom God hath made His own are blest.

Could men on their own account[1] meet God, why should they weep in separation?

[1] Without the interposition of the Guru.

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Nanak, God is obtained by association with the saints; and they who obtain Him are happy.

In Jeth the playful God is obtained by the fortunate for whom it hath been so recorded.

Asarh[1] is a burning month for him to whom the Lord God is not near.

He who forsaketh God the life of the world and resteth his hopes on man,

Shall be ruined by his love of mammon, and shall wear Death's halter around his neck.

As man sowed, *in a previous life*, so was the destiny recorded on his forehead, and so hath he reaped.

When the night *of human life* hath passed, man regretteth and departeth without hope.

They who meet the saints shall be released in God's court.

O God, show Thy mercy unto me that I may thirst for a sight of Thee.

Nanak representeth—O God, there is none but Thee.

Asarh is pleasant for him in whose heart dwell God's feet.

In Sawan happy is the woman who loveth God's lotus feet.

Her mind and body are imbued with true love, and her one support is the Name.

The love of worldly pleasures is false; everything we see shall become ashes.

Pleasant are the drops of God's nectar; he shall drink them who meeteth saints.

The woods and glades rejoice with God the omnipotent and unequalled.

My mind longeth to meet God; His favour shall cause me to meet Him.

I am ever a sacrifice to my companions who have met God.

Nanak, God mercifully regenerateth men with the Word.

[1] Called *Hār* in Guru Nānak's *Twelve Months*.

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Sawan is pleasant for those who clasp God's name to their hearts.

In Bhadon she who loveth mammon is lost in doubt.

Though she have hundreds of thousands of decorations, they are of none avail.

They whom man loved leave him in a moment.

He wringeth his hands, his body trembleth, and changeth from black to white.

On the very day his body perisheth men call out 'ghost!'

The myrmidons of Death seize and take away *the soul*, and tell no one their secret.[1]

As man soweth, so shall he reap the field of his works.

Nanak, God giveth His feet as a boat to him who hath sought His protection.

They who love the Guru, their saviour, shall not go to hell in Bhadon.

In Assu ariseth the pang of love--how man can meet God.

The mind and body greatly thirst for a sight of some one to come and cause us to meet God.

I fall at the feet of the saints who support me in my love.

How can any one obtain happiness but in God? there is no place beside.

They who have tasted the juice of love are satiated and cloyed.

Humbling thyself make this supplication, 'O God, attach me to Thy skirt!'

They whom God the Spouse united with Himself shall never be separated from Him.

Nanak, there is no other shelter than God.

In Assu they dwell happy to whom God showeth mercy.

In Kartik they who do bad acts cannot impute the blame to others.

They who forget God suffer from every disease.

[1] They give no previous intimation of their visit.

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They who have turned their faces from God, are separated from Him at every birth.

All the sweets of mammon become bitter for them in a moment.

No one will mediate for them; to whom shall they make their daily complaints?

Nothing resulteth from man's own efforts; *he obtaineth* what was recorded in his original destiny.

My Lord is found by good fortune; then shall all pains of separation depart.

O God, save Nanak, and release him from this prison.

If in Kartik man obtain the society of the saints all his anxieties shall depart.

The month of Maghar is beautiful for those who sit with their beloved God.

How can their glory be told whom God blendeth with Himself?

The bodies and minds of those who have the saints for their companions rejoice in the Lord.

They who are deprived of the society of the saints dwell alone;

Their pain never departeth; they are bound in the thrall of Death.

They who have enjoyed their Lord are seen ever standing in His service.

Their necklaces are set with God for gems, jewels, and rubies.

Nanak desireth the dust of the feet of those who fall for shelter at God's door.

They who worship God in Maghar shall never be born again.

In Poh cold shall never be felt by those whom the Lord God hath embraced.

God's lotus feet have entered my heart, and I desire to behold Him.

Take shelter in God and His service shall be thy gain.

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On meeting the holy sing God's praises and sin shall not affect thee.

Thou shalt be blended with what thou hast sprung from; wherefore be absorbed in true love.

He whom the Supreme Being hath taken by the hand shall never be separated from Him.

I am a hundred thousand times a sacrifice to God the Friend, the unapproachable and unfathomable.

Nanak hath fallen at God's door: it is to His honour *to protect him.*

Poh is agreeable and bringeth all happiness to him whom God pardoneth.

In Magh bathe in the dust of the saints' feet;

Meditate on God's name, and bestow it upon all;

So shall the filth of the sins of births be washed away, and pride vanish from thy heart.

Lust and anger shall not seduce, and the dog covetousness shall be destroyed.

The world praiseth those who walk in the true way.

Mercy to human beings is more acceptable than bathing at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage, and than all alms *offered there*:

He on whom God mercifully bestoweth it is a wise man.

Nanak is a sacrifice to those who have met their Lord.

In Magh they to whom the perfect Guru is kind are called the pure.

In Phagun they enjoy happiness to whom God hath manifested Himself.

The saints who render man assistance with God have mercifully blended me with Him.

Since then my couch is beautiful; I possess all happiness, and there is no room for sorrow.

My desires have been fulfilled; I am very fortunate in having obtained God as my Spouse.

My companions, come to me, sing a song of rejoicing, and chant the hymns of the Lord.

Nobody appeareth like God; no one is equal to Him.

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He hath prepared for me this world and the next, and given me a stable position.

He hath rescued me from the ocean of the world, and I shall not again have to run through births.

My tongue is but one, while manifold are His attributes : Nanak is saved by falling at His feet :

In Phagun ever praise Him who hath not a particle of avarice.

The affairs of those who meditated on the Name have been adjusted.

They who adore God the perfect Guru shall be found genuine in His court.

God's feet are the basis of all comforts ; through them man crosseth over the terrible and dangerous ocean.

They who have obtained love and devotion burn not in sin.

Their falsehood hath vanished, their worldliness hath disappeared, and they are filled to the brim with the truth.

They serve God the supreme Being, and put Him alone in their hearts.

All months, days, and minutes are good for him on whom God looketh with favour.

Nanak craveth the boon of a sight of Thee, O God ; be Thou merciful unto him.

GAURI

An inquirer asked the Guru in the first two lines of the following how final rest and God were obtained. The Guru duly replied :—

How is comfort found, O my brother ?

How shall God the helper be obtained ?

There is no comfort in the house *whose master saith* ' All this wealth is mine ' ;

Nor *in dwelling in* a lofty and beautifully built mansion.

In such deceptive avarice man loseth his human life.

He is pleased on beholding his elephants and his horses,

The assemblage of his army, his mace-bearers, and his servants ;

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But on their account, there is a halter of pride round his neck.

Were man to rule over the whole world,
Enjoy pleasures and embrace many women,
It would be as if a beggar became a king in a dream.
One comfort the true Guru hath pointed out to me—
'Whatever God doeth is pleasing to His saints.'
Slave Nanak, he who destroyeth his pride shall be absorbed in God.
In this way comfort is found, O my brother;
Thus God the Helper is obtained.

Since God is everywhere contained, man may lead a holy life as a householder :—

Why wander? Who would wander
When God is contained in the water, dry land, the earth, and in the firmament?
The holy are saved; the perverse lose their honour.
None can equal him
Whom the merciful God protecteth.
Since the one infinite Being pervadeth all things,
Be thou free from care and sleep happy:
God knoweth everything which happeneth
The perverse are dying of thirst for mammon;
They wander through many births on account of their destiny writ from the beginning.
As man soweth, so shall he eat.
On beholding God, the heart delighteth;
The light of God is everywhere manifested.
God hath fulfilled all Nanak's desires.

Man after long transmigration having obtained human birth, ought to endeavour to utilize it and work out his deliverance :—

In how many births wert thou a worm or a moth!
In how many births an elephant, a fish, or a deer!
In how many births a bird or a serpent!
In how many births wert thou yoked as a horse or an ox!

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Meet the Lord of the world—this is the time to meet Him.
After a long period this human body hath been formed for thee.
In how many births wert thou created in rocks and mountains!
In how many births wert thou aborted from the womb!
In how many births wert thou born as a vegetable!
Thou didst wander through the eighty-four lakhs of existences.
Human birth having now been obtained by thee, associate with the saints,
Perform service, repeat God's name under the guidance of the Guru,
And renounce pride, falsehood, and insolence.
If thou be dead when alive, thou shalt be acceptable in God's court.
O God, whatever hath been or shall be is Thy work.
There is none other fit to perform it.
Man shall meet Thee, O Lord, if Thou cause him to do so.
Saith Nanak, sing God's praises.

Man in his present state of probation ought to practise holiness :—

Sow the Name in this productive soil,[1]
And thy desires shall be accomplished ;
Thou shalt obtain the fruit of thy labour and the fear of Death shall be dispelled.
Ever sing God's attributes and praises ;
Clasp His name to thy heart,
And thou shalt quickly attain thine object.
Fix thine attention upon God,
And thou shalt obtain honour at His court.
Abandon all thy tricks and devices of speech,
And cling to the feet of holy men.
He in whose power all men are,
Shall never be separated from us, but shall be with us alway.

[1] That is, in the human body. In his Sanskrit Dictionary Apte translates *karm bhūmi*, this world, a place of probation.

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Abandon shifts ; grasp His protection,
And in a moment thou shalt obtain deliverance.
Know that He is ever near thee.
Receive God's commands as true and obey them.
Under the Guru's instruction efface thyself
And repeat God's name, O Nanak.

Man ought to show gratitude to God for His many favours :—

During the eight watches of the day meditate on that God
Who made thee a jewel out of earth,
Who carefully preserved thee in the womb,
And who bestowed on thee renown and greatness.
O All-pervading, may I obtain the dust of Thy saints' feet !
O men, meet the Guru and meditate on my Lord.
My mind forgetteth not that God,
Who turneth a foolish man into a preacher,
Who turneth a senseless into a sensible man,
And by whose favour the nine treasures are obtained.
May I day and night at every breath remember Him
Who giveth a home to the homeless,
Who giveth honour to the unhonoured,
Who fulfilleth all desires,
And by whose favour the chains of mammon are cut off !
By the favour of the Guru poison hath become nectar.
Saith Nanak, nothing is accomplished by man—
Praise ye the Preserver.

The advantages of devotion :—

Hear the Word of God and thy uncleanness shall depart ;
Thou shalt become very pure and obtain enduring [1] happiness.
By good fortune the society of holy men is obtained,
And love to the Supreme Being produced.
God saveth His servants who repeat His name,
And conducteth them across the great sea of fire.

[1] *Sail*, a rock or a mountain.

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By singing God's praises the heart is refreshed,
And the sins of many births blotted out.
I behold in my heart God's whole treasure ;
Why should I now go searching for it abroad ?
When the Master is kind,
His servant's labour is already accomplished.
Remember, remember, remember the attributes of Him,
Who having cut off thy shackles hath made thee His servant.
There is but one God in the heart and in every place :
He filleth the whole world.
The perfect Guru hath dispelled all my doubts.
By remembering God, Nanak hath obtained comfort.

The human race tends to degenerate :—

They who are dead have passed away ;
They who survive stand with their loins girded :
Looking to the occupations in which the former were engaged,
The latter have contracted twice their load of mammon.
They are entangled in things which are perishable,
And think not of the last hour.
The foolish person is bound by desire,
And involved in lust, anger, and worldly love :
Dharmraj standeth over him :
He eateth poison deeming it to be sweet, *and saith*
'I shall take mine enemy captive and punish him ;
Who shall dare set foot on my soil ?
I am a pandit, I am clever and wise.'
Attached to the world man knoweth not the Creator :
Only God knoweth His own state and condition.
What can one say ? How can any one describe Him ?
Man is engaged in whatever duties God appointed for him.
Every one prayeth to secure his own advantage.
Everything is Thine ; Thou art the Creator.
Thou hast no end or limits.
Bestow this boon upon Thy slave Nanak,
That he may never forget Thy name.

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They who without service to God are attached to mammon shall regret when it is too late :—

Man is not satisfied with vast wealth.
It is not sufficient for him to see many phases of life; *he desireth to see more*;
He is entangled with children and wife, deeming them his own;
But his *wealth* shall perish, and his *children and wife* become heaps of ashes;
Then shall you behold him lamenting without God's name.
Accursed the bodies, accursed the wealth of the lovers of mammon.

All wealth is God's; it is but given to man for brief use :—

As when one putteth a bag of money on the head of a forced labourer;
The money reacheth the master's house, but the labourer suffereth pain.
As when *a beggar* in a dream sitteth on a king's throne,
On opening his eyes *he findeth it* a baseless phantom.
As when a watchman is placed over another's field,
The field belongeth to its owner, and the watchman leaveth *when his business is done.*
Even though the watchman strive vigorously,
He shall not become owner of the field.
He to whom the empire *of the world* belongeth hath sent it as a dream.
He who made Maya hath infused avarice *into mankind.*
God Himself destroyeth, He Himself restoreth.
Nanak, offer thy supplication unto Him.

Men in previous births held high positions, but are not now happy until saints tell them of God :—

I have seen many forms and species of mammon;
With my pen I have written ingenious things on paper;
I have known what it is to be a chief, a king, a lord;
But with all that my mind was not satisfied.

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O, ye saints, show me that comfort,
By which my thirst may be quenched and my mind satisfied.
I had fleet horses and elephants to ride on,
Distilled aloe wood, sandal, couches, and beautiful women.
Actors sang for me at performances in the arena,
Yet with all that my heart was not satisfied.
Mine were thrones, courts, jewels, and carpets,
All fruits, beautiful gardens,
And the occupation of the chase, the sport of kings,
Yet my heart was not happy ; all was illusion and deception.
The saints of their kindness told me of the True One,
And in Him I found all comfort and joy.
Sing God's praises in the company of the saints ;
Saith Nanak, they are met by great good fortune.
He who hath God as his wealth is happy.
By God's mercy the company of the saints is obtained.

Men are entangled in mammon as birds in a net :—

Man thinketh that his body is his own ;
Again and again he clingeth to it.
Children, wives, and household are entanglements
Which prevent man from becoming the servant of God.
What is that way by which God's praises may be sung ?
What is that skill by which man may escape from mammon ?
What is for man's good he deemeth evil.
If one tell him the truth, he regardeth it as poison.[1]
He knoweth not what is for his profit or his loss.
That is how the infidel is entangled in the world.
The fool drinketh what is deadly poison for him,
And deemeth bitter the ambrosial Name.
He never approacheth the company of the saints ;
He wandereth through the eighty-four lakhs of existences.
Birds after enjoying pleasures of various descriptions,

[1] There is a Panjābi proverb—*Sach mirchān, jhūth gur ; pīr paisa, rann gur*. Truth is pepper, falsehood sugar, money is the spiritual guide, and woman the master.

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Are all caught in the same net.[1]
Saith Nanak, the perfect Guru hath cut the net
For whomsoever he is merciful.[2]

God's mercy and man's supplication :—

By Thy mercy, O God, the way is found ;
By Thy mercy the Name is meditated on ;
By Thy mercy man is released from his fetters ;
By Thy mercy pride is dispelled.
If Thou appoint me to Thy service I will perform it.
I can do nothing of myself, O God.
If it please Thee, I sing Thy word ;
If it please Thee, I call Thee the True One ;
If it please Thee, the true Guru is kind.
All happiness, O God, is obtained from Thy mercy.
Pure is the act which pleaseth Thee ;
True is the faith which pleaseth Thee.
The treasury of all excellences is with Thee.
Thou art the Lord, Thy servant *maketh Thee this* supplication—
'May my soul and body become pure through the love of God !
May I obtain all happiness in the society of the saints !
May my soul be dyed with Thy name ! '
This Nanak deemeth supreme happiness.

Of all relishes none so sweet as God's name :—

O my tongue, thy thirst departeth not for an instant,
However many sweets thou tasteth.
If thou now taste the sweetness of God,
Thou shalt be astonished on tasting it.
My beloved tongue, drink the nectar of *God's name* :
Steeped in this relish thou shalt be satiated.
O my tongue, sing thou God's praises ;
Every moment meditate on God.
The association of the saints is obtained by good fortune :

[1] Men are captured by mammon.
[2] To admit of his emancipation.

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Go to none but them, and hear no words but theirs.[1]
During the eight watches, O my tongue, adore
The supreme God, the unfathomable Lord,
And thou shalt be ever happy in this world and the next.
By singing His praises, O my tongue, thou shalt be beyond all price.
Plants and trees may burst into flower and fruit *and sweet may be their flavour*,
But God's name once tasted thou shalt never forsake.
No other relish[2] can equal it.
Saith Nanak, the Guru hath become my succourer.

God who resides in the heart is the great merchant with whom the saints deal :—

The heart is a building, the body is a fence constructed round it ;
Within it are countless things ;
Within it, we hear, dwelleth the Merchant.
Who are the dealers who enjoy credit with Him ?
Few there are who deal in the precious Name,
Who eat its nectar as food,
And devote their soul and body to God's service.
What is the way by which God will be pleased ?
Who is the man who will introduce me to that traffic ?
I will touch his feet and renounce all ideas of mine and thine.
How shall I reach the Merchant's palace ?
How shall I be invited to enter it ?
Thou art the great Merchant who hast millions of dealers.
Who is that benefactor who will associate me with them ?
Searching and searching I have found my home.
The true one hath shown me the priceless jewel.
Saith Nanak, by faith in the Guru
He will mercifully blend us with the Merchant.

[1] These two lines are also translated—
Only go to that association of the saints in which nothing is heard but God's name ;
It is obtained by good fortune.

[2] *Ras kas—Kas* is probably alliterative. Some suppose it to be a contraction of *kasela*, astringent, one of the six relishes of Indian cookery.

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The saints' occupation, attributes, and praises:—

Night and day *the pious* abide in the love of the one *God*.
They believe God ever with them;
They make *the repetition* of God's name their occupation;
They are satisfied and comforted by His sight.
On entering the asylum of the perfect Guru
They become enamoured of God, and their minds and bodies grow happy.
God's lotus feet are the support of their souls.
They behold Him alone and carry out His orders;
They deal in only one thing, they occupy themselves with only one thing;
They think of nothing but the Formless One;
They are free from both joy and sorrow;
They are ever separated from the world, and devoted to religion;
They are seen among the crowd, but are not of it;
They fix their attention on the supreme God.
How can I describe the glory of the saints?
Their wisdom is unfathomable, and cannot be sounded.
O supreme God, have mercy on me,
And bestow on Nanak the dust of Thy saints' feet.

The general prevalence of mammon:—

Maya is contained in the rejoicing and mourning diffused throughout the world;
She is contained in heaven, hell, and the incarnations;
She is contained in the rich, the poor, and those who are conspicuous for their splendour;
She is contained in covetousness which is the root of trouble;
She is contained *in the world* in various forms.
O God, the saints live by Thy protection, *and are not subject to Maya*.
Maya is contained in him who is intoxicated with intellectual pride;
She is contained in him who is attached to children and wife;
She is contained in elephants, horses, and other animals;

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She is contained in him who is intoxicated with the wine of beauty and youth ;

She is contained in kings, in the poor, *and in those addicted to* pleasures ;

She is contained in the songs and musical instruments heard at assemblies ;

She is contained in couches, in palaces, and their ornaments ;

She is contained in the evil passions *which render man* blind ;

She is contained in him who performeth religious ceremonies prompted by pride ;

She is contained in the family man ; she is contained in the anchoret ;

She is contained in human occupations and conduct ; she is contained in caste ;

She is contained in everything except in those who are imbued with God's love.

God hath cut off the entanglements of the saints ;
How can she be contained in them ?
Saith Nanak, Maya approacheth not those
Who have obtained the dust of the saints' feet.

While the senses are asleep, the deadly sins rob the body :—

The eyes sleep [1] while coveting others' property ;
The ears sleep on hearing tales of slander ;
The tongue sleepeth in the desire for the relish of sweet things ;
The mind sleepeth admiring mammon.
In this world few are watchful ;
They who are receive their boon whole.
All the senses are intoxicated with their own pleasures,
And take no thought of the body they inhabit ;
Wherefore the five plunderers and highway robbers
Fall upon its unguarded citadel to plunder it.
Neither father nor mother can protect man from them ;
Neither friend nor brother can protect man from them ;

[1] Sleep towards God, regard Him not.

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They are not restrained by bribes or diplomacy ;
They are only controlled by the society of the saints.
Have mercy on me, O God ;
Grant me the dust of the saints' feet for all my treasure.
He who meeting the true Guru is awake in the love of God,
O Nanak, hath the capital stock of *his human life* intact.
He to whom God is merciful is awake ;
His capital stock, wealth, and property remain whole.

God's praises and glory and the advantages of remembering Him :—

There is none besides Him
In whose power are lords and emperors ;
In whose power is the whole world ;
Who hath created everything.
Address thy supplication to the true Guru,
That he may arrange all thine affairs.
His court is the most exalted of all ;
His name is the prop of all the saints.
The Lord whose glory shineth in every heart,
Is contained in everything, and filleth *creation.*
By remembering Him the abode of sorrow is demolished ;
By remembering Him Death molesteth us not ;
By remembering Him what is withered becometh green ;
By remembering Him the sinking stone floateth ;
Victory be ever to the society of the saints !
God's name is the support of the lives of His servants.
Saith Nanak, hear, O God, my supplication—
By the favour of the saints, grant me to dwell in Thy name.

The advantages of repeating and writing God's name :—

Ever repeat God's praises with thy tongue,
And thou shalt obtain happiness, O my brother and friend.
Write with pen, paper, and ink
The ambrosial word of God's name.
Thy hand shall then become pure,

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And the entanglements of Maya shall be destroyed.
By thus acting all thy sins shall depart.
By remembering God Death shall not punish thee ;
The myrmidons of Dharmraj shall not look at thee ;
And even though engaged with the world it shall not fascinate thee.
Thou shalt be saved thyself, and shalt save the world
By repeating the name of the one God.
When God's name hath entered thy heart,
Make use of it thyself and advise others *to do so.*
He on whose forehead the wealth *of the Name*
Hath been written, shall repeat it.
Sing God's praises throughout the day :
Saith Nanak, I am a sacrifice unto Him.

Men act perversely :—

What belongeth to another we deem our own ;
Our hearts are attached to what ought to be abandoned.
Say how shall the Lord of the earth be found.
We love what is forbidden ;
What is false we deem true.
The heart is in no wise attached to what is true.
We go crookedly by the left way ;
Leaving the straight way we wend backwards.
God is the Lord of the two worlds—
Nanak, he who meeteth Him shall be saved.

The Guru in his humility feels himself unequal to worthily adoring God :—

What form of Thine shall I adore ?
By what science of Jog shall I discipline my body ?
What art is that by which I can sing Thy praises ?
What speech is that, O supreme God, by which I may please Thee ?
What worship of Thine shall I perform ?
What way is that by which I may cross the terrible ocean ?
What is that penance by which I may become penitent ?
What is that Name by which the filth of pride may be washed away ?

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Skill, worship, divine knowledge, meditation, *and the fruit* of all his toil
Are obtained by him, O Nanak, whom the compassionate true Guru kindly meeteth.
It is such a man who possesseth excellence ; it is he who knoweth God ;
And the Giver of comfort granteth his prayers.

The Guru exhorts his soul to practise devotion :—

O my soul, desire Him
In whom there is no deficiency :
O my soul, make that beloved God thy friend,
And ever remember Him who is the support of life.
O my soul, serve Him
Who is the primal Being and infinite God.
O my soul, place thy hope in Him
Who is the trusted of every age.
Nanak, on meeting the Guru, singeth the praises of God,
Whose love ever conferreth happiness.

Who are the really great :—

They who appear to be very great in this world
Suffer from the malady of anxiety.
Who is great by reason of the greatness of his wealth ?
He is great who devoteth his love to God.
Landowners ever strive for land ;
Their covetousness is never extinguished ; but they must leave their lands and depart.
Saith Nanak, the real thing I consider is,
That without repeating God's name there is no deliverance.

A man without piety is less useful than a beast :—

Man eateth many species of food like a beast ;
He is bound like a thief by the rope of worldly love ;
His mortal body without the company of the saints
Is tortured in the womb by transmigration.
He weareth beautiful clothes of various sorts
Like a scarecrow in the fields to frighten *animals away.*

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The bodies of all creatures are of use,
But man's is useless unless he utter the Name.
Saith Nanak, he to whom God is merciful
Uttereth God's name in the company of the saints.

The Guru's mission is accomplished :—

The word of the Guru hath dispelled all trouble and affliction ;
Transmigration is at an end, and all happiness attained.
By meditating on the Fearless God, fear is extinct.
I have sung the praises of God in the company of His saints.
I have put his lotus feet within my heart.
The Guru hath taken me across the sea of fire :
The perfect Guru extricated me when I was drowning :
The Guru united me *with God*, though separated from Him in various births.
Saith Nanak, I am a sacrifice to that Guru
By meeting whom my salvation hath been accomplished.

The following is repeated by Sikhs over a sick person :—

Things which were withered God in a moment maketh green.
His ambrosial glance irrigateth and reviveth them.
The perfect God removeth all affliction.
When He bestoweth His service on His servant,
Anxiety is removed and the heart's desires fulfilled.
When the true Guru, who is an embodiment of good qualities, showeth mercy,
Sorrow fleeth away, and happiness taketh its place—
In this there is no delay—when God giveth the order.
Our desires are fulfilled when the true Guru is found ;
Nanak, they *who find Him* bear good fruit.

They who seek God aright have no fear :—

The whole world is sunk in fear ;
But he who hath the Name for his support hath no fear.
He, O Lord, who taketh Thy protection feareth not :

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What pleaseth Thee must be done.
They who mourn and rejoice suffer transmigration,
While they who are pleasing to the Lord obtain comfort.
Maya pervadeth this fiery ocean *of the world*:
They who have found the true Guru have recovered.
O God, the Preserver, preserve me!
Saith Nanak, what a poor creature am I!

Worthless is the body without the Name :—

Mouths without the Name are empty
Like husks devoid of grain.
O mortal, ever repeat God's name:
Without it woe to the body, which *shall then become* Death's [1] prey;
Without it the countenance loseth its lustre.[2]
Without her spouse where is the wife? [3]
When through devotion to the pleasures of the world man forgetteth the Name,
His desires are never fulfilled.
Saith Nanak, O God, mercifully grant me the favour
Of repeating Thy name day and night.

Man's sins cannot be concealed from God :—

Man doeth evil but pretendeth to do good:
For this he shall be bound *like a thief* in God's court.
He who uttereth the Name is *a saint* of God—
Who is equally contained in sea, land, the nether regions, and the firmament—
He who uttereth words of nectar while in his heart is poison,
Shall be bound and punished in Death's city.
The sins which man committeth behind many screens
Shall in a moment be laid bare to the world.
Nanak, God will be merciful to him

[1] *Birāni.* Literally—another's.
[2] *Bhāg.* Literally—fortune, then the lustre of the face produced by good fortune—a Panjābi idiom.
[3] *Suhāg.* Literally—the married state. The meaning is, there can be no happiness without God.

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In whose heart is the truth, and who is dyed with the love of the Name.

Man ought to show his gratitude to God by remembering Him :—

Why should we show neglect to Him, O mother,
Who hath bestowed on us raiment and food ?
He who forgetteth the Lord and attacheth himself to others,
Exchangeth a gem for a kauri.
Man may forsake God, fascinated by other deities ;
But who hath honour by saluting a slave *instead of his master* ?
Man taketh food and drink tasting like nectar ;
But the dog knoweth not Him who gave them.
Saith Nanak, we are ungrateful ;
Pardon us, O God, Thou Searcher of hearts.

The advantage of meditation on God :—

Meditation in my heart on God's feet
Is for me equal to bathing and ablutions at all places of pilgrimage.
Remember God every day, O my brethren,
And the impurity of millions of births shall be washed away.

Piety is for man's advantage :—

Men have made God their friend for their own advantage ;
He fulfilleth all their desires and granteth them the dignity of salvation.
Let all so make God their friend
That none may depart in vain.
God removeth the sorrows, pains, and maladies of those
Who for their own objects hold Him in their hearts.
All their desires are fulfilled,
Who practise repetition of God's name with their tongues.
Nanak is many times a sacrifice unto them—
Profitable is a sight of my God.

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The advantage of listening to divine instruction:—

Hear the story of God in the company of the saints,
And millions of obstacles *to deliverance* shall be removed in a moment.
By drinking the nectareous juice of God's excellences and praises
And adoring His feet, hunger and thirst shall depart.
He in whose heart God dwelleth,
Possesseth the complete treasure of happiness, comfort, and peace.
Medicines, charms, and spells are all in vain:
Clasp the Creator to thy heart.
Abandon all doubts, repeat the name of the Supreme Being;
And such religion, saith Nanak, shall be unshaken.

God is omnipotent to save:—

The deadly sins like robbers were with me all day long,
But God mercifully dispersed them.
Let every one repeat with love the name of God
Who is full of all resources.[1]
God in a moment causeth man to cross over
The very seething ocean of the world.
Man's many shackles can only be burst
By remembering the Name; thus he obtaineth the reward of salvation.
Man can accomplish nothing by tricks or devices of speech.
Saith Nanak, show mercy to me, O God, that I may sing Thy praises.

Meditation on God and obedience to His word are potent for salvation:—

The mortal, whether learned or unlearned,
Who meditateth on God, attaineth the supreme state.
In the company of the saints remember God.
Without the Name false is wealth and property.
He who obeyeth the voice of God
Is handsome, clever, and wise.

[1] That is, from whom all power proceeds.

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Profitable is his advent into the world
Who recognizeth his Lord in every heart
Saith Nanak, he who is very fortunate
Applieth his mind to God's feet.

Incongruities :—

Infidels consort not with God's servants ;
The former are sinful ; the latter love God.
The association would be as unmeet as if one who cannot ride were put astride a thoroughbred [1] mare ;
As if an impotent man were to caress a woman ;
As if a spancel were put on an ox to milk him ;
As if a man were to mount a cow and chase a lion ;
As if one were to worship a sheep instead of the cow Kamdhen, *which granteth all desires* ;
As if one were to pursue trade without capital.
Nanak, repeat God's name in thy heart ;
Remember a friend like the Lord God.

The saints' love of God illustrated by familiar examples :—

As a wife is delighted on beholding her spouse,
As God's servant liveth by remembering His name,
As a mother reviveth on beholding her son,
So God's servant loveth God who is the warp and woof.
As an avaricious man rejoiceth on acquiring wealth,
So God's servant's heart is attached to His lotus feet.
They who bear such love to God
Enjoy the greatest good fortune : He blendeth them with Himself.
May I not forget Thee even for a moment, Thou beneficent One !
Nanak's God is the support of the soul.

The following was addressed to a hypocritical Brahman :—

Thou openest thy waistcloth, and spreadest some of it beneath thee ;

[1] *Singāri.* Literally—decorated.

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Thou loadest thy belly like a donkey ;
But without good works, deliverance is not obtained—
The boon of deliverance is granted to meditation on the Name.
Thou performest worship and ablutions, and appliest sacrificial marks *to thy forehead* ;
Thou pullest out a knife *to threaten suicide* if alms be not given thee ;
Thou recitest the Veds with tuneful voice.
Shrinkest thou not from killing creatures,[1] O mortal ?
Saith Nanak, he to whom God showeth mercy
Is pure in heart and meditateth upon Him.

The condition of those who are imbued with God's love :—

They who are imbued with God's love burn not in the flames ; [2]
They who are imbued with God's love are not deceived by Maya ;
They who are imbued with God's love are not drowned in the water ;
They who are imbued with God's love bear good fruit :
By God's name all their fear is dispelled ;
They meet the society *of the saints*, and sing God's praises.
He who is imbued with God's love is freed from all anxieties ;
He who receiveth the Guru's spell becometh attached to God ;
He who is imbued with God's love hath no fear of Death ;
He who is imbued with God's love hath his desires fulfilled ;
He who is imbued with God's love suffereth not misery ;
He who is imbued with God's love is watchful night and day ;
He who is imbued with God's love abideth in the abode of happiness ;

1 Leading men astray and ruining them.
2 They do not suffer from avarice or covetousness.

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He who is imbued with God's love is preserved from doubts and fears ;

He who is imbued with God's love obtaineth the highest wisdom ;

He who is imbued with God's love is pure.

Saith Nanak, I am a sacrifice to those

Who forget not my God.

God helps and cherishes His servants :—

He Himself is His servant's helper.

Like a father and mother He ever cherisheth him.

Every one is saved by entering God's sanctuary.

It is He who acteth and causeth to act ; He is omnipresent and true.

The Creator now dwelleth in my heart.

Fear is extinct and my soul hath obtained all happiness.

God mercifully preserveth His servants,

And their sins of many births fall off.

The glory of God cannot be described :

The slave Nanak is ever in His sanctuary.

Helpless man utters his wail to the Almighty :—

O strong-armed puissant God, ocean of happiness, I am falling into the pit ; take Thou my hand.

Mine ears hear not ; mine eyes see not ; afflicted and crippled I cry at Thy gate.

Patron of the poor and patronless, full of mercy, friend, father, mother.

Thou who causest Thy saints to cross over the ocean of fear—Nanak holdeth Thy lotus feet within his heart.

Without the Guru man has not wherewithal to recommend him to God :—

By what virtue shall I meet the Lord of the soul,[1] O my mother ?

I possess no beauty, no understanding, no strength ; I am a stranger come from afar.

[1] The speaker is supposed to be a woman.

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I have not wealth or the glory of youth ; friendless that I am, unite me, O God, with Thee.

Searching and searching I have renounced the world ; I wander thirsting for a sight of Thee.

Compassionate to the poor, O merciful God, Nanak prayeth—quench my thirst with the society of the saints.

Instruction and supplication :—

Depart, bird of the soul, and make remembrance of God thy pinions ;

Meet the saint, embrace his society, put God's perfect jewel into thy heart.

Superstition is a pit, the thirst for pleasure its mire ; very entangling is the noose of worldly love.

He who cutteth it is God, the world's Guru ; dwell at His lotus feet.

O God, beloved Master, Lord of the poor, mercifully hear my supplication.

O Nanak's Lord, take my hand ; the soul and body are all Thy capital.

Though God is in every heart, some men are good and others evil ; the reason is known only to God :—

O immortal King,

We dwell fearlessly with Thee ; whence cometh this fear ?

In one person Thou appearest proud, in another lowly ;

In one person Thou art haughty, in another humble ;

In one person Thou art a pandit and preacher, in another Thou art stupid ;

In one person Thou graspest at everything, in another Thou acceptest nothing.

What can man the poor wooden puppet do ? He who setteth the puppet in motion knoweth its condition ;

It playeth the part for which the Player dressed it.

He hath made various chambers of many descriptions within it, and He Himself guardeth it.

The soul must remain in whatever body it is placed ; what can the wretched thing do ?

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He who made something, *namely*, all the contrivance *of the body*, knoweth its construction.

Nanak, the infinite God knoweth the value of His own work.

Amid the pleasures of sin man thinks not of death:—

Abandon, abandon, the pleasures of sin :

O fool and madman, thou art entangled with them, and *shalt be punished* like cattle which fall upon crops.

What thou considerest thine advantage shall not go with thee an inch.[1]

Naked didst thou come, naked shalt thou go : thou shalt become a morsel for Death, and return *to a body* again and again.

Beholding the short-lived sports of the world, thou art absorbed in them, and laughest while they last.

The string *of life* weareth away day and night ; thou hast not done aught for thy soul.

Amid vain works old age *hath come upon thee* ; thy speech faileth and thy body wasteth away.

Since that fascinating woman bewitched thee, thy love for her hath in no wise diminished.

When the Guru showed me that such was the world, I abandoned pride and entered Thy sanctuary, O God.

The saints showed me the way to God ; the slave Nanak hath adopted God's service and praises.

Thanksgiving :—

Whom have I but Thee,

My Beloved ? Thou art the support of the soul.

Only Thou knowest the state of my heart ; Thou art my friend and companion.

I have obtained all happiness from Thee ; Thou art intangible and unequalled.

I cannot describe Thy play, O ocean of merits, Bestower of happiness.

The unapproachable, invisible, and imperishable God is known by means of the perfect Guru.

[1] *Tasu*, two fingers wide, or the twenty-fourth part of a yard.

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Since I have destroyed pride, God hath banished my doubts and fears, and made me completely happy.

By showing me the company of the saints Thou hast put an end to my anxiety regarding transmigration.

I wash their feet; I serve the Guru and offer myself a sacrifice a hundred thousand times to him

By whose favour the slave Nanak hath crossed the terrible water and met the Beloved.

The bliss of the holy :—

I am a sacrifice to them
Whose sole support is the Name.

How shall their greatness be estimated who are imbued with the love of the supreme Being ?

Happiness, peace, and joy are with them ; there are no others generous as they.

They who thirst for a sight of God, have come to save the world.

They who have sought their protection have been saved, and all their desires fulfilled in the company of the saints.

If I fall at their feet I shall survive ; I am happy in the company of the saints.

O God, be merciful to me that my heart may become the dust of the saints' feet.

Empire, youth, and life—whatever is seen in this world decreaseth.

Nanak hath earned the treasure of the Name which is ever new and pure.

A Jogi came to the Guru and asked him if he had learned the science of Jog. The following was the Guru's reply :—

The way of Jog I have heard from my Guru ;
The true Guru hath communicated to me the Word.

Every moment I bow before Him who is contained in the nine regions of the earth and in this body.

I have made the Guru's instruction mine earrings, and have set up the one God *in my heart.*

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The five pupils collectively I have placed under the control of One.[1]

When the organs of perception and action were obedient, then I became a pure Jogi.

I burnt superstition and applied its ashes to my body; the sight of the one God I made my sect.

I have resignedly and gladly accepted that as the portion which God destined for me.

Where there was no fear, there I assumed my devotional attitude, and the ecstatic sound was my Jogi's horn.

I have made meditation on God my staff, and love of the Name my rule of life.

The fetters of mammon shall be struck off that fortunate person who meeteth such a Jogi.

Nanak serveth and worshippeth such a person and licketh his feet.

A prayer to the Lord of life:—

O Lord of my life, show me compassion and mercy; I helpless have entered Thy sanctuary.

Give me Thy hand, and extricate me from the blind well;[2] I have no device or spell *to assist myself.*

Causer of causes, everything art Thou; Thou art omnipotent; there is none beside Thee.

Only Thou Thyself knowest Thine own state and condition; they who are so destined[3] become Thy worshippers.

Thou, O God, lovest Thy worshippers: Thou art contained in them as the warp and woof.

They long for Thy very beloved name and a sight of Thee, as the chakor longeth for the moon.

There is no difference between God and His saints; but out of hundreds of thousands and millions there is only one real servant of God.

[1] I have controlled my evil passions and subjugated them to the One Central Authority.

[2] Or—guard me in this blind well, that is, this world.

[3] Throughout all the Sikh writings this destiny of the Sikhs depends on the result of acts in previous states of existence.

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He in whose heart God is manifested repeateth His praises night and day.

O God, Thou art omnipotent, infinite, the Most High, the Giver of comfort and the Prop of life.

O God, mercifully grant Nanak the companionship of the saints.

Relations and worldly wealth avail not without devotion to God :—

There is no happiness without devotion to God ;

Win for thyself the priceless jewel of human life by repeating His name even for one moment in the company of saints.

Several people have left

Sons, wealth, wives, and pleasures after enjoying them.

Fools have departed naked leaving behind them

Excellent horses and elephants, and even the pomp of empire.

The bodies which were perfumed with distilled aloe wood and sandal,

Have been blended with the dust.

Infatuated by worldly love they deemed God distant,

But, saith Nanak, He is ever present.

Contempt for the body :—

O body, great thy pride from such an origin.

Transitory art thou, however much thou grasp at worldly things.

Thou lovest those things which learned saints have forbidden thee.

As a gambler who while losing remaineth attached to play, so thy senses conquer and hold thee in bondage.

Thou art not imbued with love for the lotus feet of Him who destroyeth and createth all things.

The Treasure of mercy gave me, Nanak, the company of the saints by which I am saved.

Man, groping in the darkness of worldly love, desires the light of divine knowledge to dawn for him :—

Is there any one who will dispel man's pride,

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And turn his heart away from sweet mammon ?

Man hath become spiritually ignorant ; he desireth what existeth not.

His night is dark and gloomy ; how can morning dawn for him ?

I have grown weary wandering and searching in every way ;

But *at last* God hath been merciful, *and I have obtained* the treasure of the company of the saints.

Man should think of his soul, not of his short-lived body :—

O my soul, seek God's protection, and thou shalt be happy.

The days in which the Giver of life and happiness is forgotten, pass away in vain.

Thou hast come as the guest of one night, yet thou extendest the hope *of living* for many ages.

Houses, palaces, wealth, *everything* that is seen is like the shadow of a tree.

This body of mine, my entire wealth, gardens, and property shall all pass away.

Thou hast forgotten God, the Giver ; in one moment these things shall become another's.

Thou bathest and puttest on clean clothes, and perfumest thyself with distilled aloe wood and sandal.

Thou thinkest not of the Fearless, the Formless One ; thou art as an elephant *which throweth dust on itself after being* bathed.

When God is merciful, He will cause thee to meet the true Guru ; all happiness abideth in God's name.

Nanak, by singing God's praises the Guru shall unlock thy fetters, and thou shalt be freed.

The following was written by the Guru on hearing that a raja was preparing an expedition to seize another raja's territory :—

The thirst of only a few is slaked.

Man amasseth thousands and millions, but restraineth not his mind ;

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He is burning for more and more.

Though possessing beautiful women of many races, he committeth adultery in other men's houses.

He distinguisheth not between bad and good.

Under the many bonds of mammon he wandereth and singeth not the praises of the Treasury of excellences;

His mind is absorbed in worldly affairs.

He to whom God is merciful is dead while alive, and in the company of the saints crosseth over *the ocean* of the world:

Nanak, that man shall be acceptable in God's court.

To man God should be the dearest of all:—

God is the darling object of all men.

Some love contemplation, some pleasure, some divine knowledge, some meditation,

And some a hermit's life.

Some love lip-worship, some austerities, some adoration, burnt offerings, and daily ceremonies;

And some a wandering existence.

Some love the shore, some the sea, some the study of the Veds,

But to Nanak *only* God's service is dear.

God to the Guru is everything that is precious:—

The celebration of Thy praises is my treasure.

Thou art my delight, Thou art my glory, Thou art my beauty, Thou art my love;

Thou, O God, art my Hope and my Shelter;

Thou art my pride, Thou art my wealth, Thou art mine honour, Thou art my life,

The Guru hath united me with Thee from whom I had parted.

Thou art my home, Thou art my forest, Thou art my village, Thou art my desert;

Saith Nanak, Thou art to me the nearest *and dearest* of all.

The Guru gives the opinion of holy men as to the means of salvation:—

They who dwell under the sovereign Lord's protection shall be saved:

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All others fall to the ground from the lofty heights of mammon.

Great men after the study of the Shastars, the Simritis, and the Veds, have thus expressed themselves—

'There is no salvation, nor hath any one found comfort without the repetition of God's name.'

Man may have amassed the wealth of the three worlds, yet his avarice will not *otherwise* be slaked.

Without repeating God's name can stableness be obtained? *No*; man shall transmigrate again and again.

Man engageth in various fascinating recreations, yet his desires are never satisfied.

They ever burn and are never quenched; without the Name all things are vain.

Repeat God's name, O my friend; this is the essence of perfect happiness.

In the company of the saints and by becoming the dust of their feet, Nanak hath freed himself from transmigration.

The Guru gives a compendium of his teaching:—

Without God all works are vain.

By works of *hypocritical* devotion, penance, and austerities man is plundered on this side.[1]

He who abideth in fasting, insincere ceremonies, and austerities shall not obtain an eighth of a paisa.

In the next world the coin is different, my brother; this coin will be of no use there.

He who batheth at a place of pilgrimage and wandereth over the earth, shall find no abiding place hereafter.

Such things shall avail him not; he merely pleaseth people thereby.

Man shall not hereafter find a place in God's court by reciting the four Veds.

He who knoweth not the Pure and Imperishable One,[2] uttereth sheer nonsense.

[1] In this world.

[2] *Sudhākhar*. Also translated – the pure word, God's name.

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Nanak hath expressed this opinion ; he who acteth on it shall be saved.

Serve the Guru, meditate on God's name, and dismiss pride from thy heart.

The Guru addresses God with great fervour :—

Come, my beloved God,
Night and day, at every breath let me meditate on Thee.
O saints, give God this message, ' I fall at Thy feet ;
Without Thee how shall I be saved ?
With Thee I rejoice ;
Thou art in the forest, in the glades, in the three worlds ; *Thou conferrest* supreme happiness and joy.
My couch is pleasant, my soul expandeth *towards Thee.*
On beholding Thee happiness shall be mine.
I will wash Thy feet, and continually perform Thy service.
I will worship Thee, make Thee offerings, and do Thee homage :
Thy slave of slaves will repeat Thy name.'
Repeat, O saints, this my supplication to God ;
So shall my desires be fulfilled and my soul and body revive.
On beholding God all my griefs shall be dispelled.
By continually repeating God's name Nanak shall be saved,
And obtain unfading happiness.

Sing God's praises received from a saint and pray for God as your alms :—

O my soul, sing God's delicious praises ; sing God's delicious praises.
Attached to the True One, the homeless obtain a home.
All other relishes are insipid and render body and soul insipid.
Accursed is his life who doeth aught contrary to God's will.
Grasp the saint's skirt and thou shalt cross over the ocean.

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Adore the supreme God, and all thy family shall be saved.

He who putteth God's name into my heart is my saint, my kinsman, my friend;

He bestoweth on me the favour of blotting out all my demerits.

My property, my treasure, and my home may go to ruin; my wealth is in God's feet.

Nanak begging at Thy gate, O God, craveth for Thee as his alms.

Gauri Ashtapadi

It is said that one Raj Chand went to the Guru and asked him how happiness could be obtained and unhappiness avoided. The following was the Guru's reply:—

When man harboureth pride in his heart,
He wandereth about mad and estranged from God.
When man becometh the dust of all men's feet,
He on that account beholdeth God in every heart.
The fruit of humility is naturally pleasant:
This gift my true Guru gave me.
When man deemeth others bad,
All weave plots against him.
When he hath ceased to speak of things as his own,
No one beareth him enmity.
When man holdeth things as his own,
He suffereth serious trouble.
When man recognizeth the Creator,
His sufferings are at an end.
When man entangleth himself with worldly love,
He suffereth transmigration and falleth under Death's continual ken.
When man's doubts are removed,
There is no difference between him and the Supreme.
From the moment that man recognizeth a difference,
He suffereth pain, punishment, and affliction.
From the moment that man knoweth the one God,
He hath obtained all knowledge.

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When man runneth after mammon,
He findeth it not, nor doth his thirst depart.
When man fleeth from mammon,
She proceedeth to pursue him.
When the true Guru is found by his own mercy,
The lamp is lit in the temple of one's heart.
When man considereth his gain and loss,
He realizeth the value of this temple.
The one God doth everything and causeth everything to be done.
He Himself is wisdom, reflection, and discrimination.
He is not distant, He is near and with all.
Nanak, praise the true God with love.

All must perish save God who has no end or limit:—

In the first place, man issueth from his dwelling in the womb ;
He afterwards attacheth himself to his children, wife, and family.
Thy dishes of many sorts and thy varied dresses,
O wretched man, shall assuredly pass away.
What place is that which shall ever be permanent ?
What word is that by which evil inclinations shall be removed ?
Even the realm of Indar must assuredly perish ;
Even the realm of Brahma remaineth not permanent ;
And even the realm of Shiv shall dissolve.
Maya with the three qualities and the demons shall perish.
Mountains, trees, the earth, the firmament, and the stars
The sun, the moon, wind, fire, and water,
The laws and alternations of day and night,
The Shastars, the Simritis, and the Veds,
Places of pilgrimage, demigods, temples, and books,
Rosaries, frontal marks, purely cooked victuals,
Loin cloths, prostrations, raiment, food,
Shall pass away with all men.
Race, caste, Musalmans, Hindus,
Beasts, birds, animals of different species,

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All the visible creation,
And all forms of existence shall perish.
By praising and serving God real divine knowledge is *obtained*,
Which ever conferreth happiness and the permanent and true abode.
Where the congregation of the saints are absorbed in God's praises,
And dwell for ever in the fearless city,
There is no fear, no doubt, no mourning, no anxiety,
No transmigration, no death, no birth.
There is for ever joy and the theatre of spontaneous music.
The saints dwell there; singing God's praises is their sustenance.
The supreme Being hath no end or limit.
Who can describe Him?
Saith Nanak, he to whom *God* is merciful
Shall reach the imperishable place in the company of the saints.

He who divests himself of love of mammon shall attain all perfection:—

He who divesteth himself of the love of mammon, is a hero;
He who so divesteth himself, is perfect;
He who so divesteth himself, shall obtain greatness;
He who so divesteth himself, shall be free from suffering.
If there is any one who so divesteth himself,
And banisheth his love of mammon, he accomplisheth rāj jog.[1]
He who so divesteth himself, shall have no fear;
He who so divesteth himself, shall be absorbed in the Name
He who so divesteth himself, shall have his thirst extinguished;
He who so divesteth himself, shall be acceptable in God's court;

[1] That is, he accomplishes a great feat.

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He who so divesteth himself, shall become wealthy ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall be honoured ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall become continent ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall obtain deliverance—
The advent of him who so divesteth himself, is profitable—
He who so divesteth himself, shall be stable and opulent ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall be very fortunate ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall be watchful night and day ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall obtain salvation while alive ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall lead a pure life ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall be thoroughly versed in divine knowledge ;
He who so divesteth himself, shall meditate on God—
Without so divesting himself man shall not be acceptable,
Even though he perform millions of *superstitious* ceremonies and forms of worship—
Without so divesting himself he shall be born again ;
Without so divesting himself he shall not escape from Death ;
Without so divesting himself he shall not obtain divine knowledge ;
Without so divesting himself his impurity shall not be washed away ;
Without so divesting himself everything is defilement ;
Without so divesting himself everything is an entanglement.
He to whom the Ocean of mercy is merciful,
Shall be freed and shall obtain all perfection.
He whose love of mammon is removed by the Guru,
Shall, saith Nanak, meditate on God.

He who embraces a holy life shall obtain everything that is prized :—

He who attacheth himself to God findeth a friend in everybody ;
He who attacheth himself to God hath a stable mind ;
He who attacheth himself to God feeleth no anxiety ;

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He who attacheth himself to God shall be saved.
O my soul, unite thyself with God ;
Naught else shall avail thee.
Great worldly people *who think not of God*,
Are useless and ignorant.
Although God's slave be accounted of lowly birth,
Yet in his company men shall be at once saved.
Hearing God's name is equal to millions of ablutions ;
Meditating on Him is equal to millions of adorations ;
Hearing His praises is equal to millions of alms-deeds ;
Knowing His ways from the Guru bringeth millions of rewards.
Think again and again *upon God* in thy heart,
And thy love for mammon shall depart.
The immortal God is with thee ;
O man, be absorbed in thy love for Him,
Specially perform the service of Him
By serving whom all thine avarice shall depart ;
By serving whom the myrmidons of Death will not look at thee ;
By serving whom thou shalt obtain great honour ;
By serving whom thou shalt be immortal ;
Whose servant shall not be punished ;
Whose servant shall not be *even* bound[1] ;
And in whose office thine account shall not be called for
O man, perform the service of Him
Who is in need of nothing,
Who is one though of various forms,
And at whose sight thou art ever happy.

Without remembering God man is on a level with everything that is low and base :—

He who remembereth not God, leadeth the life of a snake :[2]
So liveth the infidel who forgetteth the Name.
He who liveth remembering God even for a moment,
Shall live for millions of days, yea, for ever.
Cursed be the acts done without remembering God !

[1] *Bān* is understood to be for the Panjābi *banh*, binding.
[2] He is always bent on injuring others.

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The infidel like a crow's beak dwelleth in filth :
Without remembering the Name his desires are those of a dog.
The infidel is nameless like a prostitute's son ;
Without remembering the Name he is like a ram's horn.
The infidel uttereth falsehood and his face is blackened ;
Without remembering God's name he is like a donkey
Which wandereth about in foul places.[1]
Without remembering the Name he is as a mad dog.
The covetous infidel falleth into entanglements ;
Without remembering the Name he committeth suicide.
The infidel is low ; he hath neither family nor caste.
The Guru causeth him to whom he is merciful to meet the society of saints,
And, O Nanak, to cross over *the ocean of* the world.

The evil fate of him who forgets the Name :—

Come to me, O my God, bestow on me Thy name ;
Totally accursed be the love which is without the Name !
He who dresseth himself or eateth without invoking the Name,
Is like a dog fallen on garbage.
Business performed without the Name
Is futile as the decorations of a corpse.
He who enjoyeth pleasures in forgetfulness of the Name,
Hath no happiness even in his dreams ; nay, his body becometh diseased.
If man abandon the Name for any other occupation,
The whole of his false gilding shall fall off.
He who loveth not heartily the Name,
Shall go to hell even though he perform millions of ceremonies.
He who remembereth not God's name in his heart,
Shall be bound like a thief in the realm of Death.
There might be hundreds of thousands of displays and great profusion,
Yet without the Name they would all be vain ostentation.

1 The donkey, like the Indian cow, sheep, and other animals, is a foul feeder. He is used to remove filth in Indian towns.

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That man repeateth God's name
To whom, O Nanak, He mercifully granteth it.

What God the Friend does for man :—

My soul longeth for that Friend,
Who forsaketh me not at the beginning, middle, or end of my undertakings.
God's love ever accompanieth us ;
He is the Compassionate and omnipresent Cherisher.
He perisheth not, neither doth He abandon *His servant.*
Wherever I gaze, there is He contained.
He is beautiful, skilful, clever, the Giver of life ;
He is brother, son, father, and mother ;
He is the support of my life and soul ; He is my capital.
Dwelling in my heart He hath made me love Him.
He hath cut off mammon's chains,
And, beholding me with a favourable eye, made me His own.
By ever remembering God all diseases are healed,
And by meditating on His feet all happiness enjoyed.
The all-pervading Being is ever fresh and youthful ;
He is the companion and protector of man whether at home or abroad.
Saith Nanak, the saint who knoweth God's dignity
Hath obtained from Him the Name for all his *wealth.*

The man who knows not God passes his life in pleasures, worldly love, and pride, and cannot obtain salvation :—

Through pleasures, social gatherings, and the gratification of evil passions, man, blind that he is, knoweth not God.
His whole life passeth away saying, 'I hoard, I earn ;
I am a hero, I am distinguished ; no one is equal to me ;
I am young, religious, of good family' ; thus pride entereth his heart,
And he forgetteth it not until death, so entangled is he in his boastful [1] intellect.

[1] *Bādh ;* some read *bāl,* and translate—A man is entangled by his intellect from youth, and forgetteth not pride till his death.

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He resigneth *his wealth* to his brothers, friends, kinsmen, and companions who survive him.

The desire to which the mind is attached becometh supreme at the last hour.

If man perform purifications through pride, he becometh bound by such entanglements.

O merciful God, show mercy that Nanak may become the slave of Thy slaves.

Gauri Chhant

Man should consider how to obtain God's favours:—

Hear, my companions, let us join and make efforts to please God the Bridegroom;

Through the saint's spell let us abandon pride and through the philtre of devotion fascinate our Spouse.

O my companions, once He cometh into our power, He will not again forsake us; this is a good custom of the Lord.

Nanak, God will make us pure and dispel the fear of old age, death and hell.

Hear, my companions, this is a good course; let us adopt it.

Having withdrawn from worldly cares let us sing God's praises with composure and devotion.

Our troubles and difficulties shall depart, our doubts be dispelled, and we shall obtain the reward our hearts desire.

Nanak, let us meditate on the name of the supreme and omnipresent God.

O my companions, I have ever desired to devote myself to God; may He grant my desires!

Having renounced the world I thirst for a sight of His feet; I look for them everywhere.

To find the omnipresent Being I will trace His tracks in the company of the saints.

Nanak, the holy men who have found the Giver of comfort are very fortunate.

O my companions, I now dwell with my beloved Spouse; and my soul and body have become attached to Him.

Hear me, O my companions, I sleep well since I have found my Beloved.

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I have lost my doubts, I have obtained peace and rest; the Lord hath appeared unto me, and the lotus of my heart hath blossomed.

I have found my Husband, the Lord, the Searcher of hearts; O Nanak, my married state shall never cease.

The Bawan Akhari[1]

or acrostic

The divine Guru is my mother, the divine Guru is my father[2], the divine Guru is my lord and Supreme God;

The divine Guru is my companion and dispeller of spiritual ignorance, the divine Guru is my relation and my brother;[3]

The divine Guru is the giver and the teacher of God's name, the divine Guru hath the spell that cannot be counteracted;[4]

The divine Guru is peace, truth, the image of wisdom; the divine Guru is a philosopher's stone by touching which man is saved;

The divine Guru is a place of pilgrimage, his divine knowledge a lake of nectar, by bathing in which the Illimitable is obtained;

The divine Guru is the Creator, the remover of all sin, the divine Guru is the purifier of the impure;

[1] The words *bāwan akhari* mean the fifty-two letters of the Sanskrit language. A similar number of words of religious meaning or significance is introduced and expounded. The intention was that their initials should be in the order of the Sanskrit letters, but, for some hitherto unexplained reason, the projected arrangement was not adhered to. The Sloks of the Bāwan Akhari are of general religious import; it is in the Pauris the words chosen for exposition are found. The Bāwan Akhari consists altogether of fifty-five Sloks and Pauris.

[2] In India the mother is placed first. In English, following the Greek idiom, precedence is given to the father.

[3] *Sahodara*, from *sah*, the same, and *udar*, the womb. Compare the Greek *adelphos* and its ordinary derivation from *a*, and *delphus*, the womb.

[4] *Mant nirodhara*. The gyānis translate—the spell most potent to save. It is, however, the Sanskrit *niruddhōr mantar* as translated in the text.

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The divine Guru is from the beginning, from the beginning of time, and in every age; the divine Guru is the spell of God's *name* by the utterance of which man is saved.

O God, mercifully bring me—foolish and sinner that I am—into the company of the Guru, so that by clinging to him I may be saved.

Nanak boweth to the divine Guru, the true Guru, the Supreme Brahm, the Supreme God.

Slok I

God Himself created and caused *men* to act; He Himself is capable of acting.

Nanak, there is one pervading God; there neither was nor shall be another.

Pauri I

O A M. I bow to the one God, and to the saint the true Guru.

The Formless One is the beginning, the middle, and the end.

He Himself is rest, He Himself hath His seat in bliss;
He Himself heareth His praises;
He Himself created Himself;
He is His own father, His own mother;
He Himself is small, He Himself is large—
Nanak, His play cannot be understood.
O God, compassionate to the poor, be merciful,
That my heart may become the dust of the saints' feet.

Slok II

The one God is without form and yet with form; He is without qualities and yet possesseth all qualities.

Define the one God as one, Nanak, and the one God as manifold.

Pauri II

O A M. The one God, the great Guru, created all things;[1] He hath strung them all on one string.[2]

[1] *Akār*. Literally—forms, bodies.
[2] So that they may be in His power.

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The three qualities are separately diffused.
Instead of possessing no attributes God now appeareth possessing all attributes.
He made creation of all forms ;
From the increase of mental desires resulteth transmigration ;
He Himself is free from both birth and death.
Nanak, He hath no end or limit.

Slok III

They are rich and fortunate who possess the hoard of the truth and the stock-in-trade *of God's name.*
Nanak, the true and pure *Name* is obtained from the saints.

Pauri III

S. True, true, true is He ;
There is nothing separate from the True Being.
It is he whom He putteth into his asylum who obtaineth *His protection,*
Remembereth Him, singeth His praises, and causeth others to hear them :
Doubt and error in no way enter him ;
His glory appeareth manifest.
Nanak is ever a sacrifice unto the holy man
Who attaineth to this distinction.

Slok IV

Why art thou crying out for wealth ? All worldly love is false.
All they who are without the Name, Nanak, are as dust.

Pauri IV

D H. The dust of Thy servant's feet is pure, *O God* ;
Blest are they whose souls desire it ;
They want not wealth, they desire not even paradise ;
They are fascinated with the love of the very Dear One, and the dust of the saint's *feet.*
Why should worldly affairs affect those
Who forsake not the one God or go elsewhere *to worship* ?

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He in whose heart God hath put the Name,
O Nanak, is a perfect saint of God.

SLOK V

It is not by *adopting* various religious garbs or by knowledge or meditation, or by obstinacy that God is obtained by any one :

Saith Nanak, he to whom God is merciful is a saint and possessor of divine knowledge.

PAURI V

N G. Divine knowledge consisteth not in words uttered by the mouth,

Nor *in extracting* different species of arguments from the Shastars.

He possesseth divine knowledge in whose heart God is firmly fixed ;

It is not by discussion he becometh capable.

He who is strict in his obedience to God's order possesseth divine knowledge ;

Heat and cold are all the same to him.

The possessor of divine knowledge, to whom God extendeth mercy,

Meditateth on God, O Nanak, under the Guru's instruction.

SLOK VI

Men come into the world, but without knowing God they are as beasts and cattle.

Nanak, the holy man, on whose forehead such destiny hath been written, knoweth God.

PAURI VI

The foetus reversed in the pit of the womb performeth penance,

And continueth to remember God at every breath.

Man then cometh into this world to meet the one God,

But fascinating Maya fascinateth him at his birth.

He becometh entangled with what he must abandon,

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And in his soul forgetteth the Giver.
He to whom Thou showest favour, O Lord of the earth,
Will not forget Thee, *saith* Nanak, either here or there.[1]

Slok VII

Man is born by God's order, he dieth by God's order, no one is exempt from His order;
Transmigration is at an end for him, Nanak, in whose heart God abideth.

Pauri VII

This soul hath dwelt in many wombs;
Immersed in sweet illusion it was entangled in them;
This illusion hath reduced the world[2] to subjection,
And infused a love for itself into every heart:
O my friend, tell us of some device
By which we may escape this dangerous illusion.
Maya approacheth not him,
O Nanak, whom God mercifully associateth with the saints.

Slok VIII

God Himself hath appointed good and bad acts for man to perform;[3]
But man the brute indulgeth in pride; Nanak, what can he do without God?

Pauri VIII

It is God alone who causeth *man* to act;
It is He Himself who diffuseth demerits and merits.
Man performeth the duties *of the station* in which God hath placed him in this world,
And receiveth what God conferreth upon him.
No one knoweth God's limit;
It is only what He doeth that occurreth.

[1] Either in the womb or after birth. Others translate—Either in his world or the next.
[2] *Trigun.* Literally—the three qualities which prevail in the world.
[3] Also translated—Man doeth good and evil according to destiny, as God Himself hath ordained.

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It is from Him alone the whole creation hath proceeded.
Nanak, He Himself is the arranger.

Slok IX

Man continueth to love women, pleasures, and the tumult of the passions, *things fleeting* as the dye of the safflower.[1]
Nanak, take God's protection and thy selfishness shall depart.

Pauri IX

O my soul, the more thou lovest anything except God, the greater thine entanglements.
The apostates do the very things which in every way hinder their emancipation.
They who while practising pride continue to perform ceremonial works, bear a crushing load :
When there is no love for the Name such works are sinful.
They who are in love with delicious Maya are bound by Death's rope ;
Deluded by error they know not that God is ever with them ;
They shall not be acquitted when their accounts[2] are examined : a mud wall can never be clean.
He to whom God giveth knowledge, O Nanak, becometh holy and his understanding pure.

Slok X

They who associate with the saints and who are dyed with the deep dye of the one God's love,
O Nanak, shall have their fetters cut off.

Pauri X

R. Dye this heart of thine *with God's love* ;
Repeat God's name with thy tongue,
So shall no one address thee rudely in God's court :
Every one shall honour thee, saying, 'Come, sit down.'
In that palace thou shalt obtain thy dwelling

[1] Also translated—Which are fleeting as the dye of the safflower and bitter as poison.
[2] Also translated—It is not by counting prayers said or actions done.

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Where there is no transmigration or destruction.
God's wealth is in the house of him,
Nanak, on whose forehead such destiny was recorded in the beginning.

Slok XI

The sins of covetousness, falsehood, and worldly love are committed by the foolish and the blind ;
Slaves of Maya, O Nanak, they love an offensive smell.[1]

Pauri XI

L. They are entangled and steeped in the juice of evil passions ;
They are intoxicated with the wine of mental pride and worldly love ;
And from this worldly love resulteth transmigration.
As God ordereth so man acteth.
There is no one imperfect and no one perfect ;
There is no one wise and no one foolish.
Where God appointed men there they perform their duties.
Nanak, the Lord is always unaffected by *mundane affairs*.[2]

Slok XII

My darling God, the Lord of the earth, is deep, profound, and unfathomable ;
Nanak, there is none like unto Him, He is unconcerned.

Pauri XII

L. There is none equal to Him ;
He Himself is the only one, there shall be none other ;
He is now and ever hath been ;
No one hath found His limit ;
He is contained as fully in an ant as in an elephant ;
He is famous, known everywhere :
He to whom He hath given His love
Repeateth His name, O Nanak, under the Guru's instruction.

[1] That is, evil deeds.
[2] That is, men are placed in the world according to their good and bad acts in previous birth, and not by God's special interference.

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Slok XIII

He who hath tasted the savour of God naturally enjoyeth His love.

Nanak, blessed is the advent of such into the world; he is acceptable *to God*.

Pauri XIII

Deem fortunate the birth of him
Whose tongue repeateth God's praises;
He goeth and sitteth with the saints,
And night and day meditateth on the Name with love.
He to whom God showeth compassion and mercy,
Is at his birth endued with the Name;
He has been born once, but shall not again enter the womb;
Nanak, he shall be absorbed in the sight of God.

Slok XIV

Nanak, be absorbed in the Name by the repetition of which the heart becometh happy, worldly love is erased,

And there is an end to pain, sorrow, and longing for earthly pleasures.

Pauri XIV

Y. Rid thyself of evil inclinations and duality;
Relinquishing them sleep in peace and composure.
Y. Go and take the protection of the saints,
By whose assistance thou shalt cross *this* terrible ocean.
Y. He who taketh the one Name and stringeth it in his heart,
Shall not be born again.
Y. By the support of the Guru thou shalt not lose thy *human* birth.
Nanak, he in whose heart the one God dwelleth hath obtained happiness.

Slok XV

He who is our friend in this world and the next, dwelleth within our souls and bodies.

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The perfect Guru teacheth us, O Nanak, to utter God's Name continually.

Pauri XV

Night and day remember Him who will in the end be thy helper.

These worldly pleasures only last for a few days; every one must leave them and depart.

Who hath a mother, father, son, daughter,
Home, or wife? Thou canst take none of them with thee.
Amass such things as are not perishable,
So shalt thou depart to thine own home with honour.
They who in this Kal age sing God's praises in the company of the saints,
O Nanak, shall not come again *into the world*.

Slok XVI

Though one be very beautiful, of high birth, wise, a divine in words, and wealthy,
Yet shall he be deemed as dead, O Nanak, if he have no love for God.

Pauri XVI

N G. Even though man be versed in the six Shastar systems,
And perform the exercises of purak, kumbhak and rechak;[1]
Even though he practise divine knowledge, meditation, pilgrimages, and ablutions,
Only eat food cooked by himself, live apart from human contact and dwell in the forest;
Yet if he feel no love for God's name in his heart,
Every act of his shall only be brief.
Superior to him deem thou the pariah,
O Nanak, in whose heart God dwelleth.

[1] These are exercises in the Jog religious system. *Pūrak*, inspiration, is closing the right nostril and drawing up air through the left; *kumbhak*, suspension, stopping the mouth and closing both nostrils; and *rechak*, expiration, through the right nostril.

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Slok XVII

Man wandereth about in the four quarters and the ten[1] directions of the world bearing the mark of deeds done.

Weal and woe, deliverance and transmigration, Nanak, are according to man's written record.

Pauri XVII

K. God is the Creator and cause of everything;
No one can efface that written record;
What God once doeth cannot be altered;[2]
The Creator erreth not.
To one He Himself pointeth out the right way;
Another He causeth to wander sorrowfully in the wilderness;
He playeth His own play.
Whatever He giveth, Nanak, man receiveth.

Slok XVIII

Various and countless people, O Nanak, repeat God's name.

Men eat, spend, and enjoy[3] themselves, but God's storehouses fail not *them*.

Pauri XVIII

K H. With that all-powerful One there is no stint;
He continueth to give what *He deemeth right* to give, wheresoever man may go.

The wealth of the Name is the treasure from which the saints spend; it is their capital.

With patience, humility, joy, and composure they continue to repeat God's praises.

They to whom God is merciful sport and enjoy themselves.

They who have God's name for their wealth in their homes are ever wealthy and of good report.

[1] The four cardinal points, the four intermediate points, heaven above, and earth below.

[2] Literally—nothing occurs twice.

[3] Men enjoy themselves and in doing so squander.

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They on whom God looketh with favour suffer not trouble, or pain, or torture ; [1]

Nanak, they who are pleasing to God are successful.

Slok XIX

Calculate and consider in thy mind that men must assuredly depart.

The desire for transitory things is effaced by the Guru's instruction ; only in the Name is there health.

Pauri XIX

G. Sing God's praises at every breath and ever repeat His name.

Why repose confidence in thy body ? Delay not, my friend ;

There is no reliance on childhood, youth, or old age :

The time is not known when the noose of Death will fall upon thee.

Behold the wise, the meditative, and the clever ; *even* they remain not here.

The fool clingeth to the things which the rest of the world leaveth behind.

He on whose forehead such destiny hath been written, continueth to remember God by the Guru's favour.

Nanak, fortunate is her advent who is the spouse of the Beloved.

Slok XX

I have searched all the Shastars and Veds ; they tell of nothing save this,

That the one God was in the beginning, in the beginning of time, is now, Nanak, and ever shall be.

Pauri XX

G H. Put this into thy heart that there is none but God ;

There was none, and there shall be none : He is everywhere contained.

[1] The torture inflicted by the god of death.

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Thou shalt be absorbed[1] in Him, O man, when thou enterest His asylum.

In the Kal age the Name is the real atonement for sins.

After toiling and moiling in superstitious exercises many regret it ;

Without devotion to God how can stability be obtained ?

He to whom the divine Guru gave the great nectareous essence,

Hath stirred it up, O Nanak, and drunk it.

Slok XXI

God has counted and fixed for man all his days and breathings ; these cannot be increased or diminished the length of a sesame seed ;

Nanak, they who desire to live on in error and worldly love are fools.

Pauri XXI

N G. Death shall seize him who hath fallen away from God.

He seeth not God who dwelleth in his heart, and he shall suffer many transmigrations.

Divine knowledge and meditation shall come to him

To whom God mercifully granteth them.

No one shall be emancipated by making calculations ;

The frail pitcher shall burst at last.

Only they who utter God's name their lives long really live ;

They become distinguished, Nanak, and not obscure.

Slok XXII

In thy heart meditate on God's lotus feet, and its inverted lotus shall bloom.

God Himself will appear, O Nanak, under the saints' instruction.

Pauri XXII

C H. Blest, blest that day and auspicious that conjuncture

When I cling to the Guru's lotus feet.

[1] Also translated--thou shalt be saved.

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After wandering in the four corners and the ten directions *of the globe*,

I through the favour of God obtained a sight of him.

Through excellent meditation all duality is removed ;

My mind hath become pure by association with the saints.

Nanak, he to whose eyes the salve of divine knowledge hath been applied,

Shall forget his anxieties and behold the one God.

Slok XXIII

The breast becometh cool and the heart happy by singing the chant of God's praises ;

Show such mercy, O God, that Nanak may become Thy slave of slaves.

Pauri XXIII

C H H. We are Thy slave-boys.

Yea, we are the water-carriers of the slave of Thy slaves.

C H H. We are the dust of Thy saints' feet :

Show us Thy mercy, O God.

We have abandoned all devices and stratagems,

And propped up our souls with the prop of the saints.

The puppet of ashes whom the saints assist

Shall, Nanak, obtain the supreme state.

Slok XXIV

Man is greatly elated by his strength and power, and thereby diseaseth his frail body ;

Through his pride he is entangled, Nanak, but the Name will release him.

Pauri XXIV

J. When a man thinketh something of himself,

He is caught like a parrot in a trap ;

When he thinketh he is a saint and possessed of divine knowledge,

God will show him no respect whatever in the next world ;

When he thinketh he is a preacher,

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He *merely* roameth over the earth like a trader.
He who removeth his pride by association with the saints
O Nanak, meeteth God.

Slok XXV

Rise at dawn, utter the Name, *yea*, night and day worship *God* ;
Thus shalt thou feel no anxiety, Nanak, and all thy troubles shall vanish.

Pauri XXV

J H. By occupying thyself with God's name
All thy griefs shall be effaced.
The perverse man whose heart feeleth worldly love
Shall die in excessive grief.
O my soul, when thou hearest the ambrosial word in the company of saints,
Thine impurities and sins shall depart.[1]
Nanak, from him to whom God is merciful,
Lust, wrath, and other evil passions shall depart.

Slok XXVI

Though you make efforts of various kinds, you shall not have eternal life, my friends.
You shall have eternal life, *saith* Nanak, if you repeat God's name with love.

Pauri XXVI

N Y. Know for a certainty that *these bodies of yours* which you love shall perish.
Even though you make calculations, you cannot count how many have departed.
Whatever you behold shall perish ; to what shall you attach yourselves ?
Know this in your hearts as certain that love of the world is false.
He who knoweth this is a saint and removed from error.
Him with whom God is pleased, He extricateth from the blind well.

[1] Literally—shall drop or fall off as leaves from trees.

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He whose arm is omnipotent is able to create the world—
Nanak, praise Him who uniteth *the soul with Himself*.

SLOK XXVII

By serving the saints the bonds of transmigration are broken, and man obtaineth rest :
Nanak, may I never forget the sovereign God, the treasury of excellences !

PAURI XXVII

Serve the one God to whom no one appealeth in vain ;
If He dwell in thy soul, body, mouth, and heart, thou shalt obtain whatever thou desirest.
He to whom the holy man is kind, shall obtain the service *by which God's* court *shall be won*.
If God be compassionate thou shalt abide in the company of the saints—
I have searched in many lands, but *found* no happiness without the Name.
The ministers of Death shall recede from him who joineth the society of the saints ;
Again and again I sacrifice myself to the saints,
Through whom, O Nanak, the sins of old are blotted out.

SLOK XXVIII

They with whom God is pleased are not stopped at His gate ;
Supremely blest are they, Nanak, whom God hath made His own.

PAURI XXVIII

T H. He who having abandoned all else attacheth himself to the one God,
Afflicteth no one's heart.
They who are buffeted by worldly love are dead,
And find nowhere comfort.
They who abide in the company of the saints are refreshed ;
The ambrosial Name is sweet to their souls.
The soul of the man who pleaseth his Lord,
O Nanak, becometh refreshed.

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Slok XXIX

Prostrations and obeisance many times to Thee, *O God*, who possessest all contrivances and art omnipotent!

Reach me Thy hand, O God, *saith* Nanak, and save me from wavering.[1]

Pauri XXIX

D. O my soul, this is not thy dwelling; know that Place[2] where thy dwelling is;

Learn from the Guru's instruction the way to that dwelling.

Man undergoeth toil to erect a dwelling here
Which will not go an inch with him.
He on whom the omnipotent God looketh with favour,
Knoweth the way to that dwelling.

That dwelling is permanent and true, and is obtained in the company of the saints;

Nanak, they who find it waver not.

Slok XXX

When Dharmraj beginneth to smite, none can restrain him:

Nanak, they who repeat God's name in association with the saints shall be saved.

Pauri XXX

D H. Why goest thou about searching? search in thine own heart.

God dwelleth with thee; why wanderest thou from forest to forest?

Throw down thy heap of terrible pride in the company of the saints;

So shalt thou find rest, abide in peace, and be blest with the sight of God:

He in whom that heap is, shall be born and die, and suffer the pain of the womb;

[1] This slok is recited by Sikh minstrels when they begin to sing, and also by readers of the Granth Sāhib on opening it.

[2] That is, God.

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He who is steeped in worldly love and entangled with egotism shall come and go.

I have now gradually fallen under the protection of the saints ;

God hath cut the meshes of sorrow, Nanak, and united me with Himself.

Slok XXXI

Where the saints ever repeat God's name and praises—

Dharmraj saith, 'Approach not there, O my ministers : *if you do,* neither you nor I shall escape.'

Pauri XXXI

N. He who conquereth his own heart is victorious in the battle ;

He who dieth fighting with his pride and worldly love is blest ; [1]

He who effaceth his pride [2] shall under the perfect Guru's instruction be dead while alive ; [3]

He shall conquer his heart, meet God, and obtain a robe of honour for his bravery ;

He shall consider nothing his own ; the one God shall be his prop and support ;

He shall continue night and day to remember the supreme and infinite God ;

He shall so act as to make his heart the dust of all men's feet ;

He shall understand God's order, be ever happy, Nanak, and obtain what was destined for him.

Slok XXXII

I will devote my body, soul, and wealth to him who causeth me to meet God ;

Nanak, my doubts and fears shall then be dispelled, and Death shall no longer look for me.

[1] *Bhādu,* blest, happy, from the Sanskrit *bhaddra.* It may, however, be a corruption of the word *bahādur,* brave, a hero. If *so sobha du hoi* be read, the translation will be—He shall be honoured in both worlds.

[2] *Mani,* to consider things as one's own.

[3] This is explained to mean that he will be very humble.

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Pauri XXXII

T. Love Him who is the treasury of excellences, the sovereign God ;

Thou shalt then obtain the fruit thy heart desireth, and thy yearning shall depart.

He in whose heart the Name dwelleth, shall have no fear on the road to death ;

His understanding shall become enlightened ; he shall obtain salvation and a place in God's court.

Nor wealth, nor mansion, nor youth, nor empire shall depart with thee.

In the company of the saints continue to remember *God's name* ; it is this that shall avail thee.

There shall be no more burning when God Himself removeth thy fever ;

Nanak, God Himself protecteth us ; He is our mother and father.

Slok XXXIII

The perverse have grown weary of their various toils, *yet* they are not satisfied and their thirst is not allayed ;

They shall die in the midst of their hoarding, Nanak, and their wealth *shall* not *depart* with them.

Pauri XXXIII

T H. None is permanent ; why stretchest thou thy feet forward ? [1]

In thine efforts after wealth alone thou committest great fraud and deceit ;

Thou toilest to fill thy purse, O fool, and then fallest down weary :

At the last moment that shall not avail thy soul.

Thou shalt obtain permanence [2] by worshipping God and accepting the saints' instruction.

[1] A metaphor from the quarrels of Indian landowners. On a disputed plot one claimant puts his foot forward, his opponent does the same. In the text the expression means to bring everything within one's grasp.

[2] Thou shalt no more wander in transmigration.

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Ever love the one God—that is the true love.
He is the cause of causes ; all contrivances are in His hand alone.
We remain at the posts to which Thou, *O God*, hast appointed us ; *saith* Nanak, the creature is helpless.

Slok XXXIV

His slaves have seen the one God who giveth everything ;
They continue to remember Him at every breath ; Nanak, a sight of Him is their support.

Pauri XXXIV

D. The Giver is one ; He giveth to all ;
In His giving there is no stint ; innumerable are His full storehouses.
The Giver liveth for ever.
O my foolish mind, why forgettest thou Him ?
No man is at fault, my friend ;
It is God who forged the fetters of Maya's illusion.
The holy men whose pain He Himself removeth
Shall, O Nanak, be satisfied.[1]

Slok XXXV

O my soul, grasp the prop of the one God, lay aside thy hopes in others ;
Ponder on the Name, and thine affairs shall succeed.

Pauri XXXV

D H. If thou abide with the saints the wanderings of thy heart shall then cease ;
If God Himself bestow mercy from the beginning, the mind shall become enlightened,
They have the true capital and are the true traders,
Whose stock-in-trade is the Name and who deal in God.
Patience, glory, and honour are for him
Who attentively heareth God's name.
The holy man in whose heart *God* is contained
Shall, O Nanak, obtain greatness.

[1] This pauri is repeated as a grace before meals.

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Slok XXXVI

Nanak, the perfect Guru hath taught that for him who, in the company of the saints,

Repeateth the Name with his tongue and with love in his heart, there is no hell.

Pauri XXXVI

N. They in whose souls and bodies the Name abideth
Shall not fall into hell.

They who under the Guru's instruction repeat the Name, which is a treasure,

Shall not perish by the poison of mammon.

No refusal awaiteth him

To whom the Guru hath given the spell of the Name.

God's *name* which is full of nectar is the treasury of wealth :

Nanak, unbeaten musical instruments sound for him *who repeateth it.*

Slok XXXVII

When I abandoned deceit, worldly love, and sin, the great Supreme Being preserved mine honour :

Nanak, adore Him who hath no end or limit.[1]

Pauri XXXVII

P. The sovereign God is beyond estimate ; His limit cannot be ascertained ;

He is the purifier of sinners, and inaccessible.

Millions of sinners who meet the saints

And repeat the ambrosial Name become pure.

He whom Thou Thyself preservest, O Lord of the earth,

Loseth all deception, fraud, and worldly love.

God is emperor ; He alone *is entitled to* the umbrella over His head :

Nanak, there is no other sovereign.

Slok XXXVIII

By restraining the mind *Death's* nooses are cut, transmigration is at an end, and victory obtained.

[1] Sikhs repeat this couplet when tying on their turbans.

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Nanak, permanence is obtained from the Guru and transmigration effaced for ever and ever.

Pauri XXXVIII

P H. O soul, thou hast returned after long wanderings;
In this Kal age thou hast obtained a *human* body so difficult to obtain;
Thou shalt not again have the present opportunity.
Repeat God's name, then *Death's* noose shall be cut away,
And there shall be no transmigration for thee.
Utter *the name of the* one God; that is the *real* utterance.
Have mercy, O God the Creator,
And unite poor Nanak with Thyself.

Slok XXXIX

Hear Thou my supplication, Supreme Being, compassionate to the poor and Lord of the earth—
Nanak, the dust of the saints' feet is to me comfort, wealth, great enjoyment, and pleasure.

Pauri XXXIX

B. It is he who knoweth God who is a Brahman;
He is a Vaishnav who is pious, and accepteth the pure religion.
He is a hero who effaceth his wickedness:
Nothing evil may approach him.
Man is bound by the fetters of his own pride,
And yet, blind that he is, he imputeth blame to others.
Discussion and subterfuges are all of no avail.
O God, he whom Thou causest to know Thee, *saith* Nanak, knoweth Thee.

Slok XL

Heartily worship God who is the destroyer of fear and the remover of sin and sorrow;
He in whose heart He dwelleth through the companionship of the saints shall never again, O Nanak, wander *in transmigration*.

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Pauri XL

B H. Dispel thine errors ;
This world is all a dream.
In error are demigods, goddesses, and gods ;
In error are Sidhs, Strivers, and so is Brahma ;
In mazes of error man is ruined.
This world is difficult to cross and very dangerous.
The pious who have effaced error, fear, and worldly love,
Shall, Nanak. obtain supreme happiness.

Slok XLI

Through wealth the mind wavereth in many ways and becometh entangled ;
He whom Thou, O God, preservest from asking for it, *saith* Nanak, loveth the Name.

Pauri XLI

M. He who asketh is silly ;
The Bestower who is wise continueth to bestow :
What God giveth *He giveth* once for all.
O foolish man, why callest thou aloud ?
When thou prayest, thou prayest for worldly things,
From which happiness resulteth to no one.
If thou pray for anything, then pray for the one God,
By whom, *saith* Nanak, thou shalt be saved.

Slok XLII

Their wisdom is perfect and they are distinguished in whose hearts is the perfect Guru's instruction ;
Nanak, they who know their God are fortunate.

Pauri XLII

M. He who knoweth *God's* secret
Is satisfied on meeting the company of the saints ;
He deemeth woe and weal as the same ;
He is exempted from entering hell or heaven :
The man who knoweth God's secret dwelleth in the world, *and yet* is apart from it ;

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He is, *as it were*, the eminent being who filleth every heart.[1]

He who is not entangled by mammon,
Nanak, hath found happiness in God's love.

Slok XLIII

O my friends, allies, and adherents, hear me—there is no emancipation without God :

Nanak, he who falleth at the Guru's feet hath all his fetters cut away.

Pauri XLIII

Y. Though man make efforts of many kinds,
How far can he succeed without the one Name ?
The efforts by which emancipation is obtained,
Are made in the company of the saints.
The salvation which every one holdeth to,
Cannot be obtained without the repetition of God's name :
God is capable of giving salvation.
O Master, preserve us men without merits.
Nanak, that man's intellect becometh enlightened,
Whom *God* Himself instructeth in thought, word, and deed.

Slok XLIV

Think of thyself ; be angry with no one ;
Abide humble in the world, Nanak, and through God's favour thou shalt be saved.

Pauri XLIV

R. Become the dust of every one's feet ;
Abandon pride, and *the sins* to thy debit shall be blotted out.
Thou *shalt be victorious* in the struggle, O brother, and acceptable in *God's* court,
If under the Guru's instruction thou fix thine attention on God's name,
Thy sins shall gradually be blotted out

[1] Also translated—He enjoyeth the happiness of God who filleth every heart.

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By the perfect Guru's peerless word.
Nanak, they on whom God and the Guru have conferred favours,
Are dyed with the love of *God's* name and intoxicated with its savour.

Slok XLV

The diseases of covetousness, falsehood, and the other deadly sins infest this body ;
But the pious who drink *the medicine* of God's nectar, O Nanak, shall be healed.

Pauri XLV

L. He, *O God*, to whom Thou administerest medicine,
Is at once cured of his sorrows and pains.
That medicine is the Name ; whosoever heartily loveth it
Shall not even dream of disease.
The medicine of God's *name* is in every heart, my brethren.
Except the perfect Guru no one knoweth how to prepare it.
He whose way of life the perfect Guru hath appointed,
O Nanak, shall never again sicken.

Slok XLVI

God is everywhere, there is no place without Him ;
He is with thee, Nanak, whether thou art at home or abroad ; what concealest thou from Him ?

Pauri XLVI

W. Bear not enmity to any one—
God is contained in every heart ;
He is contained in sea and land ;
By the favour of the Guru some rare person singeth *His praises.*
Enmity and jealousy shall depart from the heart of him
Who under the Guru's instruction heareth God's praises.
Nanak, he who under the Guru's instruction repeateth God's name,
Shall be released from all caste and *caste* marks.

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Slok XLVII

The stupid and ignorant infidel passeth his life in egoism ;
In agony he dieth as one thirsty, O Nanak, and *thus* obtaineth his deserts.

Pauri XLVII

R. He who by association with the saints worshippeth the Name,
Which is the essence of religious acts, shall not engage in strife.
He in whose heart the Beautiful One dwelleth,
Shall have his strife erased and ended.
It is the ignorant perverse man, in whose heart
The sin of pride dwelleth, who harboureth strife.
Nanak, when the holy man instructeth,
All strife ceaseth in a moment.

Slok XLVIII

O my soul, grasp the protection of the holy man; lay aside thy phrases and devices :
The Guru's instruction, Nanak, dwelleth in the heart of him on whose forehead good fortune *was written*.

Pauri XLVIII

S H. Weary of repeating the Shastars, the Simritis, and the Veds,
We have now, *O God*, entered Thine asylum.
In my researches I have come to this conclusion,
That without worshipping God there is no deliverance.
We constantly make mistakes ;
Thou art omnipotent, infinite,[1] and illimitable.
O Compassionate One, protect us who have fallen under Thy protection !
Saith Nanak, O God, we are Thy children.

Slok XLIX

When pride is erased, happiness resulteth, the mind and body are healed,

[1] Literally—innumerable.

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Nanak, and He who is worthy of praise becometh manifest.

Pauri XLIX

K H. Thoroughly praise God
Who in an instant can fill to the brim what is empty.
When a mortal is thoroughly humble,
He night and day repeateth *the name* of the eternal God.
The Lord giveth happiness to those who please Him.
The infinite supreme Being is so potent,
That He can in a moment pardon numberless sins :
Nanak, the Lord is merciful.

Slok L

Verily I say unto thee, hear me, O my soul, fall under the sovereign God's protection ;
Cast aside all thy phrases and devices, Nanak, and *God* will unite thee with Himself.

Pauri L

S. O silly man, lay aside devices :
The Lord is not pleased with tricks and orders.[1]
Even though thou practise a thousand forms of cleverness,
Not one shall avail thee.[2]
Day and night repeat His *name*,
O my soul, which will go with thee.
He whom *God* Himself applieth to the saint's service,
Nanak, shall never feel unhappy.

Slok LI

Happiness resulteth from uttering God's name and keeping it in mind.
Nanak, God provideth all things, and is everywhere equally contained.

[1] Ordering God in a familiar manner to grant worldly favours, such as to send rain, heal sickness, provide sons for parents, &c.—a practice of Brāhmans.

[2] Literally—not one of them shall go with thee.

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PAURI LI

Lo! God filleth the hearts of all—
Men are continually born, but the Guru's wisdom destroyeth their pain.[1]
He is happy who hath escaped from pride; where there is no pride there is God.
By the power of the company of the saints the pain of birth and death is removed.
God becometh merciful to those who, by association with the saints,
Lovingly fix the name of the compassionate One *in their hearts.*
Nanak, everything hath proceeded from God;
Without Him no one hath accomplished anything.

SLOK. LII

Looking to his account man shall never be released[2] *since* he erreth every moment.
Saith Nanak, O Thou Pardoner, pardon us and save us.

PAURI LII

Man is disloyal and a sinner; he is a stranger *to God* and of little wisdom;
He knoweth not the Essence *of all things*, who gave him soul, body, and happiness.
For the sake of worldly gain he goeth searching in every direction;
God, the Giver, the Bestower, he treasureth not in his heart for an instant.
Greed, falsehood, sin, worldly love, these things he harboureth in his heart.
He passeth *his life* with great adulterers, thieves, and slanderers.
If pleasing to Thee, *O God*, pardon the counterfeit along with the genuine.

[1] This and the preceding line are also translated—
God filleth the hearts of all, and will ever and ever do so;
He is the destroyer of sorrow and greatly wise.
[2] Man's account with God is always on the debit side.

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Saith Nanak, O supreme God, if it please Thee, stones shall float on water.

Slok LIII

Eating, drinking, playing, and laughing have we wandered in many births ;

O God, rescue us from the terrible ocean, *prayeth* Nanak ; we rely on Thee.

Pauri LIII

Having both enjoyed and suffered the pain of many births, we have returned *as human beings.*

Troubles are removed by meeting the holy man, and being absorbed in the true Guru's instruction.

Man adopting contentment amasseth truth, and liveth upon the ambrosia of the Name.

Genuine is the mercy of God ; I have found my haven in joy and happiness.

My cargo hath safely arrived; *I have had great* profit, and I return home with honour.

Genuine is the consolation the Guru gave me ; I have met God on my return.

God Himself acted and acteth ; *He was* in the beginning and *shall be* in the end.

Nanak, praise Him who is contained in every heart.

Slok LIV

O Ocean of mercy, compassionate God, we have entered Thine asylum.

Nanak is happy in giving the one word[1] God a place in his heart.[2]

Pauri LIV

God holdeth the three worlds by letters ;

Through letters the Veds are studied ;

[1] *Akhar.* Literally—a letter. There is however a pun on the word. It also means indestructible, from the Sanskrit *a* negative, and *kshar*, destruction.

[2] This slok and pauri LV are sung by the Sikhs on the conclusion of the intonement of a passage from the Granth Sāhib.

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Through letters the Shastars, the Simritis, and the Purans ;

Through letters hymns, discourses, and sermons ;

Through letters is the way of escape from fear and error ;

Through letters religious and worldly acts are performed and pure faith obtained.

The whole visible world is contained in letters ;

But, Nanak, the Supreme Being is beyond letters.

Slok LV

O inaccessible One, Thy hand holdeth the pen which writeth *man's destiny* on his forehead.

Thou of incomparable form art contained in all things ;

Man's tongue cannot describe Thy praises ;

Nanak on beholding Thee is fascinated, and devoted unto Thee.

Pauri LV

O eternal, supreme God, indestructible, Destroyer of sin,

O All-pervading, contained in everything, Destroyer of grief, Lord of excellences,

Formless one, O man's companion, O Thou without the three *human* attributes, Prop of all,

Supporter of the earth, O Ocean of excellences who hast ever discrimination,

O God, most remote Thou art, wast, and shalt be.

O Thou, constant Companion of the saints, Support of the supportless,

I am Thy slave, I am without merits, no merit is mine.

Saith Nanak, grant me the gift of Thy name that I may string it and keep it in my heart.

Slok

The divine Guru is my mother, the divine Guru is my father, the divine Guru is my Lord and supreme God ;

The divine Guru is my companion and dispeller of spiritual ignorance, the divine Guru is my relation and my brother ;

The divine Guru is the giver and the teacher of God's name, the divine Guru hath the spell that cannot be counteracted ;

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The divine Guru is peace, truth, and the image of wisdom; the divine Guru is a philosopher's stone by whose touch man is saved;

The divine Guru is a place of pilgrimage, his divine knowledge a lake of nectar, by bathing in which the Illimitable is obtained;

The divine Guru is the creator, the remover of all sin, the divine Guru is the purifier of the impure;

The divine Guru is from the beginning, from the beginning of time and in every age; the divine Guru is the spell of God's *name*, by whose utterance man is saved.

O God, mercifully bring me—foolish and sinner that I am—into the company of the Guru, so that by clinging to him I may be saved.

Nanak boweth to the divine Guru, the true Guru, the supreme Brahm, the supreme God.

SUKHMANI [1]

SLOK I

I bow to the primal Guru;
I bow to the Guru of the primal age;
I bow to the true Guru;
I bow to the holy divine Guru.[2]

ASHTAPADI I

1

Remember, remember God; by remembering Him you shall obtain happiness,

And erase from your hearts trouble and affliction.

[1] This composition is divided into twenty-four *ashtapadis*, a word which means eight *pads*. A *pad* contains ten lines, and thus somewhat resembles the English sonnet. Each *ashtapadi* therefore contains eighty lines. The word *sukhmani* means peace of mind. This composition is repeated in the morning by very earnest Sikhs after the Japji.

[2] These first four lines are supposed to refer to the four Gurus respectively who preceded Guru Arjan.

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Remember the praises of the one all-supporting God.
Numberless persons utter God's various names.[1]
Investigating the Veds, the Purans, and the Simritis,
Men have made out the one word which is God's name.
His praises cannot be recounted,
Who treasureth *God's name* in his heart even for a moment.
Saith Nanak, save me, *O Lord*, with those who are desirous of one glance of Thee.
In this Sukhmani is the name of God *which like* ambrosia *bestoweth* happiness.
And giveth peace to the hearts of the saints.[2]

2

By remembering God man doth not *again* enter the womb ;
By remembering God the tortures of Death disappear ;
By remembering God death is removed ;
By remembering God enemies retreat ;
By remembering God no obstacles are met ;
By remembering God we are watchful night and day ;
By remembering God fear is not felt ;
By remembering God sorrow troubleth not :
Men remember God in the company of the saints—
Nanak, by the love of God all wealth is obtained.

3

By remembering God we obtain wealth, supernatural power, and the nine treasures ;
By remembering God we obtain divine knowledge, meditation, and the essence of wisdom ;
Remembrance of God is the *real* devotion, penance, and worship ;
By remembering God *the conception of* duality is dispelled ;
By remembering God we obtain *the advantages* of bathing at places of pilgrimage ;

[1] Also translated—Remember that One Sustainer of the world whose various names countless persons utter.
[2] Also translated—This Sukhmani dwelleth in the hearts of the saints.

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By remembering God we are honoured at His court ;
By remembering God we become reconciled to His will ;
By remembering God men's *lives* are very profitable.
They whom He hath caused to do so remember Him—
Nanak, touch the feet of such persons.

4

To remember God is the most exalted of all duties.
By remembering God many are saved ;
By remembering God thirst is quenched ; [1]
By remembering God man knoweth all things ;
By remembering God there is no fear of death ;
By remembering God our desires are fulfilled ;
By remembering God mental impurity is removed,
And the ambrosial Name filleth the heart.
God abideth on the tongue of the saint
Whose most humble slave Nanak is.

5

They who remember God are wealthy ;
They who remember God are honoured ;
They who remember God are acceptable ;
They who remember God are distinguished ;
They who remember God feel not want ;
They who remember God rule the world ;
They who remember God dwell in happiness ;
They who remember God live for ever ;
They to whom God showeth mercy ever remember Him—
Nanak prayeth for the dust of such men's feet.

6

They who remember God are philanthropic ;
I am ever devoted to those who remember God.
The faces of those who remember God look bright ;
They who remember God pass their lives in bliss ;
They who remember God chasten their hearts ;
The ways of those who remember God are holy :
They who remember God feel extreme joy ;

1 That is, avarice is removed.

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They who remember God dwell near Him,
And by the favour of the saints are watchful night and day—
Nanak, meditation on God is obtained by complete good fortune.

7

By remembering God everything is accomplished ;
By remembering God man never grieveth ;
By remembering God man uttereth His praises ;
By remembering God man is easily absorbed in Him ;
By remembering God man findeth an immovable seat ;
By remembering God the lotus of *man's heart* bloometh ;
By remembering God man *heareth* the unbeaten melody ;
The happiness which is obtained by remembering God hath no end or limit :
They to whom God is merciful remember Him ;
Nanak seeketh the protection of such men.

8

By remembering God His saints have become distinguished ;
By remembering God the Veds were composed ;
By remembering God men have obtained supernatural power, continence and generosity ;
By remembering God even the lowly are known in every direction ;
By remembering God the whole earth is supported ;[1]
Remember, remember God the Cause of causes.—
For the remembrance of God He created the whole world :
Where God is remembered there is God Himself :
Nanak, the pious whom God hath mercifully instructed,
Have obtained the boon of remembering Him.

SLOK II

O Thou Destroyer of the pain and grief of the distressed, Lord of every heart, Thyself without a lord,

[1] And not by the serpent *Sheshnāg* as the Hindus suppose.

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I have come under Thy protection ; O God, be with Nanak !

Ashtapadi II

1

Where man hath neither mother, nor father, nor son, nor friend, nor brother,
There, O my soul, God's name shall be with thee and assist thee.
Where the very terrible ministers of Death crush thee,
There the name of God alone shall go with thee.
Where there are very great obstacles,
The name of God will remove them in a moment.
Thou shalt not be saved *even* by many expiations ;
It is the name of God which removeth millions of sins.
O my soul, utter the name of God under the Guru's instruction ;
Thus shalt thou, *saith* Nanak, have manifold joys.

2

The king of the whole world is miserable ;
Only he is happy who uttereth God's name.
Even though there be millions of entanglements,
By uttering the name of God, we shall be freed from them all.
The various pleasures of the world allay not our thirst,
But by pondering on God's name it is quenched.
On the road on which man goeth alone,[1]
The name of God is with him to cheer him.
Ever ponder on such a Name in thy heart,
And under the Guru's instruction, Nanak, thou shalt obtain the supreme state.

3

Even though thou have millions of arms, thou shalt not be saved ;

[1] That is, after death.

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But, if thou utter the Name, thou shalt be saved.
When many obstacles harass thee,
The name of God will at once save thee.
Man dieth and is born in many births,
But he shall obtain rest by uttering the Name.
The soul is defiled by filthy pride—filth which is never washed away ; [1]
But the name of God cleanseth all impurity :
Repeat such a Name, O my soul, with love :
Nanak, it is obtained in the company of the saints.

4

On the way where the miles cannot be counted,
The name of God shall there be thy provision ;
On the way where there is pitch darkness,
The name of God shall accompany and light thee ;
On the way where nobody knoweth thee,
The name of God shall be there to recognize thee ;
Where there is very terrible heat and great sunshine,
There the name of God shall be a shadow over thee.
O man, where thirst tormenteth thee,
There, *saith* Nanak, *the name of* God shall rain nectar on thee.[2]

5

Uttering the Name is the business of the pious ;
It giveth peace to the hearts of the saints.
God's name is the shelter of His servants ;
By God's name millions have been saved.
The saints day and night praise God :
The pious use God's name as their medicine.
The name of God is the treasure of the holy ;
The Supreme Being gave this gift to man.

[1] Even at places of pilgrimage.

[2] Hindus light lamps to guide the departed. They offer water to allay their thirst and umbrellas to protect them from the heat. Such offerings, which are made through Brāhmans, are rejected by the Sikhs as vain superstitions.

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Nanak, *the pursuit* of divine knowledge is the rule of the holy,
Whose souls and bodies are dyed with the love of the one *God*.

6

The name of God is the way of salvation for His servant ;
The food of God's name satisfieth His servant ;
The name of God is His servant's beauty and delight ;
By uttering God's name harm never befalleth one ;
God's name is His servant's glory ;
From God's name man obtaineth lustre ;
God's name is enjoyment and salvation to His servant ;
By uttering God's name man is never separated *from Him*.
Nanak, every demigod [1] worshippeth him
Who is dyed with the worship of God's name.

7

God's name is wealth and treasure to His servants ;
God Himself gave His name as a boon to man ;
God's name is to His servant a powerful stronghold ;
God's servant knoweth naught but God's glory.
The man of God who is the warp and the woof,[2] is dyed with God's love ;
In deep meditation man is intoxicated with the essence of the Name ;
During the eight watches of the day the man of God repeateth His name.
The saints of God are distinguished and not obscure ;
The worship of God conferreth salvation upon many—
Nanak, how many shall be saved with holy men ?

[1] *Har har deva*. Also translated—(*a*) Vishnu, Shiv, and the other gods. (*b*) Nānak worshippeth him as a god instead of Vishnu and Shiv.

[2] *Ot pot*. Also translated—thoroughly. The man of God is thoroughly dyed with God's love.

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8

This name of God is as the tree which groweth in heaven ; [1]

The singing of God's praises is *as the gifts of* Kamdhen ;

Speaking of God is the best of all utterances ;

By hearing the Name pain and sorrow are removed :

The praise of the Name dwelleth in the hearts of the pious ;

By their influence all sins depart.

It is by great good fortune association with the pious is obtained ;

It is by serving them man meditateth on God's name :

There is nothing equal to God's name—

Nanak, a few men obtain it by the Guru's instruction.

SLOK III

I have seen many Shastars, many Simritis, and searched them all—

They are, Nanak, not equal to God's priceless name.

ASHTAPADI III

1

Muttering spells, doing penance, *pretended* knowledge, all meditation,

The exposition of the six Shastars and of the Simritis,

The practice of Jog, the performance of *vain* religious ceremonies,

The abandonment of everything, wandering in the forest,

Superstitious efforts of various descriptions,

Almsgiving, the sacrifice of hom, *the bestowal* of many jewels,[2]

[1] This is called *kalaptaru*, and according to the Hindus communicates all wealth to man. That and the cow Kāmdhenu were produced among the fourteen gems from the churning of the ocean.

[2] Jewels may be understood literally; but the word is sometimes applied to clarified butter, sesame, sandal, cardamums, honey, &c., thrown on fire as a *hom* sacrifice.

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Cutting pieces off one's body and making them a burnt offering,
The performance of fasting and vows of many kinds—
All are not equal to the contemplation of God's name,
Nanak, even if it be only once repeated as directed by the Guru.

2

Were one to wander through the nine continents of the earth, live for a long time,
And become a great anchoret and penitent ;
Were one to burn oneself in the fire,
Make gifts of gold, excellent horses, and lands,
Perform the niwali feat, adopt many *Jogi* attitudes,
Adopt the Jain mortifications, make great *spiritual* efforts,
And cut one's body into pieces—
Even then the filth of pride would not depart.
There is nothing equal to God's name :
Nanak, by the utterance of the Name under the Guru man obtaineth salvation.

3

Even though the soul leave the body at a place of pilgrimage ; yet if it retain worldly desires,
Pride and arrogance will not depart from it.
Even though one practice purification day and night,
The filth of the heart will not leave the body.
Even though man subject his body to much mortification,
Evil passions will never abandon his heart.
Even though we wash this temporary body with much water,
How can a wall of mud become clean ?
O my soul, exalted is the name of God.
Nanak, the worst sinners have been saved by the Name.

4

By too much cleverness man shall feel the fear of Death :
Even by various efforts his thirst shall not be satisfied ;

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Even by adopting various *religious* garbs the fire of his *worldly love* is not quenched ;

Even by millions of *other religious* efforts man is not acceptable in God's court.

He over whom worldly love hath spread its net,
Shall not escape in heaven or hell.
Death heedeth naught but the praises of God ;
He punisheth all other works of man.
By repeating God's name grief is dispelled :
Nanak uttereth the *Name* without effort.

5

Let him who prayeth for the four boons,
Apply himself to the service of holy men.
Let him who *desireth* to remove his troubles,
Continually sing the name of God in his heart.
Let him who desireth honour for himself,
Renounce pride by association with holy men.
Let him who feareth transmigration,
Come under the protection of holy men.
Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice
Unto those who thirst for the sight of God.

6

Among all men foremost is he
Who by association with the pious effaceth pride.
He who deemeth himself lowly,
Shall be deemed the most exalted of all.
They whose minds are the dust of all men's feet,
Shall see God's name in their inmost hearts.
They who expel evil from their hearts,
Shall regard the whole world as their friends.
The holy man who looketh upon weal and woe as the same,
Shall not, Nanak, be affected by evil or good.

7

To him who hath no wealth, O God, Thy name is wealth ;
To him who hath no home, Thy name is a home ;

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To him who hath no honour, Thy *name* is an honour :
Thou givest gifts to all persons.
Thou, O Lord, actest and causest to act.
It is *only* Thou, who hast the secrets of all hearts,
Who knowest Thine own condition and limit.
Thou art, O God, Thine own beloved ;
It is Thou alone who canst praise Thyself.
Saith Nanak, no one else knoweth Thy praises.

8

Of all devotion, the best devotion is
To utter the name of God and do pious works ;[1]
Of all rites, the best rite is
To remove the filth of evil inclinations by association with saints ;
Of all efforts, the best effort is
Ever heartily to repeat God's name ;
Of all speech, the divine speech is
To utter with the tongue God's praises heard *from the Guru* ;
Of all places, that is the best place
Nanak, where God's name dwelleth in the heart.

SLOK IV

O unworthy and foolish man, ever remember God.
Fix thy heart upon Him, Nanak, who made thee ; this will avail thee in the end.

ASHTAPADI IV

1

Mortal, think upon the goodness of God,
What thine origin is, and what thou appearest now—
That God who made thee, fashioned thee, and adorned thee,
Who preserved thee in the fire of the womb,
Who in thine infancy gave thee milk to drink,

[1] Also translated—To utter the name of God, which is a pious work.

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In thy youth food, comfort, and intelligence,
In thine old age relations to watch over thee,
And who put food into thy mouth as thou wast seated.[1]
Unworthy man, however, value not these favours.
If Thou, O God, pardon him, then, O Nanak, he shall be acceptable.

2

Thou feelest an affection for others, and abandonest Him
By whose favour thou dwellest in comfort on the earth,
And rejoicest with children, brothers, friends, and wives ;
By whose favour thou drinkest cool water,
And the pleasant winds and the priceless fire *are at thy service* ;
By whose favour thou enjoyest all pleasures,
And livest with all the necessaries *of life* ;
Who gave thee hands, feet, ears, eyes, and a tongue—
Such sins *of ingratitude* attach to blind and foolish man :
Nanak *prayeth*, save us, O Lord, *from such sins*.

3

The ignorant[2] man loveth not Him
Who protecteth him in the beginning and the end ;
The fool fixeth not his heart on Him
By service to whom the wealth of the world is obtained ;
The Lord who is ever and ever present
Is thought by the blind to be far away ;
The stupid and foolish forget Him
By service to whom honour is obtained at His court.
Man erreth ever and ever :
Nanak, the Infinite One is the *only* Preserver.

4

Man abandoneth a jewel and loveth a kauri ;
He renounceth truth and occupieth himself with falsehood ;

[1] That is, without any effort of thy own.
[2] *Gawār*. *Gaonwār*, dweller in a village, is literally the Latin word *paganus*.

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What he shall have to part with he deemeth enduring ;
The thought of death which is to happen he putteth away from him ;
He troubleth himself about what he must part with ;
He spurneth the Succourer who abideth with him ;
He washeth away and removeth the coating of sandal,[1]
And like a donkey conceiveth a love for ashes *to roll in.*
Man hath fallen into a terrible blind well :
Saith Nanak, O Merciful God, extricate him :

5

He is only man in appearance ; his acts are those of a brute ;
He beguileth [2] people day and night ;
He weareth a religious dress, but within him is the filth of worldly love ;
However much he try, he cannot conceal *his sins* ;
Before the world he *practiseth* contemplation, meditation, and ablution,
While in his heart he hath the greed of a dog ;
In his heart is the fire of *avarice* while he applieth ashes to his body ; [3]
There is a stone *tied to* his neck : how shall he cross over the bottomless *ocean* ?
He in whose heart God Himself dwelleth,
Shall, O Nanak, be easily absorbed in Him.

6

How shall a blind man find the road even though he hear *where it is* ?
Take his hand and he shall reach the goal.
How can a deaf man understand riddles ?
Talk to him of the night, and he will think *you are talking of* the dawn ;

[1] What is precious.
[2] *Lok pachār*, the Sanskrit *lokopachār*, is also translated — he followeth others' example.
[3] To imitate religious persons.

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How can a dumb man sing a stave
When, though he try, it would break his voice,[1]
How can a cripple roam on a mountain?
He could never reach there.
O merciful Creator, Nanak humbly supplicateth Thee,
That by Thy favour he may be saved.

7

Man thinketh not upon the Succourer who abideth with him;
He loveth what is hostile to him;
He dwelleth within a house of sand,
And indulgeth in joy, and sports, and the pleasures of the world:
He is certain in his heart that they shall last for ever.
Attached to the sins of revenge, enmity, lust, wrath, worldly love,
Falsehood, excessive avarice, and deceit,
The thought of death never entereth his foolish heart.
In this way he hath passed several lives;
Nanak *prayeth, O God*, save him by Thy favour.

8

Thou art the Lord: I make this supplication unto Thee.
Soul and body are all Thy property;
Thou art mother and father, we are Thy children.
By Thy favour we obtain many comforts:
Nobody knoweth Thy limit.
O God, Thou art the most exalted of the exalted.
All things are strung on Thy string,[2]
And must obey the orders Thou issuest.
It is only Thou Thyself who knowest Thine own condition and limit:
Nanak, Thy slave, is ever a sacrifice unto Thee.[3]

[1] That is, his voice would be out of tune.
[2] The whole creation is upheld by Thy law.
[3] This eighth *pad* is repeated by the Sikhs whenever the Granth Sāhib is opened.

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Slok V

They who leave God the Giver and attach themselves to other pleasures,
Shall never be acceptable ; O Nanak, without the Name their honour shall depart.

Ashtapadi V

1

If man obtain ten things and lay them by,
Shall he basely forfeit his faith for the sake of one thing?[1]
If God give not even one thing and take away the ten things,
Say what can foolish man do ?
Ever bow down to that Lord
With whom force is of no avail.
All happiness abideth in him
To whose heart God is dear.
The man whom God hath caused to obey His order,
Hath, Nanak, obtained all things.

2

The Banker giveth countless capital to man :
He eateth, and drinketh, and useth it with pleasure and joy ;
But if God the Banker take back some of what He hath entrusted to man,
The fool becometh angry.
He by his own act forfeiteth confidence,
And God will not *again* trust him.
If thou place the things[2] before their Owner,
And obey God's order with all thy might,[3]

[1] When God has conferred many blessings, shall man be ungrateful and rail at Him because he is bereft of one blessing?
[2] The blessings previously referred to.
[3] Literally—on thy forehead. Persian and Indian Mussulmans say—with the head and eyes.

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He will make thee fourfold happy.
Nanak, the Lord is ever compassionate.

3

Man is enamoured of the various forms of mammon,
But it is temporary ; know this for a certainty.
Man falleth in love with the shadow of a tree :
When that vanisheth he mourneth in his heart.
Everything we see is transitory ;
Yet man, thoroughly blind that he is, is attached to it.
He who giveth his love to a passing visitor,
Shall gain nothing thereby.
O my soul, the love of God's name is comfortable.
Nanak, God attacheth to Himself those to whom He showeth mercy.

4

Perishable are body, wealth, and family ;
Perishable are pride, egoism, and worldly love ;
Perishable are dominion, youth, wealth, and property ;
Perishable are lust and direful wrath ;
Perishable are carriages, elephants, horses, and raiment ;
Perishable the love of worldly things, a sight of which causeth man to rejoice ; [1]
Perishable are deceit, worldly love, and pride ;
Perishable is self-conceit ;
Imperishable the worship performed under the protection of holy men—
Nanak liveth by meditating on God's feet—

5

Perishable the ears which listen to slander of others ;
Perishable the hands which steal the property of others ;
Perishable the eyes which behold the beauty and other charms of another's wife ;
Perishable the tongue which tasteth *dainty* food and other savours ;

[1] Also translated—Perishable the pleasure obtained by beholding near the various forms of mammon.

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Perishable the feet which run after evil ;
Perishable the heart which coveteth another's goods ;
Perishable the body which benefiteth not others ;
Perishable *the nose* which *delighteth in the* smell of evil ;
Without understanding *God* everything is perishable.
Fruitful is the body, Nanak, which taketh the name of God.

6

Vain is the life of the infidel.[1]
How can man be pure without truth ?
Vain are the spiritually blind without God's name ;
Foul breath[2] issueth from their mouths :
Without remembering the Name their days and nights pass away in vain.
As the crop perisheth without rain,
As the money of the miser is worthless,
So everything is vain without repeating God's name.
They are to be highly congratulated in whose hearts the name of God abideth :
Nanak is a sacrifice, a sacrifice unto them.

[1] *Sākat.* This word means an adorer of the Shaktis, or female energies of the gods, but the term is more particularly applied to the adorers of Pārbati, the female energy of Shiv. As the worshippers of Shiv set up the phallus as the outward and visible representation of their god, so the worshippers of his consort apply themselves to the worship of the female principle, by which they mean the divine power personified in woman. Some suppose that Shakti created the world without God's intervention.

The Sākats are of two classes, those who follow the right-hand and those who follow the left-hand way. The worship of the former is open and undisguised, and of the latter secret and concealed. The ceremonies must be attended with one or all of five objects beginning with an M—māns, flesh; matsya, fish; madya, wine; maithuna, sonsuality; and mudra, naturalistic gesticulations. It can, therefore, be understood that the worship occasionally diverges from its strictly religious character.

The scriptures of the Sākats are called Tantras. They principally consist of dialogues between Shiv and his consort. Their composition is attributed to Shiv himself. There is no doubt that they possess some antiquity, for they are mentioned in the Purāns.

[2] That is, foul language.

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7

He who professeth one thing and doeth another,
In whose heart there is no love, but who attacheth men to him by his words,
Shall be tried by the Lord, who is wise, who knoweth everything,
And is not pleased *simply* by outward appearances.
He who practiseth not what he preacheth,
Shall come and go, shall be born and die.
The world shall be saved by his teaching
In whose heart the Formless One dwelleth.
Only they who are pleasing to Thee, O God, can know Thee :
Nanak falleth at the feet of such men.

8

Supplicate the Supreme Being who knoweth all things.
God accepteth *the prayers* of His creatures :
He Himself and by Himself decideth :
To one man He showeth Himself afar, and to another near.
He Himself is free from all stratagems and wiles ;
He thoroughly knoweth the ways of man's heart ;
The man who is pleasing to Him He attacheth to His skirt—
He is contained in every place—
He to whom He showeth favour is His servant.
Nanak, every moment repeat God's name.

SLOK VI

Nanak hath taken Thy protection, O Divine Guru ; mercifully grant
That his lust, wrath, avarice, worldly love, and pride may depart.

ASHTAPADI VI

1

Bear that God in thy mind
By whose favour thou eatest of the thirty-six dishes.

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Thou shalt obtain salvation by remembering Him
By whose favour thou appliest perfume to thy body.
Meditate on Him continually in thy heart
By whose favour thou dwellest comfortably at home.
Repeat His name with thy tongue for the eight watches
By whose favour thou dwellest in comfort with thy family.
Nanak ever meditateth on Him
By whose favour thou enjoyest mental and bodily pleasure ; He is worthy of meditation.[1]

2

Why shouldest thou be enamoured of others and forsake Him
By whose favour thou wearest silks and satins ?
O man, sing His praises for the eight watches
By whose favour thou sleepest in comfort on thy bed.
Repeat His praises with thy mouth and with thy tongue
By whose favour every one honoureth thee.
O man, ever think upon the Supreme Being alone
By whose favour thy faith is preserved.
By uttering the name of God thou shalt obtain honour at His court,
O Nanak, and go home with honour.

3

Fix thine attention on that lovable God
By whose favour thy beautiful body remaineth healthy.
O man, thou shalt obtain happiness by uttering God's praises,
By whose favour thy honour is preserved.
O man, take shelter in that Lord God
By whose favour all thy defects are concealed.
O man, at every breath remember the Most High
By whose favour none can equal thee.
Nanak, perform His service
By whose favour thou obtainest a human body so difficult to obtain.

[1] The Sikhs repeat this *pad* also as grace after meals.

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4

O man, why art thou slow in remembering Him
By whose favour thou wearest jewels ?
O man, never forget thy God
By whose favour thou ridest on horses and elephants.
String and keep God in thy heart
By whose favour thou hast gardens, and property, and wealth.
Standing or sitting, O man, ever meditate upon Him
Who made the framework of thy body.
Meditate upon Him who is the Invisible One,
And he will preserve thee, Nanak, in this world and the next.

5

Meditate upon Him during the eight watches of the day
By whose favour thou bestowest much in charity.
Remember that God at every breath
By whose favour thou performest thy religious and worldly duties.
Remember that God ever incomparable
By whose favour thy form is beautiful.
Meditate on that God day and night
By whose favour thou hast obtained the superior state.[1]
By the Guru's favour, Nanak, repeat His praises
By whose favour thine honour is preserved.

6

Why attach thyself to any other and forsake Him
By whose favour thine ears hear melody,
By whose favour thou beholdest wonders,
By whose favour thou utterest ambrosial words,
By whose favour thou abidest in ease and comfort,
By whose favour thy hands move to discharge[2] *their duties*,
By whose favour thou art completely successful,

[1] Human birth.
[2] *Kar.* If *pad*, the foot, were read instead of this word, the verse would appear more simple.

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By whose favour thou obtainest supreme bliss,
By whose favour thou shalt be filled with happiness and comfort ?
Awaken thy heart, Nanak, by the Guru's favour.

7

Never at all forget that God in thy heart
By whose favour thou art distinguished in the world.
O foolish man, repeat His name
By whose favour thou obtainest glory.
Know in thy heart that He is ever present
By whose favour thine affairs are completed.
O my soul, attach thyself to Him
By whose favour thou obtainest the truth.
Nanak, utter the name of Him
By whose favour all are saved.

8

He uttereth God's name whom He causeth to utter it ;
He singeth God's praises whom He causeth to sing them.
Through God's mercy man becometh enlightened ;
Through God's compassion the lotus of *the heart* bloometh.
If God be pleased, He abideth in man's heart.
By God's compassion man's intellect is superior to that of others.
All wealth is obtained, O God, by Thy kindness ;
No one obtaineth anything by himself.
We apply ourselves to the duties to which Thou hast appointed us, O Master :
Nanak, we have no power in ourselves.

SLOK VII

The supreme Being is inaccessible and unfathomable ;
He who repeateth His name shall be saved.
Hear, O my friends, Nanak's representation
And the wonderful story of the saints :—

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Ashtapadi VII

1

By association with saints the face becometh bright,
By association with saints all filth is removed,
By association with saints pride is effaced,
By association with saints divine knowledge is revealed,
By association with saints God is known to be near,
By association with saints everything is decided,
By association with saints the jewel of the Name is obtained,
By association with saints we should strive for the one God—
What mortal can express saints' praises ?
Nanak, the glory of saints is merged in that of God.[1]

2

By association with saints the Unseen is obtained,
By association with saints man ever flourisheth,
By association with saints the five evil passions are restrained,
By association with saints man partaketh of the ambrosial essence of the Name,
By association with saints man becometh the dust of all *men's feet*,
In the association of saints is fascinating converse,
By association with saints, the mind wandereth not in any direction,
By association with saints it becometh stable,
By association with saints the mind is free from illusion—
Nanak, by association with saints, God is well pleased.

3

By association with saints all enemies become friends,
By association with saints man becometh very pure,

[1] When saints' praises cannot be expressed, much less can God's.

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By association with saints man feeleth not enmity for any one,
By association with saints man's feet *walk* not awry—
A man cannot be evil who associateth with saints—
By association with saints man knoweth the Supreme Joy,
By association with saints there is no fever of pride,
By association with saints man abandoneth all self-conceit.
Only God knoweth His saints' greatness—
Nanak, there is an understanding between God and His saints—

4

By association with saints *the mind* never wandereth,
By association with saints happiness is ever obtained,
By association with saints man obtaineth what is unseen,
By association with saints man beareth intolerable things,
By association with saints man dwelleth in an exalted position,
By association with saints man shall reach *God's* palace,
By association with saints man's faith is completely established,
In the association of saints the Supreme Being alone *is mentioned*,
By association with saints man obtaineth the treasure of the Name—
Nanak is a sacrifice to the saints—

5

By association with saints all one's family is saved,
By association with saints acquaintances, friends, and family are saved,
By association with saints that wealth is obtained
From which every one gaineth advantage—
Dharmraj performeth service for those who associate with saints—
By association with saints the king of the demigods singeth man's praises.

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By association with saints sins flee away,
By association with saints man singeth the praises of the ambrosial *Name*,
By association with saints man reacheth every place,
Nanak, by association with saints man's birth is profitable.

6

By association with saints man hath no travail—
On beholding and meeting them man becometh happy—
By association with saints blemishes are removed,
By association with saints hell is avoided,
By association with saints man shall be happy in this world and the next,
By association with saints they who are separated from God shall meet Him,
By association with saints man departeth not empty,
But obtaineth the fruit he desireth.
The Supreme Being dwelleth in the hearts of saints ;
Nanak, man hearing God's delicious *name* from saints shall be saved.

7

In the association of saints hear God's name,
In the association of saints sing God's praises,
In the association of saints God is not forgotten,
In the association of saints man shall assuredly be saved—
To the association of saints God is dear—
By association with saints He is seen in every heart,
By association with saints man becometh obedient,
By association with saints I have been saved,
By association with saints all maladies are healed.
Nanak, association with saints is obtained by good fortune.

8

Even the Veds know not the greatness of saints ;
They described them as far as they had heard of them.
The greatness of saints is beyond the three qualities,
The greatness of saints pervadeth every place ;

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There is no end to the glory of saints ;
The glory of saints is ever endless,
The glory of saints is the highest of the high,
The glory of saints is the greatest of the great,
The glory of saints appertaineth to them alone ;
Saith Nanak, my brethren, there is no difference between God and His saints.

SLOK VIII

He whose heart is true and whose words are true
Looketh at nobody but the one God.
Nanak, these are the marks of a man who knoweth God :—

ASHTAPADI VIII

1

The man who knoweth God is ever uncontaminated,
As the lotus is untouched by the water ;
The man who knoweth God is ever stainless,[1]
As all things purified by the sun ;
The man who knoweth God looketh on all men as equal,
As the wind bloweth on the rich and poor alike ;
The man who knoweth God is uniformly patient,
Like the earth which one man diggeth up and another smeareth with sandal.
This is the attribute of the man who knoweth God ;
Nanak, his nature is like that of fire.[2]

2

The man who knoweth God is the purest of the pure,
As filth cannot *permanently* attach to water ;
The mind of the man who knoweth God is enlightened,
Like the firmament above the earth ;
To the man who knoweth God a friend and foe are the same ;
The man who knoweth God hath no pride ;
The man who knoweth God is the most exalted of the exalted ;

[1] That is, no matter what he eats or with whom he associates.
[2] Which purifies everything.

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Yet his mind is the most humble of all—
Nanak, only those are Brahmgyanis [1]
Whom God Himself maketh so—

3

The man who knoweth God is the dust of all men's feet,
The man who knoweth God feeleth spiritual pleasure,
The man who knoweth God showeth kindness to all,
From the man who knoweth God cometh nothing evil,
The man who knoweth God ever *looketh on all* with an equal eye—
Nectar raineth from the glance of him who knoweth God—
The man who knoweth God is free from entanglements ;
The way of the man who knoweth God is pure ;
Divine knowledge is the food of the man who knoweth God ;
The man who knoweth God meditateth on Him,

4

The man who knoweth God hath his hopes on One alone,
The man who knoweth God shall never perish,
The man who knoweth God is steeped in humility,
The man who knoweth God delighteth to show kindness to others,
The man who knoweth God is not *involved* in worldly affairs,
The man who knoweth God restraineth his wandering mind ;
Very good are *the acts* of the man who knoweth God ; [2]
Everything prospereth with him who knoweth God ;
In the company of the man who knoweth God all shall be saved—
Nanak, the whole world praiseth the man who knoweth God.

[1] Who know God.
[2] Also translated—To the man who knoweth God, whatever is, is best.

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5

The man who knoweth God loveth Him alone ;
God abideth with the man who knoweth Him ;
The Name is the support of the man who knoweth God,
The Name is a halo[1] for the man who knoweth God ;
The man who knoweth God is ever watchful,
The man who knoweth God renounceth pride,
The heart of him who knoweth God feeleth supreme delight,
The home of him who knoweth God is ever happy,
The man who knoweth God dwelleth in peace and rest,
The man who knoweth God, O Nanak, shall never perish—

6

The man who knoweth God *is called* a Brahmgyani,
The man who knoweth God loveth but Him alone,
The man who knoweth God is free from care ;
Pure is the doctrine of him who knoweth God ;
He is a Brahmgyani whom God maketh so ;
Great is the glory of the man who knoweth God.
A sight of the man who knoweth God is only obtained by good fortune ;
Be a sacrifice to the man who knoweth God ;
Shiv searcheth for the man who knoweth God—
Nanak, the Brahmgyani is himself God.

7

The man who knoweth God is priceless,
The man who knoweth God knoweth everything—
Who knoweth the secret of him who knoweth God ?
Obeisance ever to him who knoweth God !
Even half a letter of *his praises* who knoweth God cannot be written—
The man who knoweth God is the lord of all—
Who can tell the worth of the man who knoweth God ?

[1] *Parwār.* This word also means family and retinue.

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Only the man who knoweth God knoweth his own state;
The man who knoweth God hath no end or limit.
Nanak ever boweth to the man who knoweth God.

8

The man who knoweth God is the creator of the whole world,
The man who knoweth God liveth for ever and dieth not,
The man who knoweth God bestoweth on creatures spiritual and temporal benefits,
The man who knoweth God is the perfect being, the arranger,
The man who knoweth God is the patron of the patronless,
The man who knoweth God holdeth his arm over all,
The man who knoweth God owneth the whole world,
The man who knoweth God is himself the Formless One—
The glory of the man who knoweth God is peculiar to himself—
Nanak, the man who knoweth God is the lord of all.

Slok IX

Nanak, he is an Aparas [1] and saveth all,
Who preserveth the Name in his inmost heart,
Who seeth God in all things,
And who every moment boweth to the Lord.

Ashtapadi IX

1

Nanak, among millions there is scarcely an Aparas
Whose tongue toucheth not falsehood,
Whose heart loveth to behold the Bright One,
Whose eyes gaze not on the beauty of others' wives,
Who serveth holy men and loveth saints,
Whose ears hear not slander of any one,
Who deemeth himself the worst of all men.

[1] *Aparas*, a sect who plume themselves on not touching metals.

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Who by the favour of the Guru renounceth all wickedness,
Who banisheth all evil desires from his heart,
Curbeth his passions, and refraineth from the five deadly sins.

2

He is a Vaishnav with whom God is pleased,
Who is free from the influence of mamınon,
Who in performing *good* acts looketh not for reward [1]—
Of such a Vaishnav pure is the religion—
Nanak, that Vaishnav shall obtain final salvation,
Who desireth not a reward for anything,
Who is only attached to God's service and singing His praises,
Who remembereth God in his mind and body,
Who is merciful to all creatures,
Who himself holdeth fast God's name and causeth others to repeat it.

3

He is a Bhagauti who loveth God's service,
Who forsaketh the company of all wicked men,
Who removeth all superstition from his mind,
Who deemeth and worshippeth all *nature* as the Supreme Being,
Who by association with the saints washeth away the filth of sin—
Of such a Bhagauti supreme is the wisdom—
He who continually serveth God,
And dedicateth his soul and body to His love,
Who placeth God's feet in his heart—
Nanak, such a Bhagauti shall obtain God.

4

He is a Pandit who awakeneth his own mind,
Who searcheth for God's name in his heart,
Who drinketh the excellent juice of God's name—

[1] Acts are of two kinds, those performed for a material object, as if one makes offerings for wealth or the restoration of health, and secondly those performed without any hope or desire of reward.

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The world liveth by that Pandit's instruction—
The Pandit who implanteth God's word in his heart
Shall not be born again.
Nanak ever maketh obeisance to that Pandit
Who understandeth the real meaning of the Veds, the Purans, and the Simritis,
Who recognizeth the great in the minute,[1]
And who instructeth the four castes.

5

The Name, the ground spell, giveth knowledge to all;
He who among the four castes
Repeateth it, shall obtain salvation.
Some rare man obtaineth it by association with the saints.
By the favour of God, the keeping of the Name in the heart
Shall save brutes, sprites, blockheads and hard-hearted persons.[2]
The Name is the medicine for all diseases;
Singing God's praises is beatitude and joy.
God's name is found not in any other way or by any other religion.
Nanak, he for whom such destiny was written from the first, shall obtain God's name.

6

He in whose heart is God's dwelling,
May truly be called God's slave.
The soul of the world appeareth to his gaze,
And he hath obtained the state of God's slave of slaves.
The servant of God who believeth that He is ever near,
Shall be acceptable at His court.
His servant to whom He showeth kindness,
Shall obtain all knowledge.
The man who among all men is a recluse at heart,
Thus becometh, O Nanak, a slave of God.

1 Who recognizes the great God in His minute forms.
2 Literally—stones.

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7

He whose heart loveth God's order
Is said to have obtained salvation during life.
To him joy and sorrow are the same ;
He is ever happy and is never separated *from God,*
To him as is gold so is dross,
As is nectar so is bitter poison,
As is honour so is dishonour,
As is the poor man so is the king.
He who deemeth what cometh from God as best,
Shall, O Nanak, be said to have obtained salvation during life.

8

All places belong to the Supreme Being ;
Creatures have different names according to where God placed them.
God is able to act and cause others to act ;
What pleaseth Him shall ultimately be.
God extended Himself in endless waves ;
The play of the Supreme Being cannot be understood.
Man's enlightenment is according to the understanding God giveth him.
The Supreme Being, the Creator, is imperishable ;
He is ever, ever, ever compassionate :
By remembering and remembering Him, Nanak hath become happy.

SLOK X

Many people praise Him who hath neither end nor limit :
Nanak, God created His creatures of many kinds and various species.

ASHTAPADI X

1

Many millions are His worshippers,
Many millions are engaged in religious and worldly duties,
Many millions dwell at places of pilgrimage,
Many millions wander as anchorets in the forest,

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Many millions listen to the Veds,
Many millions perform excessive penances,
Many millions meditate on God in their hearts,
Many millions of poets compose verses *in His praise*,
Many millions meditate on His *ever* new names—
Even then, Nanak, they find not the Creator's limit.

2

Many millions are proud,
Many millions are in blind ignorance,
Many millions are hard-hearted misers,
Many millions are unsociable [1] and morose at heart,
Many millions steal others' property,
Many millions bring false charges against others,
Many millions make efforts to acquire wealth,
Many millions wander in foreign lands;
Where Thou didst place men, O God, there are they:
Nanak, only the Creator knoweth His own creatures.

3

Many millions are Sidhs, Jatis, and Jogis;
Many millions are Kings and enjoy pleasures;
Many millions of birds and serpents have been created;
Many millions of stones and trees have been produced;
Many millions of winds, waters, and fires;
Many millions of countries and regions of the earth
Many millions of moons, suns, and stars; [2]
Many millions of demigods, demons, and crowned Indars.
God holdeth all things by His string,
And, O Nanak, saveth those whom He pleaseth.

4

Many millions of beings were created with the three qualities of impulse, darkness, and goodness,

[1] *Abhig*. This is believed to be from *a*, negative, and the Panjābi *bhijna*.

[2] *Nakshatar* in Sanskrit properly means lunar mansions, but in the Granth Sāhib it generally means stars.

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Many millions of Veds, Purans, Simritis, and Shastars,
Many millions of jewelled oceans,
Many millions of animals of various descriptions ;
Many millions were made long-lived,
Many millions of hills and golden mountains,
Many millions of Yakshas,[1] Kinars,[2] and Pishachas,[3]
Many millions of sprites, ghosts, pigs, and tigers—
God is near all, yet far from all ;
Nanak, God filleth everything, and *yet* is separate.

5

Many millions inhabit the nether regions,
Many millions dwell in hell and heaven,
Many millions are born, live, and die,
Many millions wander through many wombs,
Many millions live without exertion,[4]
Many millions are wearied with labour,
Many millions are created wealthy,
Many millions are anxious for riches,
Wherever God pleaseth He placeth them ;
Nanak, everything is in God's power.

6

There are many millions of Bairagis
Who love God's name ;
Many millions search for God,
And find Him in their hearts ;
Many millions thirst for a sight of God,
And find Him, the Imperishable One ;
Many millions pray for the society of the saints—
They are those who love the Supreme Being.
Nanak, they are ever blest
With whom God is well pleased.

[1] Supernatural beings attendant on the god of wealth. They were known as 'good people'.

[2] Celestial musicians who sprang with the Yakshas from the toe of Brahma. They are supposed to dwell in the paradise of the god of wealth on Mount Kailās in the Himālayas.

[3] The most malignant order of evil spirits.

[4] Literally—eat as they are seated.

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7

Many millions of sources of life and regions *were created,*
Many millions of skies, mundane eggs,[1]
Many millions of incarnations.
In divers shapes the world was spread out ; [2]
Many times was extension extended.
Ever and ever there is but One God—
Many millions of *creatures* were made of many descriptions ;
From God they emanated and in God shall they be absorbed.
No one knoweth His limit ;
Nanak, God Himself is all in all.

8

There are many millions of His slaves
Whose minds are enlightened ;
Many millions who know the Real Thing,
And ever look with their eyes on the One alone ;
Many millions drink the essence of the Name,
Become immortal, and live for ever and ever ;
Many millions sing the excellences of the Name,
And are absorbed in divine bliss, happiness, and tranquillity.
God watcheth over every breath of His servant,
For, O Nanak, God's servants are dear to Him.

Slok XI

The Cause of causes is the One God, there is none other.
Nanak is a sacrifice to Him who is contained in sea and land, in the nether regions and the firmament.

Ashtapadi XI

1

The Cause of causes is capable of acting ;
What pleaseth Him shall come to pass.

[1] *Brahmand.* This word means the universe.
[2] At every creation the world assumed different shapes.

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He who hath no end or limits
Establisheth and disestablisheth in a moment.
By His order He supporteth and holdeth the firmament ;[1]
By His order there is creation, and by His order absorption *in Himself* ;
The occupations of high and low are according to His order ;
By His order there are the varied phases *of nature* ;
Having created, He beholdeth His own greatness—
Nanak, God is contained in all things.

2

If it please God, man obtaineth salvation ;
If it please God, He maketh a stone cross *the ocean of the world* ;
If it please God, He can restore the lifeless body ;
If it please God, then man recounteth His praises ;
If it please God, then He saveth sinners.
He Himself createth, He Himself designeth,
He Himself is the Lord of both worlds.
The Searcher of hearts sporteth and is pleased ;
He causeth man to do as He wisheth.
Nanak, there is nothing seen but Him.

3

Say what can be accomplished by man ;
What pleaseth God He causeth to be done ;
If man had the power he would acquire all things.[2]
God doeth what pleaseth Himself,
Through not knowing *God* man is attached to sin ;
If he knew God, he would save himself from it.
The *mind* led astray by superstition wandereth in every direction,

[1] That which is not supported, the firmament. The line is also translated—By His order He supporteth the world, Himself unsupported.
[2] He must therefore depend upon God and seek His assistance.

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And in a moment returneth.
God bestoweth His service on him to whom He is merciful ;
Nanak, such a man shall be absorbed in the Name.

4

God the cherisher of the poor
Can in a moment make a humble worm a king ;
Him who is totally obscure
God can at once render everywhere famous.
The Lord of the world will not take the accounts of those
On whom He bestoweth His favours.
Soul and body are all His property ;
Every heart is full of God's light ;
He made His own handiwork—
Nanak liveth by beholding His greatness.

5

Man's power is not at his own disposal ;
The Cause of causes is the Lord of all.
Helpless creatures must obey orders ;
What pleaseth God shall ultimately be.
Man is sometimes exalted, and sometimes debased ;
Sometimes he mourneth, and sometimes he laugheth with delight and joy ;
Sometimes he engageth in blame and praise,
Sometimes he is up in heaven, *sometimes down* in hell ;
Sometimes he is acquainted with divine knowledge,
Nanak, God Himself causeth us to meet Him.

6

Sometimes man danceth in a variety of ways,
Sometimes he sleepeth day and night,
Sometimes he is terrible in his mighty wrath,
Sometimes he is the dust of all men's feet,
Sometimes he is enthroned as a great king,
Sometimes he weareth the attire of a lowly beggar,
Sometimes he falleth into evil repute,

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Sometimes he is called very good ;
As God keepeth him so he remaineth—
By the favour of the Guru, Nanak speaketh the truth.

7

Sometimes as a Pandit man expoundeth *texts*,
Sometimes vowed to silence he practiseth contemplation,
Sometimes he batheth at places of pilgrimage,
Sometimes as a Sidh or Striver he preacheth divine knowledge.
Sometimes his soul wandereth in many wombs—
Is in an elephant, a worm, or a moth.
As a player he playeth several parts ;
As God pleaseth so He maketh man dance.
What pleaseth God shall come to pass ;
Nanak, there is none other than He.

8

Sometimes man obtaineth the saints' society,
From which He returneth not again,
And which shall not perish :
The light of divine knowledge shall then shine in his heart.
His soul and body dyed with the name of the one God
Shall ever abide with the Supreme Being.
As water blendeth with water,
So light is blended with light.
Transmigration is ended and rest obtained—
Nanak is ever a sacrifice to the Lord.

SLOK XII

They who have effaced themselves and become humble are happy,
While the very haughty, O Nanak, are consumed by their pride.

ASHTAPADI XII

1

He in whose heart is the pride of dominion,
Shall fall into hell and become a dog ;

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He who boasteth of his youth,
Shall become a creature of filth ;
He who calleth himself good
Shall die and be born again, and wander in many a womb ;
He who is proud of his wealth and property,
Is stupid and blind and ignorant ;
He in whose heart God mercifully planteth meekness,
Shall obtain, O Nanak, salvation in this world[1] and happiness in the next.

2

Not so much as a straw shall go with him,
Who, becoming wealthy, plumeth himself thereon.
He who relieth on his large army and men,
Shall be destroyed in a moment ;
He who deemeth himself stronger than all,
Shall in a trice become dust ;
Dharmraj shall disgrace him
Who in his pride thinketh naught of any one.
He whose pride is effaced by favour of the Guru,
Shall be acceptable, Nanak, in God's court.

3

If man do millions of good acts *but* possess pride,
He incurreth only trouble ; all *his acts* are vain.
He who is proud of his various mortifications,
Shall be born again and again in hell and heaven.
How shall he who, though making many efforts,
Softeneth not his heart, go to God's court ?
Goodness shall not even approach him
Who calleth himself good.
Saith Nanak, pure shall be the glory of him
Whose heart is the dust of all men's feet.

4

Man hath no happiness
So long as he thinketh he can do something ;
As long as man thinketh he can do something,

[1] Shall obtain salvation even in life.

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So long shall he wander in wombs ;
As long as man deemeth any one an enemy or a friend,
So long shall his mind not be stable ;
As long as man is intoxicated with the love of mammon,
So long shall Dharmraj punish him.
It is by God's grace man's bonds are burst,
And by the Guru's favour pride, O Nanak, is removed.

5

Even though man earn thousands, he will run after a lakh ;
He will never be satisfied in his pursuit of wealth.
Though he devote himself to the enjoyment of many evil passions,
He will never be satisfied ; he will kill himself *pursuing more.*
No one can be satisfied without contentment ;
Otherwise all efforts are vain like the illusion of a dream.
All happiness is obtained by loving the Name ;
But only a few obtain it by great good fortune—
God Himself is all in all, the Cause of causes ;
Ever and ever, Nanak, repeat His name.

6

The Creator is the Cause of causes ;
What resource hath man ?
He becometh as God regardeth him—
There is only God ;
Whatever was created was according to His pleasure.
He is far from all, and yet with all ;
He understandeth, beholdeth, and exerciseth judgement ;
He Himself is one and He Himself is many ;
He neither dieth nor perisheth ; He neither cometh nor goeth ;
Nanak, He is ever diffused throughout creation ;

7

He Himself instructeth, and He Himself understandeth ;
He Himself is blended with everything ;

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He made His own expansion ;[1]
Everything is His, He is the Creator—
Say can anything be effected without Him ?
The one God is in every place ;
He Himself acteth His own parts ;
He exhibiteth plays of endless kinds ;
He is in the soul, and the soul is in Him ;
Nanak, His worth cannot be described.

8

True, true, true is the Lord God ;
By the Guru's favour some rare person describeth Him.
True, true, true is He who created all.
Among millions some rare one knoweth Thee, *O God* ;
Excellent, excellent, excellent is Thy form,
Very beautiful, unbounded, and incomparable.
Pure, pure, pure is Thy Word ;
Every one heareth it with his ears, and repeateth it.
Holy, holy, holy, holy
Is Thy name ; Nanak uttereth it with heartfelt love.

Slok XIII

He who entereth the asylum of the saints shall be saved ;
He who slandereth the saints, Nanak, shall be born again and again.

Ashtapadi XIII

1

By calumniating the saints *man's* life is shortened,
By calumniating the saints man escapeth not from Death,
By calumniating the saints all happiness vanisheth,
By calumniating the saints man falleth into hell,
By calumniating the saints the understanding is clouded,
By calumniating the saints man is without glory—
None can save him who is accursed of the saints—
By calumniating the saints man falleth from his position.
Nanak, even a slanderer shall be saved in the company of the saints,
If the merciful saints but show him mercy.

[1] By expanding Himself God made the world.

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2

By calumniating the saints man's face becometh crooked,
By calumniating the saints man croaketh like a raven,
By calumniating the saints man is born as a serpent,
By calumniating the saints man is born as a creeping worm,
By calumniating the saints man burneth with thirst,
By calumniating the saints man deceiveth every one,
By calumniating the saints all man's influence departeth,
By calumniating the saints man becometh the lowest of the low ;
There is no *abiding* place for him who calumniateth the saints ;
But if it please the saints, O Nanak, he too may obtain salvation.

3

The slanderer of the saints is a great malefactor,[1]
The slanderer of the saints hath not a moment's rest,
The slanderer of the saints is a great murderer,
The slanderer of the saints is accursed of God,
The slanderer of the saints loseth his dominion,
The slanderer of the saints becometh afflicted and poor,
The slanderer of the saints contracteth every disease,
The slanderer of the saints is ever separated from God,
The slanderer of the saints committeth sin upon sin ;
But, O Nanak, if it please the saints, he too may obtain salvation.

4

He who slandereth the saints is ever impure,
He who slandereth the saints is no man's friend,
He who slandereth the saints shall be punished,
He who slandereth the saints shall be abandoned by all,
He who slandereth the saints is very proud,
He who slandereth the saints is ever a sinner,

[1] *Atatāi*, from the Sanskrit *atatāyin*. Literally—Who threatens another with a drawn bow ; then any person who commits a heinous crime.

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He who slandereth the saints dieth and is born again,
He who slandereth the saints swerveth from happiness,
He who slandereth the saints hath no abiding place ;
But if it please the saints, O Nanak, they will join him with themselves—

5

He who slandereth the saints breaketh down half way,[1]
He who slandereth the saints succeedeth in nothing,
He who slandereth the saints shall wander in deserts,
He who slandereth the saints shall fall into the wilderness,
He who slandereth the saints is hollow within—
As the corpse of a dead man hath no breath—
He who slandereth the saints hath no root whatever ;
He shall himself eat of the fruit he hath planted :
He who slandereth the saints hath no protector ;
But if it please the saints, O Nanak, they will save him too—

6

He who slandereth the saints shall cry aloud,
As a fish without water wriggleth in agony ;
He who slandereth the saints shall never be full,
As a fire is not satisfied with firewood ;
He who slandereth the saints is left alone
Like a miserable barren sesame stalk in a field ;
He who slandereth the saints is void of honesty ;
He who slandereth the saints ever uttereth falsehood—
Such is the fate of the slanderer from the beginning ;
Nanak, whatever pleaseth God shall take place—

7

He who slandereth the saints shall become deformed,
He who slandereth the saints shall receive punishment in God's court,
He who slandereth the saints ever gaspeth,

[1] That is, he dies in his youth. Compare—
Und eh' man nur den halben Weg erreicht,
Muss wohl ein armer Teufel sterben.
Goethe's *Faust.*

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He who slandereth the saints is neither dead nor living,
He who slandereth the saints never hath his hopes fulfilled,
He who slandereth the saints departeth disappointed ;
No one obtaineth permanence [1] by slandering the saints—
Man is as it pleaseth God to *make him* ;
No one can set aside his destiny—
Nanak, the True One knoweth everything ;

8

Every heart is His, He is the Creator ;
Ever and ever bow to Him ;
Praise God day and night ;
Meditate on Him at every breath you draw and at every morsel you eat.
Everything prevaileth that God hath done.
Man shall become as God maketh him.
God playeth His own play ;
Who else can criticize Him ?
He giveth His name to those to whom He is merciful ;
And, Nanak, very fortunate are they.

Slok XIV

Quit devices, my good friends, and remember God, God the King ;
Treasure in thy heart thy hopes in the one God, O Nanak, so shall suffering, error, and fear depart.

Ashtapadi XIV

1

Know that all reliance on man is vain ;
It is God alone who bestoweth,
By whose gifts we remain satisfied,
And not again feel thirst.
The one God alone destroyeth and protecteth ;
There is nothing in man's power.
Happiness cometh from understanding the will of God ;
String His name and wear it on thy neck ;
Remember, remember, remember that God,
Nanak, and no obstacle shall come in thy way.

[1] Exemption from transmigration.

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2

O man, praise the Formless One in thy heart ;
O man, practise works of righteousness ;
Quaff the nectar of the Name, and thy tongue shall become pure,
And thou shalt render thy soul for ever happy.
Behold God's splendour with thine eyes.
In the company of the saints *love for* all other company shall vanish.
Walk with thy feet in God's way :
Thy sins shall be erased if thou *even* for a moment repeat God's *name.*
Do God's work, hear His story with thine ears,
And thy countenance, O Nanak, shall be bright in His court.

3

Very fortunate are they in the world
Who ever and ever sing God's praises.
He who meditateth on God's name
Shall be accounted rich in the world.
Know that he shall ever and ever be happy
Who uttereth the Supreme God's name with mind and tongue.
He who recognizeth the one only God
Shall obtain knowledge of this world and the next.
He whose mind is won over to the Name,
Nanak, shall know God the Pure One.

4

Know that his thirst shall be quenched
Who by the Guru's favour knoweth himself.
The holy man who repeatcth God's praises in the company of the saints,
Shall be exempt from all disease.
He who night and day singeth the one God's praises
Shall be saved even in the bosom of his family.
Death's noose shall be cut for him
Who putteth his hopes in God alone.

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He whose soul hungereth for the Supreme God,
Shall, O Nanak, have no suffering.

5

He who thinketh upon the Lord God,
Is a happy saint and wavereth not.
The servant to whom God showeth His mercy—
Say of whom shall he be afraid :
As God is, so doth He appear unto him—
Contained in His own creation.
He who is successful in his long search *for God*,
By the Guru's favour knoweth the whole reality.
When I look I *see God* is the root of all things ;
Nanak, He is at once minute and great ;

6

He is not born, neither doth He die ;
He playeth His own parts.
Things visible and invisible, which come and go,
The whole creation is supported by the Commander,
And He Himself is contained in everything.
Employing many devices He maketh and unmaketh.
He is imperishable and infrangible ;
He supporteth the universe ;
He is unseen, inscrutable, and glorious.
Nanak, they whom He Himself causeth to repeat His name repeat it.

7

They who know God are glorious ;
The whole world shall be saved by their spell.
God's servants shall save all :
God's servants shall cause sorrow to be forgotten.
They who repeat the Name under the Guru's instruction shall be happy ;
The Merciful One shall blend them with Himself ;
The fortunate man to whom God showeth mercy
Shall apply Himself to their service.

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He who uttereth the Name shall obtain rest ;
Nanak, consider him as the best :

8

Whatever he doeth is for the love of God ;
He shall ever and ever abide with Him—
Whatever naturally happeneth, happeneth—
And recognize Him as the Creator.
What God doeth is pleasing to the saints ;
As He is, so He appeareth *unto them.*
They shall be absorbed in Him from whom they have sprung,
And be alone deemed worthy of the treasure of happiness.
He Himself giveth honour to His own ;
Nanak, know that God and His servant are one.

SLOK · XV

God is full of all power and knoweth the affairs [1] *of His creatures* ;
I am a sacrifice to Him, O Nanak, by remembering whom salvation is obtained.

ASHTAPADI XV

1

God is the mender of what is broken ;
He Himself cherisheth all creatures.
Nobody applieth in vain to Him
Whose heart feeleth anxiety for all.
O man, ever repeat God's *name* ;
He Himself is the imperishable Lord.
From what man doeth himself nothing resulteth.
O mortal, even though thou desire it hundreds of times,
Without God nothing shall avail thee.
Salvation, Nanak, is obtained by repeating the name of the one *God.*

2

If man be handsome, he should not be charmed thereby,
Since it is God's light that shineth in everybody.

[1] *Birtha.* Also translated—trouble, from the Sanskrit *byatha.*

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If man be wealthy, why should he be proud *thereof*,
Since all the wealth that God hath given belongeth to Him ?
Even though one be a mighty hero,
What efforts can he make without obtaining power from God ?
If any one plume himself on being very liberal,
God the real Giver will think him a fool.
He whose malady of pride is cured by the Guru's favour,
Shall, O Nanak, never suffer from it again.

3

As a pillar supporteth a house,
So the word of the Guru supporteth the heart ;
As a stone floateth when put into a boat,
So are mortals saved by clinging to the Guru's feet ;
As a lamp giveth light in the darkness,
So man shineth on beholding the Guru ;
As man can find his way in a great wilderness if *he have a guide*,
So light shall shine for him when he joineth the congregation of the saints.
I desire the dust of such saints' *feet* ;
O God, fulfil Nanak's desires.

4

O foolish man, why dost thou bewail ?
Thou shalt obtain what was written for thee in the beginning.
God is the Dispenser of woe and weal ;
Abandon others and think of Him :
Whatever He doeth gladly agree to—
Why wanderest thou astray, O thoughtless one ?
O greedy moth, attached to pleasures,
What came *into the world* with thee ?
Repeat God's name in thy heart,
Nanak, and thou shalt go to thy home with honour.

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5

In the dwelling of the saints God's name is found—
The merchandise thou camest *into the world* to obtain.
Renounce pride, weigh *God's name* in thy heart,
And purchase it with thy life.
Load thy merchandise, set out with the saints,
And, having freed thyself from the entanglements of the deadly sins,
Every one will congratulate thee ;
Thy countenance shall be bright, and thou shalt obtain honour in God's court.
Few are the merchants *who deal in* this merchandise,
And to them Nanak is ever a sacrifice.

6

Bathe the saints' feet and *afterwards* drink the bathing water ;
Dedicate thy soul to the saints ;
Bathe thyself in the dust of the saints' feet,
And become a sacrifice unto them.
The service of the saints is obtained by good fortune ;
Sing God's praises in their company :
The saints preserve man from various dangers.
He who singeth God's praises shall taste the savour of nectar.
He who cometh to the door of the saints and seeketh their protection,
Shall, O Nanak, obtain all happiness.

7

God reanimateth the dead ;
He giveth support to the hungry ;
All wealth is in His glance ;
But man only obtaineth what was originally destined him.
Everything is God's ; He is Omnipotent.
There neither was nor shall be any but Him ;
O man, ever and ever repeat His *name* day and night ;
This is the most exalted and sacred duty.
He to whom God hath mercifully granted His name,
Shall, O Nanak, become pure.

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8

He whose heart hath faith in the Guru
Shall remember the Lord God ;
They in whose hearts is the one God,
Are called saints in the three worlds.
True are the acts and true the ways of those
In whose hearts is the truth, and who utter the truth with their mouths.
True is God's glance, true His world,
True His practice, and true His creation.
He who recognizeth the Supreme Being as true,
Shall, O Nanak, be absorbed in the True One.[1]

Slok XVI

God hath no form, outline, or colour ; He is exempt from the three qualities ;
He causeth him, O Nanak, with whom He is well pleased to know Him.

Ashtapadi XVI

1

Keep thou the imperishable God in thy heart,
And renounce human love.
There is nothing superior to God ;
He is one without interruption in all things ;
He is far-seeing ; He is knowing.
O deep, profound, and all-wise,
Supreme Brahm, Supreme God, Gobind,
Treasure of mercy, compassionate Pardoner,
Nanak's heartfelt desire is
To fall at the feet of Thy saints.

[1] These six lines are also translated—
Of him who recognizeth God as true
True are the acts, true the ways.
There is truth in his heart; with his tongue he uttereth truth ;
True are his eyes, true his body,
True his conduct, and true his property :
Nanak, such a man shall be absorbed in the True One.

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2

God is the fulfiller of desires and capable of *giving* protection ;
What He hath inscribed *in man's destiny* shall take place.
He can destroy and create in the twinkling of an eye ;
None but Himself knoweth His counsel ;
He is ever happy and joyous ;
All things are, I have heard, in His palace ;
He is King of kings and Supreme Jogi among Jogis ;
In penance He is king of the penitents ; in the domestic state He is an enjoyer :
By constant meditation on Him the saints obtain happiness—
Nanak, no one hath found the limit of such a Being ;

3

To His play there is no limit ;
All the demigods have grown weary searching for it.
What doth a son know of His father's birth ? [1]
God hath strung all things on His own string.
His servant to whom He giveth wisdom, divine knowledge, and meditation,
Meditateth on Him.
They whom He leadeth astray among the three qualities,
Die to be born again, and again suffer transmigration.
The high and the low places *of the earth* are His—
O Nanak, man knoweth as God causeth him to know Him.

4

God hath various forms and various colours ;
He assumeth various guises, and yet remaineth the same.
God the indestructible who hath one form,
Hath extended Himself in various ways ;
He acteth various parts in a moment.
The Perfect One filleth every place ;
He hath made creation in various forms ;
He Himself knoweth His own worth ;

[1] That is, no one knows God's origin.

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All hearts are His, all places are His.
Nanak liveth by ever uttering God's name.

5

By the Name are sustained all creatures ;
By the Name are supported the regions *of the earth* and the universe ;
By the Name are supported the Simritis, the Veds, and the Purans ;
By the support of the Name we hear *God's praises, and obtain* divine knowledge and meditation ;
By the Name are supported the firmament and the nether regions ;
By the Name is the whole world upheld ;
By the Name are maintained all cities and houses ;
By hearing the Name with attention man is saved.
He whom God mercifully attacheth to His name,
Shall, O Nanak, obtain final deliverance.

6

God's form is true, true is His place ;
He is the True Spirit, He alone is Supreme ;
His acts are true, His word is true ;
The true Spirit is contained in everything ;
His deeds are true, His creation is true ;
The Root *of the world* is true, and true what springeth from it ;
Pure are His acts, the purest of the pure.
Everything turneth out well for him to whom God giveth knowledge.
The true name of God bestoweth happiness ;
True faith, Nanak, is obtained from the Guru.

7

True are the words and instruction of the saints ;
True are they into whose hearts they enter.
He who knoweth how to search for the truth,
Shall obtain salvation by uttering the Name.
God Himself is true, and true is everything He hath made ;
He Himself knoweth His own measure and condition.

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The creation belongeth to its Maker ;
He taketh counsel with none but Himself.
The measure of the Creator is not known to the creature ;
Nanak, what pleaseth God prevaileth.

8

Man wondereth at the wonders upon wonders *of creation*,
But it is only he who knoweth God who obtaineth bliss.
The men of God who are enamoured with His love,
Receive under the Guru's instruction the *great* boons ;
They are generous and dispellers of sorrow ;
In their company the world shall be saved.
He who serveth the saints is very fortunate ;
In the society of the saints man fixeth his attention on the one God.
They who sing the excellences and praises of God,
Shall, Nanak, by the favour of the Guru obtain their reward.

SLOK XVII

The True One was in the beginning ; the True One was in the primal age.
The True One is now also, O Nanak ; the True One also shall be.

ASHTAPADI XVII

1

His feet are true, and true is he who toucheth them ;
His worship is true, and true is His worshipper ;
A sight of Him is true, and true is he who obtaineth it ;
True is His name, and true is he who meditateth on it ;
He Himself is true, and so is everything He sustaineth ;
He Himself is excellence and the Bestower of excellence ;
The Word is true, and true is God who uttereth it ;
The ears are true which hear the praises of the True One ;
To him who understandeth, everything is true—
Nanak, God is altogether true.

2

He who knoweth in his heart Him whose form is true,
Shall recognize the Root of all things, the Cause of causes.

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Divine knowledge shall be revealed to him
Into whose heart faith in God hath entered ;
He shall abide free from fear,
And be absorbed in Him from whom he sprang.
If one take a thing and blend it with another of *the same kind*,
It cannot be said to be separate from it.
A man of understanding can understand that.
When God is found, O Nanak, *man becometh one with Him.*

3

The servant of the Lord obeyeth His order,
The servant of the Lord ever adoreth Him,
The servant of the Lord possesseth faith in his heart ;
Pure is the conduct of the Lord's servant :
His servant knoweth that God is with him.
God's servant is dyed with His name,
God cherisheth His servant,
The Formless One preserveth the honour of His servant—
He is a servant to whom the Lord showeth mercy ;
Nanak, such a servant remembereth God at every breath.

4

God will draw a veil over *the faults* of His servant,
And will assuredly preserve his *honour* ;
He will bestow greatness on His slave,
Cause him to repeat His name,
And preserve his honour.
No one knoweth God's condition or measure—
No one is equal to God's servant ;
God's servant is the most exalted of the exalted.
The servant whom God applieth to His service,
Shall be renowned, O Nanak, in every direction.

5

If God infuse power into a little ant,
It can reduce to ashes armies of hundreds of thousands and millions *of men.*
God preserveth and holdeth out a hand to him
Whom He *desireth* not to deprive of life.

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Though man make efforts of many kinds,
His exertions are in vain.
No one can kill or preserve but God ;
He is the Preserver of all creatures.
Why art thou anxious, O mortal ?
Nanak, repeat the name of God the unseen, the wonderful ;

6

Ever, ever, ever repeat God's name ;
Satisfy thy soul and body by quaffing its nectar.
The holy man who obtaineth the jewel of the Name,
Will look on no one but God ;
He will deem the Name his wealth, the Name his beauty and delight,
The Name his happiness, God's name his companion.
He who is satisfied with the savour of God's name,
Shall be absorbed soul and body in it.
To utter the Name standing, sitting, or sleeping,
Saith Nanak, is ever the duty of the man of *God*.

7

God gave the gift to His worshipper
To utter His praises day and night.
They who serve with heartfelt love,
Shall be absorbed in the Lord.
They shall know the past and the present,
And recognize the order of their God.
Who can describe His greatness ?
I know not how to describe even one of His excellences.
They who abide the whole day in the presence of God,
Saith Nanak, are the perfect men.

8

O man, take shelter with them ;
Give them thy soul and body.
He who recognizeth his God
Is bountiful in all things ;
In His shelter thou shalt find all happiness ;
By a sight of Him thou shalt blot out all sin.

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Renounce all other cleverness,
And attach thyself to His service.
Nanak, ever worship His feet,
And thou shalt suffer no more transmigration.

SLOK XVIII

He who knoweth the True Being is called the true Guru [1];
His disciple is saved by association with him, O Nanak, and by singing God's praises.

ASHTAPADI XVIII

1

The true Guru cherisheth his disciple,
The true Guru is ever compassionate to his servant,
The Guru will remove the filth of his disciple's wickedness—
Under the Guru's instruction the disciple will repeat God's name—
The true Guru will cut the fetters of his disciple,
If the disciple recoil from evil deeds.
The disciple to whom the true Guru giveth the wealth of the Name,
Is very fortunate.
The true Guru adjusteth this world and the next for his disciple.
Nanak, the true Guru loveth his disciple as his life.

2

The servant who dwelleth in his Guru's house,
Should heartily accept his order,
Not overrate himself,
Ever meditate on God's name in his heart,
And sell his soul to the true Guru—
The affairs of such a man shall prosper.
He who serveth the true Guru without any desire
Of reward, shall obtain the Lord.
The servant to whom God showeth favour,
Nanak, will accept the Guru's instruction;

[1] The reference here is to Guru Nanak. He was called the true Guru as being the mediator of the True Being.

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3

The servant who fully [1] conciliateth the Guru,
Shall know the state of the Supreme Being.
He in whose heart is God's name is the true Guru ;
I am many times a sacrifice to *such* a Guru ;
He bestoweth all treasure on men,
And is day and night imbued with love for the Supreme Being.
The holy man is in God and God in the holy man,
God Himself is one ; of this there is no doubt.
The Guru is not obtained by a thousand devices ;
Nanak, such a Guru is only found by good fortune.

4

A sight *of the Guru* is profitable ; he who beholdeth him is purified ;
By touching his feet man's conduct and practice become spotless ;
He who on meeting him uttereth God's praises,
Shall arrive at the court of the Supreme Being.
On hearing his words the ears are satisfied ;
The mind gaineth contentment and the spirit consolation.
He on whom the perfect Guru, whose spell is immortal,
Looketh with his ambrosial glance becometh a saint.
His excellences are endless; his worth cannot be appraised..
Nanak, whoso pleaseth him he blendeth with himself.

5

Man has but one tongue, *God's* praises are manifold ;
He is the True Being of perfect discrimination ;
Mortal cannot by any words succeed in describing Him.
He is inaccessible, incomprehensible and unperturbed.
He liveth not by food, He is without enmity, the Giver of comfort ;
No one hath found His worth.

[1] *Bīs biswe.* Literally—Twenty *biswās.* There are twenty *biswās* in a *bigha,* a land measure equal to about half an acre. When all the *biswās* are included, the *bigha* is complete.

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Many saints continually make obeisance to Him,
And meditate in their hearts on His lotus feet.
Nanak is ever a sacrifice to his true Guru,
By whose favour the name of such a God is repeated.

6

This divine essence only few obtain,
But they who drink it become immortal.
That being shall never perish
In whose heart the Lord of excellences appeareth.
He who taketh God's name during the eight watches,
Who giveth true instruction to his servant,
Who is not veneered by worldly love,
Who keepeth but the one God in his heart—
For him a lamp shall shine in the darkness,
And, O Nanak, his doubts, worldly love, and sorrows flee away.

7

By the perfect instruction of the saints,
Man becometh cool in *the midst* of heat;
Sorrow is put to flight, happiness resulteth,
The fear of birth and death is removed,
Fear ceaseth, man abideth fearless,
And all troubles vanish from his mind.
God showeth mercy to his own
Who in the company of the saints repeat His name.
By listening, O Nanak, to God's praises with attention
Mental stableness is obtained, and superstition and transmigration cease.

8

He whose power fascinateth the whole world,
Is without the *three* qualities, and yet possesseth all qualities.
God Himself performeth His own play;
Only He Himself knoweth His worth.
There is no other than God;
He, the one Spirit, pervadeth all things without interruption;

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He, the warp and the woof, is contained in all forms and colours ;
He becometh manifest by association with the saints ;
He who made creation infused His power into it—
Nanak is many times a sacrifice *unto Him.*

Slok XIX

Except God's worship nothing shall go with thee, *O man* ; worldly things are ashes :
Nanak, the essence of wealth is the repetition of God's name.

Ashtapadi XIX

1

In the company of the saints reflect *on God* ;
Remember the one God and rest upon His name ;
Forget all other efforts, my friend ;
Put God's lotus feet into thy heart ;
He is the Omnipotent, the Cause of causes ;
Firmly grasp His name ; it *is the best* thing ;
Lay up this wealth and thou shalt be fortunate.
Pure is the instruction of the saints ;
Keep the hope of the one God in thy heart,
Nanak, and all thy maladies shall be healed.

2

By serving God thou shalt obtain the wealth
After which thou *now* hastest in every direction.
The happiness which thou ever desirest, my friend,
Shall be found by loving the society of the saints.
The glory for which thou performest good acts,
Shall be obtained by hastening to God for protection.
It is not by many remedies maladies are healed ;
It is by administering the medicine of God's *name.*
Of all treasures God's name is the treasure ;
Repeat it, Nanak, and thou shalt be acceptable in God's court.

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3

Thy mind which now wandereth in every direction, shall rest
By enlightening it with God's name.
No obstacle can impede him
In whose heart God abideth.
This Kal age is hot ; God's name is cool ;
Remember it, remember it, and thou shalt ever be happy.
By service and love the mind becometh enlightened,
Fears depart, all hopes shall be fulfilled,
Man shall abide in the imperishable home,
Saith Nanak, and Death's noose be cut *for his escape.*

4

It is the true man who meditateth on God ;
It is the falsest of the false who suffer transmigration ;
But transmigration shall be effaced by serving God.
Abandon pride and *seek* the protection of the divine Guru,
So shall thy precious human life be saved.
Remember God who is the support of the soul—
Man shall not be saved by many devices,
Or by studying the Simritis, the Shastars, and the Veds.
Nanak, heartily serve God,
And thou shalt obtain thy heart's desire.

5

Thy wealth shall not depart with thee ;
Why art thou wrapped up in it, O foolish man ?
Son, friend, family, and wife—
Say what ownership hast thou in them.
Dominion, worldly pleasure, and extensive wealth—
Say who can escape from these.
Horses, elephants, carriages, and equipages,
Are delusive shows and false displays ;
Ignorant man knoweth not Him who gave them ;
Nanak, he forgetteth the Name and *afterwards* regretteth.

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6

Take the advice of the Guru, O silly man ;
Without devotion many clever men have been lost.
Worship God with thy heart, O my friend,
And thy mind shall become pure ;
Put His lotus feet into thy heart,
And the sins of many births shall depart ;
Repeat His name thyself and cause others to do so ;
By hearing it, and uttering it, and abiding by it thou shalt obtain salvation.
The real thing is God's true name—
Nanak, sing His excellences with devotion and love.

7

By singing God's praises filth shall be washed away,
And the poison of pride, which overspreadeth thee, shall depart.
By remembering God's name at every breath thou drawest,
Thou shalt become free from care and abide in happiness—
O man, lay aside all thy cleverness ;
The true wealth thou shalt acquire in the company of the saints.
Obtain God's name as thy capital, deal with it,
And thou shalt be happy in this world and victorious in the next—
Saith Nanak, he on whose forehead such fate hath been written,
Seeth the one God without interruption in all things.

8

Repeat the name of the one God, magnify the one God,
Remember the one God, make Him thy heart's desire,
Sing the excellences of the one God who is endless ;
With soul and body repeat *the name* of the one God—
God Himself is the only, only, only one ;
The perfect God filleth every place ;
There have been many expansions of the one God.[1]

[1] That is, there have been many creations.

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Worship the one God, and all thy sins shall depart.
Nanak, by the favour of the Guru the one God is known by him
Whose soul and body are thoroughly imbued with His love.

Slok XX

After many wanderings, O God, I have come to Thine asylum ;
Nanak's prayer, O God, is—'Let me apply myself to Thy service.'

Ashtapadi XX

1

I, a beggar, beg a gift of Thee, O God :
Mercifully grant me Thy name.
I crave for the dust of the saints' feet ;
Fulfil my desire, O Supreme Being.
Let me ever sing Thine excellences,
And meditate on Thee, at every breath ;
Let me ever love Thy lotus feet,
And continually perform Thy service.
Thou art mine only shelter, mine only support :
Nanak craveth Thine excellent name.

2

In God's favouring glance there is great happiness.
But few obtain God's savour ; [1]
They who have tasted it are satisfied,
They have become perfect beings and waver not,
They are filled with the sweetness and delight of love,
And in the company of the saints feel desire *to meet God*.
They enter His asylum forsaking all others,
Their hearts are enlightened, and they fix their attention on Him day and night.
Very fortunate are they who repeat God's name ;
Nanak, they who are dyed with it are happy.

[1] The sweetness of God's love.

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3

The desires of God's servant are fulfilled ;
He obtaineth pure instruction from the true Guru.
God is merciful to His servant,
And rendereth him ever happy.
God cutteth his fetters, he is emancipated,
And the ignorance from which the pain of birth and death resulteth is no more ;
His wishes are fulfilled, his desires are all fulfilled ;
He is blended with God and is ever present with Him.
God to whom he belonged hath blended him with Himself—
Nanak is absorbed in God's service and His name.

4

Why forget Him who destroyeth not the *effects* of labour ?
Why forget Him who regardeth what is done *for Him* ?
Why forget Him who gave us everything ?
Why forget Him who is the life of living beings ?
Why forget Him who preserveth us in the fire *of the womb* ?
By the Guru's favour some rare one seeth Him—
Why forget Him who extricateth man from sin,
And joineth *with Him those who* had broken *with Him* during many births ?
The perfect Guru hath taught me the real thing ;
So Nanak hath meditated on his God.

5

O holy saints, do this—
Abandon all else and repeat God's name ;
Remember it, remember it, remember it, and you shall be happy ;
Repeat it yourselves and cause others to repeat it.
By service and love you shall cross over the world ;
Without service the body shall be as dust.[1]
From the treasure of the Name all beatitude and happiness are obtained,

[1] That is, man shall be despised and dishonoured.

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And even they who are drowning obtain rest—
O Nanak, repeat the name of the Lord of excellences,
And all thy sorrow shall depart.

6

The wish of my soul and body is
That the pleasures of love, affection, and desire *for God* may spring up in me;
That I may have the happiness of beholding Him with mine eyes;
And that my soul may be gladdened by washing the saints' feet.
Few there are who can obtain association with the saints,
And whose souls and bodies *are filled* with love for Thee.
Mercifully grant me one thing, O God,
To repeat Thy name by the Guru's favour.
Nanak, God's praises cannot be expressed;
He is contained in all things;

7

He is the Pardoner, compassionate to the poor,
Kind to the saints, and ever merciful.
Gobind Gopal, the Patron of the patronless,
Cherisheth all creatures;
He is the primal Being, the Creator of the world,
The support of the souls of holy men.
He shall become pure who repeateth His name,
And devoteth to Him service, affection, and heartfelt love.
Devoid of virtue, low, and ignorant
Nanak seeketh thy protection, O Supreme Power.

8

He who singeth God's praises even for a moment,
Shall obtain everything—heaven, salvation, deliverance.
He to whose heart the story of God's name is pleasing,
Shall enjoy the various pleasures and greatness of a monarch.
They whose tongues continually repeat God's name,
Shall enjoy plenteous food, raiment, singing, and dancing.

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Good are his deeds, glorious and wealthy is he
In whose heart the perfect Guru's spell abideth.
O God, grant Nanak a dwelling with Thy saints,
Where all happiness shall be manifested unto him.

Slok XXI

The Formless One who possesseth all qualities, and yet is devoid of them is in profound contemplation ;
Nanak, what He hath made He again absorbeth in Himself.

Ashtapadi XXI [1]

1

Before this world in any wise appeared,
By whom were bad and good acts committed ?
When God was in profound meditation,
With whom were enmity and strife ?
When no colour or trace of man was seen,
Say who then felt joy or sorrow.
When there was only the Supreme Being Himself,
Where was worldly love ? Who had superstition ?
He Himself performed His own play ;
Nanak, there was no other Creator.

2

When God was the sole master,
Say who was accounted bond or free.
When there was only the one *God*, inaccessible, limitless,
Say who was born in hell or heaven.[2]
When God who is without attributes was in profound repose,
Say where were Shiv and his consort.
When God Himself held His own light,
Who was fearless, who feared any one ?
He Himself performed His own play ;
Nanak, God is inaccessible and illimitable.

[1] In the Shāstars several things, such as Māya, Karma, &c., are said to be uncreated. The Guru by this Ashtapadi means that God alone is uncreated.

[2] That is, hell and heaven did not then exist.

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3

When the Imperishable One was seated on His comfortable throne,
Say where were then transmigration and destruction.
When there was only the perfect God the Creator,
Say who had any fear of Death.
When there was only the one invisible and incomprehensible God,
Whom did Chitr and Gupt call on for his account ?
When there was only the pure, incomprehensible, and unfathomable Lord,
Who was then emancipated ? Who was bound with fetters ?
God is wonderful in Himself ;
Nanak, it was He Himself created His own form.

4

When there was only the pure Being, the Lord of men,
And there was no filth of sin, say what was *the need* of ablution.
When there was only the bright, formless, and undisturbed One,
Who was held in honour and who in dishonour ?
When there was only the Lord of the world,
Say who was the victim of deceit and fraud.
When God's light was contained in Himself,
Who felt hunger ? who satiety ?
The Creator is the Cause of causes ;
Nanak, the Creator is beyond calculation.

5

When God's glory was contained in Himself,
Who was then mother, father, friend, son, or brother ?
When He Himself was versed in all accomplishments,
Where did any one see the Veds and Muhammadan books?
When God kept His designs to Himself,
Who thought of favourable or unfavourable omens ?
When He Himself was far and He Himself was near,
Who was Master and who was slave ?
Man is astonished at the wonders of creation :
Nanak, only God Himself knoweth His own condition.

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6

When the undeceivable, the impenetrable, and the inscrutable One was contained in Himself,
Who felt the influence of mammon ?
When there was no one to offer obeisance to God but Himself,
The three qualities had not yet entered *the world*.
When there was only the one God,
Who was free from care, who felt care ?
When God was content with Himself,
Who preached and who listened ?
God is totally infinite, the most exalted of the exalted :
O Nanak, He Himself is His own parallel.

7

When God made this illusion of the world,
He diffused the three qualities in it,
Demerits and merits began to be spoken of ;
Some suffered hell and others enjoyed heaven.
God made the snares and entanglements of mammon,
Pride, worldly love, doubt, excessive fear,
Woe and weal, honour and dishonour,
And delivered different kinds of doctrines.
God Himself performeth and beholdeth His own play ;
When He collecteth the stage properties,[1] O Nanak, He alone remaineth.

8

Where there are saints of the Invisible, there is He Himself.
When God extended Himself, the saints became glorious ;
He Himself is the arbiter of both states ;[2]
God's glory is peculiar to Himself ;
He Himself performeth plays, amusements, and frolics ;
He enjoyeth pleasures *and yet remaineth* separate *from* them ;

1 When He draweth creation within Himself.
2 Creation and destruction.

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He attacheth whomsoever He pleaseth to His name,
And causeth whomsoever He pleaseth to play the play *of the world.*
He is incalculable, unfathomable, uncountable, and unrivalled—
His slave Nanak speaketh as He causeth him to speak.

Slok XXII

O Lord of men and lower animals, Thou art contained *in everything* ;
Nanak, the one God is *everywhere* extended ; where is there another seen ?

Ashtapadi XXII

1

Thou Thyself art the speaker, Thou Thyself the hearer ;
Thou art one, and Thou art many.
When it pleased God, He created the world ;
And when it pleased Him, He absorbed it in Himself.
Without Thee, O God, nothing is done ;
Thou holdest the whole world on Thy string.
He whom God Himself instructeth,
Obtaineth the true Name,
Looketh on all with an equal eye, knoweth the truth,
And is, O Nanak, victorious over the universe.

2

Men and the *lower* animals are in the power of Him
Who is compassionate to the poor and the Patron of the patronless.
No one can destroy whom God preserveth ;
He whom God forgetteth is *already* dead.
Why should any one leave God and go to another ?
The one bright Monarch is over all.
Know that He in whose power are the ways of all creatures,
Is with thee whether at home or abroad.
The Ocean of excellences is endless and illimitable ;
The slave Nanak is ever a sacrifice *unto Him.*

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3

The perfect compassionate God filleth every place :
He is merciful to all,
And knoweth His own affairs.
The Searcher of hearts is contained in everything,
And cherisheth creatures in divers ways.
Whatever creatures He made meditate on Him.
He blendeth with Himself whosoever pleaseth Him,
Performeth His service, and singeth His praises.
He who hath hearty faith in Him,
O Nanak, recognizeth the one God, the Creator.

4.

The hopes of him who is attached to the name of the one God,
Shall not be in vain.
Service is the duty of the servant :
He who obeyeth God's order shall obtain the supreme state,
Than which nothing more exalted can be conceived.
He in whose heart the Formless One dwelleth,
And who night and day worshippeth the Guru's feet,
Shall burst his fetters and be free from enmity :
He shall be at ease in this world, happy in the next,
And, O Nanak, God will blend him with Himself.

5

Be joyous in the company of the saints ;
Sing the praises of God who is the Primal Joy ;
Meditate on God's name the real thing ;
Save thy human life so difficult of attainment ;
And sing the ambrosial words of God's praises—
That is the way to save thy soul.
He who beholdeth God ever near him,
Shall be delivered from his ignorance, and his spiritual darkness dispelled.
Hearken to instruction, and treasure it in thy heart,
So shalt thou, Nanak, obtain the reward thy heart desireth.

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6

Arrange both this world and the next for thyself
By clasping God's name to thy heart.
Perfect is the teaching of the perfect Guru;
He in whose heart it dwelleth assayeth the truth.
With thy soul and body attentively repeat God's name,
And sorrow, pain, and fear shall depart from thy heart.
O dealer, deal in the true merchandise of *the Name*,
And thy cargo shall go to heaven with thee.
Put the prop of the one God into thy heart,
Nanak, and thou shalt not again suffer transmigration.

7

Where can any one go far from God?
Thou shalt be saved by meditating on the Preserver.
All his fear shall depart who uttereth the name of the Fearless One,
And he shall be saved by God's mercy.
He whom God preserveth shall not feel misery;
By repeating God's name his mind shall be happy,
His anxieties shall depart, his pride be erased,
And there shall be none equal to him—
Nanak, all his affairs shall succeed
Over whom the brave[1] Guru watcheth.

8

The world shall be saved by beholding *the Guru*,
Whose understanding is perfect, whose glance is nectar,
And whose lotus feet are incomparable.
Profitable is a sight of him, beautiful his form,
Blessed his service, and acceptable his servant.
He in whose heart the Searcher of hearts,
The Supreme Being, dwelleth is happy,
And Death shall not approach him.
Nanak, he who in the company of the saints meditateth on God
Becometh immortal, and obtaineth the immortal rank.

[1] So called because he has vanquished the deadly sins.

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Slok XXIII

The Guru hath given the eye-salve of divine knowledge by which the darkness of ignorance is dispelled ;
The mind of him, O Nanak, who by God's favour meeteth the saints is enlightened.

Ashtapadi XXIII

1

In the company of the saints I have seen God within me ;
God's name to me is sweet—
All things of various colours and divers forms
Are in the heart of the one God.[1]
God's name is the nine treasures and ambrosia
For him in whose body it findeth a resting-place.
Where there is deep meditation, the unbeaten sound *is heard* ;
The wonder and marvel of it cannot be described.
He to whom God showeth Himself, beholdeth Him,
And, O Nanak, obtaineth understanding.

2

The Endless One is with thee whether at home or abroad ;
He is contained in every heart,
In earth, heaven, and nether regions ;
In all worlds He is the Perfect Cherisher ;
In forest, glade, and mountain He is the Supreme Being ;
As He ordereth so are *His creatures'* acts.
In wind, water, fire,
And in every direction is He contained ;
There is no place where He is not.
Nanak, by the Guru's favour obtain happiness ;

3

Consult the Veds, Purans, and Simritis, *and thou shalt know*
That the one God is in the moon, the sun, and the stars.
Everybody speaketh with the voice of God,

[1] That is, God watches over them all.

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Who is unwavering and never wavereth.
He playeth His play with all His appliances ;
He cannot be obtained by purchase, His attributes are priceless ;
His light is in all things.
He holdeth the warp and woof of the world.
Nanak, this is the creed of those who
By the Guru's favour are freed from superstition.

4

In the sight of the saints everything is God ;
In their hearts is all faith.
It is *only* good words the saints hear ;
They love God who is contained in all things.
The rule of the saint who knoweth God is to speak the truth to everybody ;
Whatever happeneth he taketh for the best,
For he recognizeth God as the Cause of causes.
God dwelleth within as also without man ;
Nanak, on beholding Him all men are fascinated.

5

He Himself is true ; true is everything that He hath made :
Everything was created by God.
If it please Him He expandeth Himself,
If it please Him His form alone remaineth.
His manifold power cannot be seen ;
He blendeth with Himself whomsoever He pleaseth.
What can be described as near Him and what distant,
Since He Himself filleth all space ?
Nanak, God causeth that man to understand Him
Whom he teacheth that He Himself is within him.

6

God Himself abideth in all the elements ;
He beholdeth all things with His own eyes ;
The whole creation is His body ;
He Himself heareth His own praises ;
He hath made transmigration as a play,

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And rendered Maya subservient to Him.
Included in everything, He yet remaineth distinct.
Whatever order is to be given, He giveth Himself ;
By His order man cometh, by His order man goeth ;
Nanak, when it pleaseth Him, He blendeth man with Himself.

7

Whatever cometh from Him is not evil ;
Say hath any one except Him done anything.
He Himself is good ; His acts are very good ;
He Himself knoweth His own mind ;
He Himself is true, and true is everything that He supporteth ;
The warp and woof of the world He hath blended with Himself ;
His condition and measure cannot be described ;
If any one else were *like Him*, he would know how to describe Him.
Nanak, by the favour of the Guru
It is known that all God's acts must be accepted.

8

He who knoweth Him must always be happy,
And God will blend him with Himself.
He in whose heart God dwelleth is wealthy,
Of high family, honoured, and obtaineth salvation during life.
Hail, hail, hail ! a man [1] hath come
By whose favour the whole world shall be saved.
The object of his coming was
That through him the Name might be remembered.
He was saved himself and he saved the world :
To him, Nanak, I ever make obeisance.

Slok XXIV

He who worshippeth the perfect God whose name is perfect,
And who singeth the praises of the perfect One, O Nanak, obtaineth the perfect One.

[1] Guru Nānak is meant.

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Ashtapadi XXIV

1

Hear the instruction of the perfect Guru—
Regard the Supreme Being as ever near thee ;
Repeat His name at every breath,
And the anxiety of the heart shall depart.
Abandon the fleeting wave of desire,
And heartily pray for the dust of the saints' feet.
Renounce pride, make supplication,
And thus shalt thou in the company of the saints cross the ocean of fire.
Fill thy storehouses with divine wealth,
Nanak, and bow before the perfect Guru.

2

By repeating God's *name* in the company of the saints,
Thou shalt obtain rest, comfort, peace, and happiness.
Drink the nectareous essence of God's praise,
And thou shalt avoid hell and save thy soul.
Think in thy heart of the one God
Who hath one form but many manifestations.
Gopal, Damodar, compassionate to the poor,
Destroyer of pain, completely merciful—
Remember, remember for ever His name ;
Nanak, it is the support of the soul.

3

The saints' words are the holiest hymns ;
Priceless rubies are those gems ;
He who heareth them and liveth according to them shall be saved ;
He shall be saved himself and save others ;
Profitable his life and the lives of his associates,
Whose heart is touched by divine love.
He for whom the unbeaten music of rejoicing playeth,
Shall on hearing it be happy, and sing God's *praises*.
God shineth in the countenance of the holy man ;[1]
Nanak, in his company men are saved.

1 *Mahant*. This word is the same as *mahātama*, which primarily meant having a great soul, and was afterwards applied to men of sanctity.

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4

Hearing that God is able to give shelter, I have come to seek it.

God hath mercifully blended me with Himself.

No hatred remaineth me; I have become the dust of all *men's feet*;

And I have in the saints' company obtained God's nectareous name.

The divine Guru was pleased with me,

And the service of his servant hath been rewarded.

By hearing God's name and repeating it with my tongue

I have become freed from entanglements and sin.

God hath Himself kindly shown me compassion,

And, O Nanak, my cargo hath arrived at its haven.[1]

5

Praise God, my dear saints,

With attentive and composed minds.

In the Sukhmani are composure and God's praises and name.

He who hoardeth it in his heart shall become wealthy,

And all his desires shall be fulfilled;

He shall become a distinguished person, renowned throughout the world;

He shall obtain the highest place of all,

And shall not again undergo transmigration.

Nanak, he who obtaineth the Sukhmani,

Shall depart after earning the wealth of God's *name*.

6

These advantages shall be obtained by him who reciteth *the Sukhmani*,

And heartily heareth Guru Nanak's words in praise of the Name:—

Rest, peace, wealth, the nine treasures,

Understanding, divine knowledge, all spiritual power,

Wisdom, devotion, union with and meditation on God,

The best divine knowledge, the most excellent ablutions,

[1] That is, I have been successful in my devotion.

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The four desirable objects, mental enlightenment,
Contempt of all things, though in the midst of them,
Beauty, cleverness, knowledge of the truth,
And the *power of* looking on all men as equal.

7

If any one heartily utter this precious *hymn*,
He shall obtain salvation in every age.
It containeth the sound of God's name,
Which the Simritis, Shastars, and Veds repeat.
God's name is the sum-total of all faith ;
It dwelleth in the hearts of His saints.
Millions of sins are erased in the company of the saints,
And by their favour man escapeth Death.
They on whose foreheads God recorded such destiny,
Have, O Nanak, entered the asylum of the saints.

8

He in whose heart this Sukhmani dwelleth or who listeneth to it with love,
Shall remember the Lord God ;
The pain of birth and death shall be removed from him ;
His human life so hard to obtain shall that moment be saved ;
His renown shall be spotless and his speech nectar ;
The one Name shall be contained in his heart ;
Sorrow, disease, fear, and doubt shall not exist for him ;
His acts shall be pure, he shall be called a holy man,
And his fame shall be the most exalted of all.
Nanak, such are the merits of the composition called Sukhmani.

Lunar Days

The advantage of devotion :—

My sorrow hath fled and my doubt departed since I have taken God's shelter.
Nanak hath obtained the fruit his heart desired by singing God's praises.

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He who singeth, he who heareth, he who meditateth on God;

He who preacheth and he who fixeth the Name in his heart, shall be saved;

His sins shall be cut away, he shall become pure, and purged of the filth of various births;

His countenance shall be bright in this world and the next, and worldly love shall not affect him;

He who praiseth God is wise, a Vaishnav, a possessor of divine knowledge,

Wealthy, a hero, and of reputable family.

The Khatris, Brahmans, Sudars, Vaisyas, and Chandals shall be saved by remembering God.

Nanak is the dust of the feet of him who knoweth his God.

Gauri ki War I

The fate of those who forget God :—

Where shall they who have totally forgotten God find an arm to grasp ? [1]

Nanak, God potent to act and cause to act hath ruined them.

The fate of murderers, adulterers, and robbers :—

Men take halters at night and go to *strangle* others, but God knoweth such persons.

Concealed in places they leer at other men's wives.

They break into houses *even* difficult of access, and enjoy wine for its sweetness :

But they shall afterwards regret their respective misdeeds.

The angel Azrail will press them like millfuls of sesame.

The fate of idolaters and ingrates :—

It is the servants of the True King who are acceptable;

Nanak, the fools who serve other gods pine away and die.

The destiny God wrote in the beginning cannot be effaced.

[1] That is, to assist them.

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The wealth of God's name is Nanak's capital; ever meditate on it.

In terrible hell there is much suffering; it is the abode of the ungrateful.

God smiteth them, Nanak, and they die a miserable death.

GAURI KI WAR II

Man is happy at all seasons when remembering God:—

Nanak, that is a delightful day when God cometh into the mind.

Accursed is the season, however pleasant, when the Supreme Being is forgotten.

God is man's best friend:—

Nanak, contract friendship with Him who hath everything in His power.

They are accounted false friends who go not a step with one.

Miscellaneous aphorisms of the Guru:—

I have seen every place; there is none beside God.

Nanak, they who have met the true Guru, have attained their object.

The condition of this perishable world is as a flash of lightning.

Whoever repeateth the Lord's name, Nanak, is beautiful.

Men have searched the Simritis and the Shastars, but no one hath found God's worth.

He who meeteth the society of the saints enjoyeth divine pleasure.

True is the name of the Creator; He is a mine of jewels.

The mortal, on whose forehead such destiny hath been written, remembereth God.

O God, grant Nanak, Thy guest, the true Name as his travelling supplies.

Man appeareth to be happy, but his heart is anxious, and his avarice never departeth.

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Nanak, without the true Name, no one's sorrow departeth.
They who have not loaded truth to carry with them, shall be plundered.
Nanak, they who meeting the Guru recognize the one God shall be congratulated.

They who part friendship with God are worthless:—

They who are separated from their Lord, O Nanak, are entangled in the knot of doubt,
And useless as the beautiful fruit borne by the akk plant.

They who forget God suffer the pain of transmigration :—

They who forget God die, but cannot die altogether ;
They who turn away from God, *are in agony* like a thief on the stake.

Blest are they who ever remember God :—

Nanak, blest are they, perfect are they, and saints are they,
Who remember the spell of God's name at every breath they draw.

The following reproach was addressed to a Musalman priest :—

Thou wanderest about all day under the pressure of hunger :
How shalt thou escape falling into hell, if thou remember not thy Prophet ?

The following is repeated as a grace before and after meals :—

The beggar beggeth for alms, 'Give me, O dear One ;
Giver, Benefactor, I have ever remembered Thee.'
God's unequalled storehouses are never exhausted.
Nanak, unequalled is the Word which hath arranged everything.

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Remember the Word and you shall be happy here and hereafter :—

O beloved, learn the Word ; it shall protect you from transmigration :

Your faces, saith Nanak, shall become bright, and you shall ever be happy remembering the one God.

Man should not pray for worldly advantages :—

That is the best begging which beggeth for the one God ;
Except the Lord's name, Nanak, all words are sinful.

The condition of him who loves and is beloved by God :—

He in whose heart the love of God dwelleth is like the golden earth studded with gems of grass.

Nanak, all his affairs become easy with whom the true Guru is pleased.

The covetous go wherever they expect gain :—

The kite wandereth in every direction—over water, mountain, and forest,

But only resteth where it seeth carrion.

The Guru's devotion to God :—

I have made Him a friend who is versed in all arts ;

I sacrifice to Him my soul : He is the wealth of my body and soul.

O Beloved, if Thou take *my hand*, I will never forsake Thee.

They who forsake God are evil and fall into hell's torments.

Love the Omnipresent :—

O silly woman, dispel thy doubts, and love thou the only dear One.

Whithersoever thou goest, there is He present.

A hypocrite can never be equal to a saint :—

Persons only fitted to play at bat and ball *like children*, mount horses and handle guns.

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Animals which fly like barn fowl wish to be on a par with swans.

Salvation is obtained by repeating, hearing, or even writing God's name :—

He who repeateth God's name with his tongue, and heareth it with his ears, is saved, my friend.

The hand which writeth God's praises with love is pure.

Such have obtained all the merit of bathing at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage :

They have crossed over the ocean of the world and subjugated the fortress of evil passions.

Nanak, such attach men to the infinite God's skirt and service, and save them.

God will save His servant :—

He who hath God hath no further desires ;
Nanak, all who touch His feet are saved.

ASA

Mammon affects not saints but only the worldly :—

Maya devoureth him who loveth her ;

She greatly terrifieth him who seateth her down in peace.

Brethren, friends, and families are at variance on beholding her ;

But now by the Guru's favour she is under my control.

Sidhs, Strivers, demigods, and men

Are bewitched on beholding her ; except the pious all are deceived by her deceit.

Some who wander as ascetics are in love with her ;

Others as family men amass wealth, but they cannot make her their own.

Others who call themselves continent are greatly troubled by her.

God hath preserved me from her by attaching me to the Guru's feet.

She leadeth astray the penitents who practise penance.

Pandits have been seduced by her into every form of greed.

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Maya hath bewitched earth and heaven.[1]
My true Guru hath given me his hand and saved me.
Maya acteth as a servant to the holy man.
With clasped hands she waiteth on him and respectfully saith,
'What thou orderest I shall do;
But, O saint, I cannot approach thee.'

The condition of those who have renounced worldly love :—

My Beloved hath separated me from my mother-in-law :[2]
My husband's younger brother's wife,[3] and my husband's elder brother's wife[4] have died of grief and sorrow.
I no longer heed my husband's eldest brother,[5]
Since my clever and wise Spouse hath protected me.
Hear, O ye people, I have obtained the essence of love.
The true Guru hath given me God's name, and I have killed and destroyed mine enemies the evil passions.
In the first place, I have renounced the love of pride;
Secondly, I have renounced the customs of men;
Thirdly, I have renounced the world, and deem an enemy and a friend the same.
Fourthly, having met the Guru I recognize the excellences of the final state.
I have assumed an attitude of contemplation in the cave of rest.
God appeared as light and played for me unbeaten music;
I have obtained great joy by meditating on the Guru's word.
Attached to my Beloved, I have become a blest and happy wife.
The slave Nanak herein uttereth divine wisdom;
He who heareth and acteth *accordingly* shall be saved,
Shall be absorbed in God,
And not again suffer transmigration.

[1] All beings in whom there are the three qualities
[2] Māya.
[3] Hope.
[4] Desire.
[5] The god of death.

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Holiness is described under the allegory of a perfect woman :—

A house is adorned by the presence of
A woman who is virtuous and devotion incarnate,
Whose beauty is incomparable, and conduct without reproach.
Some rare holy man may find her :
On meeting the Guru I have found such a well-behaved woman :
She sheddeth lustre on feasts and marriages.
As long as she lived with her father,[1]
Her husband wandered about very lonely.
When I served and conciliated the true man,
He brought her to my house, and I obtained all happiness.
She possesseth the thirty-two good qualities ;[2] true and holy are her offspring ;
She is obedient, accomplished, and beautiful ,
She fulfilleth the wishes of her husband and her lord ;
She comforteth in every way her husband's younger and elder brothers' wives ;
She is the best of the household ;
She giveth counsel to her husband's younger and elder brothers.
Blest is the home in which she hath appeared ·
O Nanak, its inmates pass their time in perfect happiness.

The interference of Maya, or worldly love, in human affairs, and how she is to be overcome :—

If I form any plan, Maya alloweth it not to mature :
She standeth near virtue and continence to repulse them;
She weareth many guises and assumeth many forms ;
She alloweth me not to dwell at home, but maketh me wander in different places.

1 Spiritual ignorance.
2 Different moralists and connoisseurs give different names to these qualities. They are intended to include all moral and physical excellences.

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She is the mistress of my house, and alloweth me not to dwell therein.

It I try to do so, she quarrelleth with me.

She was sent by God in the beginning as a ruler.

She hath subdued the nine regions and all worlds.

At the banks of sacred waters she relinquisheth not her hold on Jogis and Sanyasis,

While they grow weary of reading the Simritis and studying the Veds.

Where I sit, there she sitteth with me ;

She forcibly entereth every abode.

Even by entering a low asylum [1] I cannot save myself from her.

Say, my friend, to whom shall I have recourse ?

Having heard of the true Guru's teaching I have come to him.

The Guru hath fixed God's name in my heart as a spell.

I now may dwell in my own home singing the praises of the Eternal One.

Nanak hath met God, and is free from anxiety.

My house is now mine own, and its former mistress and ruler

Is under my control ; the Guru hath made me a courtier of God.

The Guru versifies an address made to him by a Sikh :—

Having glanced at foreign countries I have come here for traffic.

I have heard, O Guru, thou hast an incomparable and profitable thing,[2]

To purchase which I have tied virtues in my dress [3] and brought them as my capital.

Having beheld the jewel, my heart hankereth after it.

O merchant,[4] a dealer hath come to thy door.

[1] Even if I worship gods and idols.

[2] The Name.

[3] Natives of India do not generally use pockets, but carry money and valuables knotted in their garments.

[4] The Guru.

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Exhibit your goods, so that we may effect a bargain.
God hath sent me to the merchant.
Priceless thy jewel and priceless thy capital.
I have found a well-disposed friend to act as broker.[1]
Now that I have made my purchase my mind is easy.
I have no fear of thieves, of wind, or of water.
Quietly have I purchased, and quietly do I take away my purchase.
When the true Name is gained, there is no regret.
I shall take my purchase home safe and sound.
I have made a profit and am happy.
Thanks to the perfect merchant, the bestower,
Such a bargain some rare pious man hath made.
Nanak taketh home profitable goods.

The following was addressed to a hypocritical Brahman :—

O Brahman, people make thee offerings and worship thee
Thou takest from them and yet deniest that they give thee.
Thou shalt regret thy conduct at the Court
Where thou shalt have to appear.
Such Brahmans as contrive evil
For the innocent shall be lost, O my brethren.
With covetousness in their hearts they wander about like mad dogs ;
They slander others, and bear the load of their sins on their own heads.
O Brahman, thou art plundered by mammon, yet thou reflectest not
That in many ways thou art led astray through error.
Thou wearest many religious dresses before men,
But thy heart is besieged by evil passions.
Thou preachest to others, but art ignorant thyself.
Such a Brahman shall nowhere be acceptable.
O foolish Brahman, remember God
Who beholdeth thee, heareth thee, and abideth with thee.
Saith Nanak, if such be thy fate,
Renounce pride and cling to the Guru's feet.

[1] A mediator saint.

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The fate of the slanderer :-

The slanderer roareth and screameth,
He forgetteth the primal God the Supreme Being, and obtaineth the reward of his acts.
Any friend he may have he shall take with him *to hell.*
Vainly the slanderer taketh on himself a load as that of a boa-constrictor,[1] and burneth himself in the fire.
Nanak telleth what taketh place at God's gate.
God's saints are ever happy ; they are in ecstasies singing His praises.

Pride mars man's good qualities :—

In the first place, thy caste is good ;
Secondly, thy lineage is honoured ;
Thirdly, thine abode is beautiful ;
But the pride of thy heart marreth thy beauty.
O handsome, shapely, wise, and clever man,
Excessive pride and worldly love have ensnared thee.
Very clean is thy kitchen.
Thou bathest, adorest, and appliest crimson frontal marks.
Thou pratest of divine knowledge while thou art dissolved in pride.
The dog covetousness ruineth thee in every way ;
Thou dressest and enjoyest thyself ;
Thou performest religious ceremonies to be honoured of men.
While thou sprinklest over thy body perfumed distilled aloe wood and sandal,
The pariah wrath is thine evil companion.
All other creatures are thy water-carriers.
In this world thou issuest thine own coin.[2]
Thou hast gold, and silver, and copper ;
But thy lust hath destroyed thy virtue.
The soul which God mercifully regardeth
Shall be delivered from its prison.

[1] *Ajgar bhār.* If *ajar bhār* were read, the translation would be—an intolerable load.
[2] In proof of sovereignty.

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That body which meeteth the company of the saints shall taste the relish of God's name,
And, saith Nanak, produce good fruit.
Then shalt thou be like a happy married woman endowed with all comeliness and happiness ;
Then shalt thou be all-beautiful and wise.

The Guru preaches a brief sermon on humility :—

The framework of the body hath been skilfully constructed,
Yet know for certain that it shall become dust.
Remember thine origin, O thoughtless fool ;
Why art thou proud of such a thing ?
Thou art a guest on three sers of corn a day ; [1]
All thine other property thou hast only as a trust.
Thou art ordure, bones, and blood wrapped up in skin :
Is it of this thou art proud ?
If thou know One Thing thou shalt be pure ;
Without knowing it, thou shalt be ever impure.
Saith Nanak, I am a sacrifice to the Guru,
Through whom God the omniscient Being is obtained.

The Guru's impatience to meet God :—

Separated from my Spouse one ghari appeareth to me as a day, yea, as many days.
My mind is distressed until I meet my Beloved.
Separated from my Spouse one moment appeareth to me a day ; yea, it never passeth.
Excessive is the desire of my heart to behold Him ; is there any such saint as will cause me to meet my Beloved ?
The four watches of the day *appear to me* as the four ages of the world.
When night cometh I think it will never end.
The conspiracy of the deadly sins hath kept me from my Beloved.
Wandering and wandering I weep and wring my hands.

1 Two and a half *sers* in Guru Arjan's time is equal to one *ser* or two pounds avoirdupois now.

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At last God hath shown Himself to His servant, Nanak,
Who having seen Him hath obtained supreme happiness.

Instead of worshipping God at home man performs vain devotion abroad : —

Man forsaking the love of God, becometh intoxicated with the love of worthless objects
He hath what *he wanteth at* home, yet he goeth abroad *to seek it* : [1]
He listeneth not to the true ambrosial Word.
Attached to false scriptures, he wrangleth *with the holy*.
Taking the wages of the Lord he serveth some one else.
With such qualities is mortal clothed.
He hideth himself from Him who is ever with him.
He prayeth again and again for what is useless to him.
Saith Nanak, O God, compassionate to the poor,
As it pleaseth Thee so cherish me.

The intoxication of devotion :—

He who drinketh the essence of God is ever imbued with it ;
The effect of all other essences is but for a moment.
He who is intoxicated with God's essence is ever happy ;
Anxiety is produced by all other essences.
He who drinketh God's essence is inebriated and intoxicated ;
All other essences are worthless.
The value of God's essence cannot be described :
It is found in the saints' shop ;
But nobody can purchase it even with millions of rupees.
The Guru giveth it to him who hath obtained *his favour*.
Nanak having obtained its relish from the Guru,
And tasted it, hath become astounded.
Nanak having become accustomed to its taste
Cannot by any means relinquish it in this world or the next.

[1] Man possesses God in his heart, yet he becomes an anchoret and goes to the forest in quest of Him.

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The Guru prays for God's protection :—

Beside Thee, O Lord, I have none other ; Thou art in my heart ;

Thou art my friend and my companion ; why should my soul be afraid ?

Thou art my shelter ; Thou art my hope.

Sitting or standing, sleeping or waking may I not forget Thee O God, at every breath I draw !

Protect me, protect me, O God, in Thine asylum ! terrible is the ocean of fire.

Giver of happiness to Nanak ; true Guru, we are Thy children.

God preserves His saints from worldly love, which is a malignant fever :—

God hath saved His servant,

My mind is reconciled to the Beloved ; my fever hath poisoned itself and died.

I feel not cold or heat when I sing the praises of God's name.

My vomiting totally ceased when I took the protection of God's lotus feet.

By the favour of the saints, God hath been kind to me and given me assistance.

Nanak ever singeth the Treasury of excellences, and thus dispelleth doubt and sorrow.

The Guru's instruction is medicine for the mind diseased :—

I have taken God's name as my medicine ;

I have been cured, my pain [1] hath departed.

My fever hath left me through the perfect Guru's instruction.

I have become glad, my sorrows have all fled.

Nanak, all animals obtain happiness

By meditating on the supreme God in their hearts.

[1] That is, spiritual ignorance.

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The Guru fears not the death of his body :—

The time *of death*, which man desireth not, shall arrive.
Without God's order how shall the fire *of fear* be put out, however much we try ?
The body is dissolved by water, fire, and earth,[1]
But the soul is neither young nor old,[2] O my brethren.
The slave Nanak hath entered the sanctuary of the saints,
And by the Guru's favour the fear *of death* is far from him.

The advantage of saintly association and devotion :—

By association with the saints, in whom God's light for ever shineth,
Man obtaineth a dwelling at God's feet.
O my soul, ever repeat God's name,
So shalt thou obtain comfort, peace, and happiness ; and all thy sins shall depart.
Saith Nanak, ye whose acts are perfect
Shall on meeting the true Guru obtain the perfect supreme Being.
O my True Guru, Holder of the play of the world, preserve Thy child.
Give me sense ever to sing Thy praises, my God, inaccessible and endless.
When a mortal is in his mother's womb he abideth under the support of the Name ;
He is happy, he remembereth God at every breath, and the fire *of the womb* affecteth him not ;
So, O man, cease to covet others' goods and others' wives, and to slander others.
Relying on the true Guru, worship in thy heart God's lotus feet.
The houses, mansions, and palaces which thou beholdest—of these none shall depart with thee.

1 The different ways of disposing of the dead.
2 That is, the soul is unaffected by time or death.

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As long as thou livest in this Kal age, Nanak, remember God's name.

Everything is false save devotion to God :—

Empire, property, youth, mansions, fame, comeliness, and youthful beauty,

Great wealth, elephants, horses, and rubies purchased with hundreds of thousands,

Shall be of no avail in God's court hereafter ; the proud must depart without them.

Why apply thy mind to any but the one God ?

Standing, sitting, sleeping, or waking, ever and ever meditate on Him.

They who were victorious in the great decorated and beautiful arenas, and in the contests of the battle-field,

Who loudly boasted that they had the power of killing, capturing, or releasing,

Left everything and departed on the very day the order of the Supreme Being arrived.

Man performeth ceremonial works of many descriptions, but the Creator he knoweth not.

He preacheth, but he practiseth not ; he knoweth not God's word.

Naked he came, naked shall he depart ; *his acts are impure* as when the elephant throweth dust on its head.

Ye good saints and friends, hear me all—false is this world.

Fools have died in agony speaking of their belongings.

On meeting the Guru, Nanak hath meditated on the Name ; the true Name hath saved him.

Few are wakeful in God's service :—

The whole world is fast asleep in error and silly occupations ;

Only some rare servant of God is awake.

Man is absorbed in greatly fascinating mammon who is dearer to him than life :

Few are they who forsake her.

Some rare holy man is attached

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To God's incomparable lotus feet, and the instruction of His saints.

Nanak, they who are very fortunate, and to whom God showeth favour,

Are wakeful in the company of the saints, and become imbued with divine knowledge.

The fate of the slanderer :—

The slanderer who washeth away the filth of the sins committed by the slandered in various births, shall obtain his deserts.

He shall have no happiness here, no entrance into God's court *hereafter*, and he shall be tormented in the realm of Death.

The slanderer hath lost his life in vain.

He cannot succeed in anything, and hereafter shall not find a place.

Such is the fate of the wretched slanderer : what can the poor creature do ?

He shall be ruined where he shall have no protector : to whom shall he appeal ?

There is no salvation anywhere for the slanderer : such is the will of God.

The more the saints are slandered, the happier are they.

Thou, O God, art the prop, Thou art the helper of the saints.

Saith Nanak, God protecteth His saints, and the slanderer He consigneth to the stream.

The following was addressed to a hypocritical Sanyasi :—

He who washeth his body while he hath filth in his heart shall lose *his happiness* in both worlds.

Here he suffereth from lust, wrath, and worldly love ; hereafter he shall sob and weep.

The way to worship God is different.

The serpent is not killed by striking its lair on the outside, neither doth the deaf man hear the Name.

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The hypocrite while abandoning his worldly occupations knoweth not of devotion ;

He applieth himself to criticism of the Veds and the Shastars, but knoweth not the real means of union with God.

As a bad coin [1] is discovered when examined by a money-changer,

So the Searcher of hearts knoweth everything ; how shalt thou hide thyself from Him ?

The false are at once ruined by their falsehood, deception, fraud, and hollowness.

Nanak uttereth this most verily ; see and remember this in your hearts.

The wonders wrought by the Guru's teaching :—

By the Guru's instruction, a low Chandal woman becometh a Brahmani and a Sudar woman attaineth the highest rank ;

The craving desire [2] for terrestrial and celestial enjoyments is extinguished and destroyed.

The cat [3] of the household [4] is now differently trained ; on seeing mice [5] it feareth them.

The Guru hath subjected the lion [6] to the goat [7] ; the dogs [8] eat grass ; [9]

A hut [10] hath been raised without pillars in which the homeless find a home.

Without a setter jewels are set [11] and a marvellous precious stone [12] placed among them.

1 *Dabūa*. This coin was worth a little more than an Indian *paisa* or an English farthing.

2 *Lahbar*, literally—a flame. *Sakhni*—empty and ungratified. The line is also translated—(*a*) Even if the wealth of the world be obtained, man's desires will not be satisfied, but when the Bridegroom (*Bar*) is obtained (*lah*), all craving (*khāi*) is extinguished. (*b*) *The soul* wandereth unsatisfied in the nether and upper regions, but when it obtaineth the Bridegroom its hunger is relieved. (*c*) He who is devoid of terrestrial and celestial blessings, shall, on receiving the fruit *of the Guru's instruction*, have his hunger for such things satisfied.

3 Understanding. 4 The heart. 5 Worldly things.
6 Pride. 7 Humility. 8 The organs of sense.
9 Obtain their rightful portion. 10 Heaven.
11 Man's mind is set with virtues.
12 Divine love. *Thewa* is the large stone of a ring.

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It is not by clamour the plaintiff succeedeth ; by silence he obtaineth justice.

Man dead to God while enjoying wealth, and seated upon *costly* carpets, *now knoweth* that what appeareth to the eye quickly vanisheth.

He who saith he knoweth, knoweth nothing ; but he who *really* knoweth is well known.

Saith Nanak, the Guru hath given me nectar to drink, and on tasting it I am happy.

The Guru's dependence on God :—

Where Thou, O Lord, art, what fear is there ? whom shall I praise but Thee ?

Where I have only Thee I have everything ; there is none but Thee.

O Father, I have seen that the world is poison.

Preserve me, O Lord of the earth ; Thy name is my support.

Thou knowest the whole state of my mind ; to whom shall I go to tell it ?

Without the Name the whole world hath gone mad ; when it obtaineth the Name it becometh sane.

What shall I say ? to whom shall I tell my condition ? what I want to say must be told to the Lord.

What Thou hast done prevaileth ; ever and ever my hope is in Thee.

If Thou grant greatness, it is to Thine own greatness : let me everywhere meditate on Thee.

O God, Thou art ever the Giver of happiness to Nanak ; Thy name alone is my strength.

The Guru acknowledges his obligations to God :—

When I forget Thee, every one vexeth me ; when I remember Thee, men do me service.

I know none but Thee, Thou true, invisible, and inscrutable One.

When I think of Thee, Thou art always merciful ; what is the wretched crowd then to me ?

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Say whom shall I call bad or good? All men are Thy creatures.

Thou art my prop; Thou art my support; Thou givest me Thy hand and protectest me.

He to whom Thou showest mercy can suffer no ill.

Only that is happiness and that greatness which is pleasing to God.

Thou art wise, Thou art ever kind, O Lord; if I obtain Thy name, I am happy.

In Thy presence this is my humble representation; my soul and body are totally Thine.

Saith Nanak, whatever distinction I possess is Thine; no one knoweth my name.[1]

The following represents a conversation between a Sikh and a devout lady who had asked him the questions contained in the first part of the hymn. The conversation was versified by the Guru.

Thou hast escaped worldly love, impurity, and sloth; by whose favour was it done?

Worldly love once greatly fascinating thou feelest no longer; whither hath gone thy sloth?

By what arduous mortification hast thou escaped from lust, wrath, and pride,

Which have ruined godly men, demigods, demons, beings possessed of the three qualities, and the whole world?

A forest fire consumeth much grass;[2] some rare green shrub *like thee* hath escaped.

I cannot describe such an omnipotent being; his praises cannot be expressed.

In this chamber of lamp-black thou hast not been besmirched;[3] nay, thou hast assumed a spotless colour.

The Sikh's reply:—

The great spell of the Guru hath taken its dwelling in my heart, and I have heard the wonderful Name.

1 That is, it is not I, it is Thou who art distinguished.
2 That is, avarice has consumed many mortals.
3 Thou hast not become wicked in this evil world.

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God hath mercifully looked on me with favour, and attached me to His feet.

Through love and service Nanak hath obtained happiness in the association of the saints.

The following represents another conversation between the same lady and the Sikh :—

Thy red jacket [1] becometh thee ;
Thou art pleasing to the Lord, and thou winnest His heart.
Who hath given this bloom *to thy face* ?
What dye hath given thee thy bright complexion ?
Thou art beautiful, thou art a happy wedded wife.
In thy house is thy Beloved, in thy house is good fortune.
Thou art chaste, thou art distinguished,
Thou art pleasing to thy Beloved, thou possessest superior knowledge.

The Sikh's reply :—

I please my Beloved, wherefore I have this bright complexion.
Saith Nanak, God hath looked on me with a favouring glance.
Hear, my friend, this is the reward of my toil,
That God Himself decketh and adorneth me.

Man is happy on meeting God, as a woman on meeting her husband :—

When Thou wert distant, I greatly suffered ;
Now that I have contrived to meet Thee,
My female companions cease to taunt me.
My suspicions have fled ; by the Guru I am united with my Beloved.
My Beloved hath approached and placed me on the couch :
I no longer heed what people say.
In my temple [2] is the light of the Word.
My Spouse is joyful and happy.

[1] Devotion. [2] Heart.

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Through the destiny recorded on my forehead my Beloved hath come home to me,
And Nanak hath found lasting wedded bliss.

The Guru, while associating with the world, ever thinks on God :—

My soul is attached to the true Name ;
My love for men is but artificial guise ;
My ties are only external : I smile on every one,
But I am separate from them as a lotus from the water.
I converse with everybody,
But I keep my heart with God.
I appear very formidable,
But *in reality* my heart is the dust of every one's feet,
The slave Nanak hath found the perfect Guru ;
He hath shown me the one God both in my heart and in nature.

However great man's pleasures, he is, as it were, dead without devotion :—

Man may enjoy pleasures in the vigour of youth,
But without the Name he is blended with the dust.
He may wear *costly* earrings and *fine* clothes ;
He may have a comfortable couch, and be proud thereof ;
He may have elephants to ride and a golden umbrella over his head ;
But without the worship of God he is, *as it were*, beneath the earth.
Man may enjoy many beautiful women,
But without the essence of God all relishes are insipid.
Deceived by mammon man is led into sin and evil,
But he is saved, O Nanak, by entering the sanctuary of the merciful God.

The saints are likened to a garden, the Guru to a gardener :—

There is a garden [1] in which many trees are planted ;
They bear the ambrosial Name as fruit.

[1] The company of the saints.

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So contrive, O man of God,
That thou mayest obtain the rank of nirvan.
Around the garden, my brethren, are poisonous pools; within it is nectar;
There is one gardener to irrigate;
He tendeth the leaves and branches;
He bringeth many vegetables and planteth them therein;
They all without exception bear fruit.
He who hath received the ambrosial fruit of the Name from the Guru,
Crosseth over the world's ocean according to the slave Nanak.

The Guru prefers the spot where the saints congregate to any place of pilgrimage :—

If I go on a pilgrimage *I see* men boasting;
If I inquire of Brahmans, *I find* them immersed in mammon.
O my friend, show me that place
Where God's praises are ever sung
By meditating on evil and good according to the Shastars and Veds,
Man again and again descendeth to hell and ascendeth to heaven.
In the family man's life there is anxiety, and in the hermit's pride.
The soul is entangled in religious ceremonies.
He who by God's favour hath his mind under control,
Shall be saved, O Nanak, by the Guru's instruction.
Sing God's praises in the company of the saints:
The place where they dwell is obtained from the Guru.

Let God be ever present to man in all his avocations :—

Whether standing, sitting, or sleeping, meditate on God.
Taking thy walks sing God's praises.
With thine ears hear the ambrosial Word.
By listening to it thy heart shall be glad, and all thine infirmities and troubles depart.

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While working, travelling, or *wandering by the* river's shore repeat God's name.

By the Guru's favour drink God's nectar.

He who day and night singeth God's praises

Shall not fall in Death's way.

By touching the feet of him who forgetteth not *God's name*

During the eight watches of the day, O Nanak, emancipation is obtained.

God's kingdom is for the lowly :—

The lowly man whom nobody knoweth

Shall be honoured by everywhere repeating God's name.

I crave for a sight of Thee ; grant it, O my Beloved :

Who hath not been saved by serving Thee ?

The whole world washeth the dirt of his feet

Whom nobody would approach.

The man who is useless to everybody

Is invoked *as a saint* by the Guru's favour.

In the company of the saints, the mind that sleepeth awakeṭh ;

Then, O Nanak, the Lord is dear.

The omnipresence of God expressed by different metaphors :—

God is Himself the tree, and its extended branches.

He watcheth His own field.[1]

Wherever I look there is the one God ;

He is in every heart.

He Himself is the sun and the expansion of its rays.

He is at once concealed and manifest.

He is described as possessing all qualities and no qualities.

Both descriptions together apply to the one God.

Saith Nanak, the Guru hath dispelled my doubts and fears,

And I behold the Blissful One everywhere.

The Guru's self-depreciation :—

I know no tricks and devices of speech,

But day and night I repeat Thy name.

[1] The world.

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I possess no merits—not even one.
O God, Thou doest, and causest *all things* to be done.
I a fool, blockhead, ignorant, and thoughtless,
Long for Thy name in my heart.
I have performed no works of devotion, penance, or mortification ;
I have only adored Thy name in my heart.
I know nothing ; I have little wisdom.
Nanak representeth, Thou art, O God, my shelter.

The relation of the creature to the Creator :—

Thou art my lake, I am Thy fish ;[1]
Thou art my Lord, I am *the beggar* at Thy gate.
Thou art my Creator, I am Thy worshipper.
I have found Thy sanctuary, O God of profound excellence.
Thou art my life, Thou art my support.
On beholding Thee I bloom like the lotus.
Thou art my salvation, and mine honour ; Thou art the Acceptor of *the holy*.
Thou art Almighty, Thou art my strength.
Nanak's supplication to God is—
May I night and day repeat Thy name, O Lord of excellences !

The Guru one day visiting his sacred tank saw mourning in one house and rejoicing in another. Upon this he composed the following :—

Mourners practise falsehood ;
They laugh while mourning for others.
One man dieth *and there is weeping for him* ; in the house of another there is singing.
One man weepeth, another laugheth.
From youth to old age
Man attaineth not his object ; then he regretteth *lost opportunities*.
The world is subject to the three qualities,

[1] That is, as a fish cannot live without water, so I cannot live without Thee.

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And therefore man passeth through hell and heaven.
Saith Nanak, that man's birth is fruitful, and he is acceptable
Whom God hath applied to the repetition of His name.

A man had a dream which he related to Guru Arjan. He thought he had fallen into a well and tried to ascend by the well-rope. Two mice, one black and the other white, were gnawing it away. In the well was a venomous serpent which he feared would sting him. In this dilemma a drop of honey fell into his mouth from a tree which grew over the well, and he awoke. The following was composed by the Guru on the subject of the dream :—

Night and day mice gnaw the rope.[1]
He who falleth into the well eateth sweets.[2]
The night [3] passeth away in thinking and reflecting.
Man while considering the various pleasures of the world never thinketh of God.
Deeming the tree's shadow immovable he buildeth his house *beneath it*;
But Death's noose is *round his neck*, and Maya aimeth her arrow at him.
The sandy shore which is exposed to the waves
The fool considereth to be permanent.
He who repeateth the Sovereign God's name in the society of the saints,
Shall, Nanak, live for ever singing God's praises.

The following was addressed to a dead body :—

With the soul thou didst play.
With the soul thou didst meet every one.
Everybody desired thee with the soul ;
Without it no one wisheth to see thee.
Where is that soul now ?
Without it thou art in a sad plight ;

1 Night and day life grows shorter.
2 Man enjoys himself when he comes into the world.
3 Human life.

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With it thou wert master in thine own home.
With it thou wert distinguished,
With it thou wert fondled ;
Without it thou wert left in the dust.
With it thou hadst honour and greatness,
With it thou hadst relations with the world,
With it thy framework *was tricked out* in various ways ;
Without it thou hast become clay.
The soul neither dieth nor is born ;
It acteth subject to God's orders.
O Nanak, it is God who having fashioned *the body* uniteth and separateth *the soul* from it—
He Himself knoweth His own power.

The attributes possessed in common by God and the saints :—

God doth not die, nor do we fear *death* ;
He doth not perish, nor do we grieve.
He is not poor, nor are we hungry ;
He feeleth not pain, nor do we.
There is no destroyer but God ;
He liveth and giveth us life.
He hath no entanglements, nor have we ;
He hath no *worldly* occupations, nor have we ;
He hath no impurity, nor have we—
When He is glad, we are ever happy—
He hath no anxiety, nor have we ;
He is not defiled *by the world*, nor are we ;
He feeleth no hunger, and we no thirst.
If He is pure, we are so also.
We are nothing, He is the only Being :
He alone is the beginning and end.
O Nanak, the Guru hath dispelled and shattered our doubts.
We and God, having become united, have assumed the same colour.

The advantages of loving the Lord :—

By love for the Lord happiness is ever obtained,
By love for the Lord we feel no misery,

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By love for the Lord the filth of pride is washed away,
By love for the Lord man is ever pure.
Hear, my friend, bear love and affection to God,
Who is our life and soul and the support of every heart.
By love for God all treasure is obtained,
By love for God the pure Name entereth the heart,
By love for God man is ever honoured,
By love for God anxiety is erased,
By love for God man crosseth the terrible ocean,
By love for God man feareth not Death,
By love for God all are saved,
By love for God He goeth with us.
No erring man may by himself meet God.
He to whom God is merciful joineth the society of the saints.
Saith Nanak, I am a sacrifice unto Thee, O God ;
Thou art the shelter and strength of the saints.

The proud and rich oppressor is brought to his level by death :—

Man becoming a king, exerciseth dominion ;
Committing oppression he acquireth wealth ;
Amassing and amassing he filleth his coffers ;
But God taketh his wealth from him and bestoweth it on another.
The body is an unbaked earthen vessel with water therein,
Yet man becometh very proud of it.
He becometh fearless and reckless,
And never thinketh of the Creator who is with him.
He raiseth and collecteth armies,
But when the breath leaveth him he becometh ashes.
He possesseth lofty mansions, seraglios and queens,
Elephants and teams of horses to delight his heart,
A large family of sons and daughters ;
But through love of them the fool dieth in great affliction.
He who created him, destroyeth him.
Pleasures and enjoyments are like a dream.
He is emancipated, he possesseth empire and wealth,
O Nanak, to whom the Lord is merciful.

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The condition of the regenerate :—

The order of the Beloved is sweet to me ;
My Spouse hath divorced my co-wife *who obeyed not His order*.
My Beloved hath decorated me His happy married wife,
And slaked the burning of my heart.
It is well that I did the bidding of the Beloved ;
I have known what happiness and tranquillity are with Him.
I am the handmaiden, the servant of the Beloved
Who is indestructible, inaccessible, and infinite.
I will take a fan and wave it over my Beloved.
The five deadly sins which tormented me have fled.
I am not of high family, nor am I beautiful ;
I know not how I have pleased my Spouse.
Though I am helpless, poor, and unhonoured,
My Spouse hath taken my hand and made me His queen.
When first I saw my Beloved Friend,
I obtained happiness and tranquillity, and blest was my married life.
Saith Nanak, my desires have been fulfilled.
The true Guru hath united me with God, the Lord of excellences.

The following is a description of Maya, or worldly love :—

On her forehead is a frown,[1] her look is sour,
Bitter is her speech, rude her tongue ;
She is ever hungry, she thinketh God is distant *and seeth her not*.
Such a female hath the one God created.
She hath devoured the whole world except those whom the Guru hath protected, my brethren.
Casting a net of deception she watcheth till the whole world *fall therein*.
She hath bewitched Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv.
Only the pious who love the Name have not been dishonoured by her.

[1] Literally—the mark of the three qualities.

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Men grow weary performing fasting, vows, and expiations ;

They wander to the banks of sacred streams over the whole earth ;

But only those who have sought the true Guru's shelter are saved.

The whole world is bound by the love of Maya.

The obstinate and the foolish are consumed by pride.

Guru Nanak hath taken mine arm and protected me.

God's praises ; His name man's only support :—

I am a purchased slave ; Thou, O Lord, art my true Master ;

My soul and body, yea, everything is Thine.

O Lord, Thou art the honour of the unhonoured ; I put my trust in Thee.

Know that he who hath other support than the True One is feeble.

Thine empire is boundless ; no one knoweth its limit.

He who meeteth the true Guru, walketh according to Thy will.

Device and cunning are of no avail.

Receive, O man, the happiness which the Lord being pleased conferreth on thee.

Even though thou perform millions of ceremonies, they will not avail thee.

The slave Nanak hath made the Name his support and forsaken all other calling.

The following was addressed by the Guru to his mother :—

If the invisible and infinite Lord dwell a little in my heart,

O my mother, my troubles, pains, and infirmities shall all vanish.

I am a sacrifice to my Master.

My soul and body are very happy repeating His name.

I have heard a little regarding that true Lord.

I have obtained happiness upon happiness, O my mother, which cannot be estimated.

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On beholding Him with mine eyes I was pleased, and began to long for Him.

O mother, I am without excellences, yet God Himself hath attached me to His skirt.

God is totally beyond the Veds and the books of the world ; Nanak's King hath openly manifested Himself.

Magnification of the Lord who ought to be served and remembered by His frail creatures :—

Hundreds of thousands of saints worship Thee, uttering 'Beloved, Beloved !'

In what way shall I who am without virtues and sinful meet Thee, O my life ?

Thou art my prop, O Lord, Sustainer of the earth, and merciful God ;

Thou art the Lord of all ; the whole creation is Thine.

Thou art ever the Helper of the saints, and they behold Thee ever present.

They who are without the Name die lamenting.

Transmigration is at an end for those who embrace the Lord's service.

What shall be the condition of those who forget the Name ?

The whole world is like trespassing cattle.[1]

Saith Nanak, O God, do Thou Thyself cut off my shackles and blend me with Thee.

Instruction to the human race :—

O man, forgetting all other things, think only of the one God ;

Put aside false pride and offer Him thy soul and body ;

Praise thou the Creator during the eight watches of the day.

I live by Thy gifts, O God, show mercy unto me.

O man, do that work by which thy countenance may be bright.[2]

[1] Men follow their own inclinations and suffer accordingly. Trespassing cattle were chained and impounded.

[2] By which thou mayest be happy.

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O God, he on whom Thou bestowest truth becometh attached to it.

O man, construct such a house as shall never fall.

If thou put the one God in thy heart, thou shalt never die.

God is dear to those who are pleasing to Him ;

And by the Guru's favour, O Nanak, they praise Him the Ineffable.

The bliss of those who devote their thoughts to God :—

What men are they who forget not the Name ?

They are as God ; know that there is no difference between Him and them.

The souls and bodies of those who meet Thee, O Lord, are happy.

They obtain happiness ; all their sorrows are dispelled by the favour of the saints,

By whom are saved all countries and worlds.

They are perfect saints in whose hearts Thou, O God, dwellest.

He whom Thou acknowledgest is acknowledged.

He is illustrious, accepted, and famous everywhere.

O true King, fulfil Nanak's desire

To adore and remember Thee day and night at every breath.

Man ought ever to attend to his devotions :—

O thou, the prey of sloth, why sleepest thou forgetting the Name ?

How many float away *to perdition* on this river of life !

O man, embark on the boat of God's feet and cross over.

During the eight watches of the day sing God's praises in the company of the saints.

Thou enjoyest various pleasures, but they are empty without the Name.

Without God's service thou shalt weep thyself to death.

Thou dressest, eatest, and perfumest thyself and rubbest on batna,[1]

[1] An Oriental soap used to make the skin soft and delicate.

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But, without remembering God's name, thy body shall assuredly depart and become dust.

This world is very difficult to cross : only a few know this.

They who seek God's protection, O Nanak, shall be saved; this is God's law.

The Guru calls upon his saints to join him in worship and arrive at a state of exaltation :—

Come, my friends, let us meet and enjoy every relish ;

Having met let us repeat God's ambrosial name so that our sins may be blotted out.

Meditate on the Real Thing, O ye saints, that no troubles may befall you.

The pious are on the alert, and have destroyed all the thieves.[1]

Take wisdom and humility as your viaticum, and destroy the sin of pride.

True is the shop,[2] perfect the traffic ; deal in the ware of the Name.

They who offer up their souls, bodies, and wealth are held in honour.

They who are pleasing to their Lord enjoy themselves.

Fools of weak understanding who drink wine become whore-masters.

They who are saturated with God's elixir, Nanak, are the true drinkers.

The Guru, as handmaiden of the Lord, offers Him homage :—

The God whose handmaiden I am, is the most exalted of all :

Everything whether small or great is His.

My soul, my life, and my wealth are admittedly the Lord's.

I am accounted the handmaiden of Him through whose Name I have become pure.

O Thou, who art independent and full of joy, Thy name is a jewel and a diamond.

1 The deadly sins who came to rob them.
2 The company of the saints.

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She whose Lord Thou art, roameth satisfied and ever happy.

Ye friends and companions of my association, implant in me right understanding,

That I may serve the saints with love, and thus obtain God's treasure.

All are handmaidens of God ; all call Him Master,

But it is only she whom God adorneth, O Nanak, who abideth in happiness.

The duties of the holy handmaiden :—

Become the handmaiden of the saints and learn thy duties :

The highest of all virtues is not to deem thy Spouse afar.

Dye thy soul with the beautiful madder of God's name.

Abandon devices and cunning, and know that God is with thee.

Make obedience to thy Spouse's words thine ornaments ;

Chew forgetfulness of the world as thy betel ;

Make the Guru's instruction thy lamp, and spread the couch of virtue.

Stand with clasped hands all day long, and thou shalt meet the sovereign God.

She who is pleasing to the Creator possesseth all discretion and ornaments ;

She is endowed with peerless beauty, O Nanak, and is a happy wife.

The advantages conferred by the Guru :—

As long as I have mental doubts I stray in devious paths :

When the Guru dispelled my doubts I obtained rest.

The evil passions which tormented me have left me through the Guru :

I have escaped from them, and they have escaped from me.

Man is entangled from the moment he thinketh that *worldly things* are private property.

I have escaped from entanglements since the Guru dispelled my spiritual ignorance.

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Man suffereth as long as he knoweth not the will of God.

He is happy when, meeting the Guru, he recognizeth God's will.

I have no enemy to torment me, nor doth any one appear to me to be evil.[1]

The servant who serveth the Guru, O Nanak, is a slave of the Lord.

Devotion is pleasing to the Lord and procures the fulfilment of desires :—

Sing God's praises and thou shalt obtain great happiness, comfort, and delight.

If the true Guru give His name, evil influences[2] shall be removed.

I am ever and ever a sacrifice to my Guru ;

I devote myself to the Guru by meeting whom I have obtained my real object.

He who remembereth not God believeth in good and bad omens.

Death approacheth not him who is pleasing to the Lord.

The Name is superior to all gifts, charity, devotion, and penance.

All his desires shall be fulfilled who repeateth God's name.

His fear is no more, his errors and worldly love have fled, and he seeth none but God.

Nanak, if the supreme Being preserve, no sorrow shall befall us.

The Guru sings God's praises on every occasion :—

I sing God's praises at home, I sing them abroad, I sing them awaking in the morning.

I, who deal in God's name, have obtained it as my viaticum *from the Guru*,

And completely forgotten all things beside.

The perfect Guru hath given me the gift of the Name ; it is my only support.

[1] That is, I am nobody's enemy.

[2] *Grih* (*grah*), the seven planets of the ancients and the demons Rāhu and Ketu. *Grih* also means entanglements.

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In woe I sing *God's praises*, in weal I sing them ; on my way I remember them.

The Guru hath firmly fixed the Name in my heart and slaked my thirst.

I sing *God's praises by* day, I sing them by night, I sing them with my tongue at every breath.

The faith that God is with us whether alive or dead resulteth from association with the saints.

Bestow this gift, O God, upon Thy slave Nanak, that he may clasp to his heart the dust of the saints' feet,

That he may hear of God with his ears, behold Him with his eyes, and put the Guru's feet on his forehead.

Man must die at last, and his only hope is in God :—

The body which thou deemest permanent is only a two days' guest.

Children, wife, home, all thy property—the love of all these things is transitory.

O man, why laughest thou ?

If thou look attentively, these things are like an enchanted city ; [1] profit is only obtained by worshipping God.

Clothes worn on the body fall to tatters after two or four days ;

However much thou runnest upon a wall, thou shalt at last arrive at its end ; [2]

Salt at once melteth if put into a pitcher of water ;

So when the order of the Supreme Being arriveth, the soul must depart in a trice.

O man, thy walking, thy sitting, and thy breathing are all counted.

[1] Harishchandar son of Trisanku was, according to the Purāns, raised to heaven for his unbounded liberality. He was accompanied thither by his friends and followers, but being induced to boast of his merits, he was hurled back to earth. On the way he repented of his fault, and remained suspended feet uppermost in mid-air. His city there is said to be occasionally visible. In the Granth Sāhib the word *harchandauri* simply means a mirage.

[2] Some day death shall arrive.

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Ever sing God's praises, Nanak, and thou shalt be saved under the shelter of the true Guru's feet.

The blessings obtained when God mercifully grants the true Guru :—

When God is merciful,

What is reversed becometh straight, and slanderers and enemies become friends.

The jewel of *divine knowledge* shineth in the darkness, and the impure understanding becometh purified.

When I met the true Guru I obtained happiness, prosperity, and the fruit of God's name.

No one knew me, despicable[1] that I was, *but now* I have become famous throughout the world.

Formerly no one would allow me to associate with him, *but now* all men worship my feet.

I used *formerly* to go about begging for paise, *but now* all the thirst of my heart is quenched.

I who could not endure reproach from any one, have now become patient through the society of the saints.

What praises of Him who is totally beyond reach can be uttered by a single tongue ?

Thy servant Nanak is in Thy sanctuary ; make him Thy slave of slaves.

Man is slow to virtue, but swift to vice :—

O fool, thou art very slow to thy profit, but to thy loss thou hastenest.

O sinner, thou makest not good bargains, but art attracted by worthless things.[2]

O true Guru, my hope is in thee.

O Supreme God, Thy name is Purifier of sinners ; I have come to Thy shelter.

O man, thou listenest to foul language and art entangled in it, but in repeating the Name thou art indolent.

Thou greatly delightest in slander, and art wrong-headed.

1 *Kripan.* Literally—a miser.
2 *Renāia.* Things of sand or dust.

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Thou covetest thy neighbour's wealth, son, and wife, and like a mad dog eatest what ought not to be eaten.

Thou hast no love for the true faith ; on hearing the truth thou becomest angry.

O compassionate to the poor, merciful Lord God, Thy name is the support of the saints.

O God. Nanak hath gladly entered Thine asylum ; be mindful of Thine own honour.[1] .

An exhortation to man to abandon worldly love :—

Thou clingest to perishable things ; worldly love hath bound thee.

Thou thinkest not whither thou shalt have to go : through pride thou hast become blind.

O man, why not abandon the world and worship God ?

Thou dwellest in a frail chamber : the diseases of all the passions affect thee.

While talking of thy wealth days and nights pass away ; every moment life groweth shorter.

As men are led away by sweet savours, so art thou by false and filthy occupations.

Thy senses are attached to the pleasures of lust, wrath, avarice, and worldly love ;

Therefore the Supreme Being hath caused thee to wander again and again in births.

When He who removeth the sorrows of the poor becometh merciful, all happiness is obtained on meeting the Guru.

Saith Nanak, if thou day and night meditate on God He will heal all thy maladies ;

So, my brethren, repeat God's name.

And He who removeth the sorrows of the poor, shall become merciful, and the pains of birth and death vanish.

For the unworthy pleasures of a moment man forfeits his future happiness :—

For the fleeting pleasure of lust, thou shalt suffer misery for endless time.

For the enjoyment of a ghari or two, thou shalt repent again and again.

[1] By protecting me who am Thine own.

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O blind one, remember the Lord God ;
Thy time hath approached.
Thou art misled on beholding even for a moment the beauty of the akk, the nim, and the colocynth.[1]
As is companionship with a serpent so is *an intrigue with* thy neighbour's wife.
For worthless objects[2] thou committest sin, but the real thing is neglected by thee.
Thou lovest what thou shalt have to abandon and thou quarrellest with thy friends.
This is the case with the whole world, but only he who hath the perfect Guru shall be saved.
Saith Nanak, when man is purified, he shall cross over the terrible ocean of the world.

Man cannot conceal his sins from God :—

What men do in secret God seeth, though fools and blockheads deny it.
They reap the reward of their own acts and regret them afterwards.
My God knoweth all man's devices beforehand.
Deceived by error, O man, thou triest to hide thine acts from Him, but afterwards thou shalt have to confess thy heart's secrets.
Man applieth himself to what God hath applied him : what can any mortal do ?
Pardon me, O Lord, supreme God ; Nanak is ever a sacrifice unto Thee.

The mortal sins, though potent, can be subdued by the saints :—

The five deadly sins subdue the four castes and the four stages of life, and trample on the six religious systems.
They have bewitched and deceived the beautiful, the accomplished, the lovely, and the wise.
Is there any puissant hero or champion to seize and destroy them ?

1 That is, the evil passions are fair without but foul within.
2 *Bairi kāran.* Also translated—Thou committest sin for thy relations who are thine enemies.

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He who can pass his life killing and destroying them, is perfect in this age.

They form a great tribe who cannot be controlled and who will not flee ; they are a mighty and obstinate army ;

But, saith Nanak, he who is under the protection of the society of the saints crusheth them.

Sweet is the society of the saints :—

My beloved, *the society of the saints* is a stream of nectar;

The Guru diverteth it not from my heart even for a moment.

On beholding and touching it great pleasure and delight are obtained :

It is dyed with the Creator's dye.

Death never approacheth him who meeting the Guru uttereth the Name even for a moment :

God, O Nanak, embraceth and claspeth him to His heart.

The occupation of the saints :—

Good is the society of the saints :

Every watch, every hour, every moment they sing God's praises and speak of Him ;

Walking, sitting, or sleeping they sing His praises ; their souls and bodies are absorbed in His feet.

I am small, Thou, O God, are great ; Nanak knoweth Thy sanctuary.

Meditate on God who has done and will do so much for man :—

The soul, mind, body, life—all pleasures and enjoyments are given by God ;

He is the Relation of the poor and the Bestower of life ; He is potent to save those who seek His protection.

O my soul, meditate on God's name.

In this world and the next the one God who accompanieth thee is the Helper ; fix thy love on Him alone.

Men ponder on the Veds and Shastars to secure deliverance;

But superior to all religious ceremonies and observances is the utterance of the Name.

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Lust, wrath, and pride depart on meeting the true divine Guru.

They in whose hearts he fixeth God's name and worship best perform His service.

O Compassionate One, I seek the protection of Thy feet ; Thou art the honour of the unhonoured.

Thou, O God, art the Support of my soul and life ; Thou art Nanak's strength.

The advantage of the saints' society and God's love :—

Without the society of the saints man ever wavering suffereth great misery :

By love of the one Supreme God the profit of God's essence is earned.

Men grasp the unreal :—

O madmen, ye have fallen asleep.

Ye are intoxicated with worldly love, families, and sensual enjoyments, and embrace fleeting pleasures.

Desires which are false, joy and delight which are a dream the perverse deem real.

They discover not at all the secrets of the wealth of the ambrosial Name which is with them.

Nanak, they whom God mercifully keepeth in the company of the saints, obtain His protection.

The Guru grasps the real :—

The love of that Dear One for me !

Not gold, or gems, or pearls,[1] or rubies ; no, no, no !

Not empire, not fortune, not authority, not enjoyments—none of these do I desire.

In worshipping the feet of the saints and taking their protection I find supreme happiness.

All Nanak's heart-burning was dispelled

When he obtained the love of the Beloved.

[1] Gajmoti. Pearls fabled to come from the head of the white elephant.

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The Guru makes God manifest :—

O God, the Guru hath shown Thee to mine eyes.

In this world and the next, in every heart art Thou, O Bewitcher.

Cause of causes, Supporter of the earth, Thou alone art beautiful.

Nanak devoteth himself to meeting and beholding the saints ; he sleepeth in complete happiness.

The Guru prays God to crown his devotion :—

Bringing service to a successful issue,

O God, I have gladly come to Thee.

He who putteth God's feet into his heart and obtaineth the boon of the Name is successful.

This is his happiness here and hereafter ; preserve him by association with saints.

Nanak, meditate on the Name, sing God's praises, and thou shalt be easily absorbed in Him.

The longing of the holy for God :—

O God, Thy feet are beautiful ;

God's saints find them *in their hearts*.

They who dispel their pride and practise worship, sing God's praises with the greatest zest :

They long for the one God ; they thirst to behold Him ; none else pleaseth them.

O God, have mercy upon me ; what is the helpless creature ? Nanak is a sacrifice unto Thee.

The condition of the holy is contrasted with that of the listless and the proud :—

He who forgetteth God is already dead ;

He who meditateth on the Name shall obtain all the advantages thereof, and be happy ;

He who practiseth pride, though he be called a king, shall be caught like a parrot, insnared in a trap.

Saith Nanak, he who meeteth the Guru shall become immovable.[1]

[1] Shall not be subject to transmigration.

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The Guru describes the condition of the worldly :—

He who sleepeth in the intoxication of sin and worldly love hath no understanding.

It is only when Death lifteth him up by the hair that he shall come to his senses.

They who are attached to the poison of avarice and the other deadly sins acquire wealth by oppressing others.

They are intoxicated with pride in what is destroyed in a moment, and, demons that they are, know not God.

The Veds, the Shastars, and holy men cry out, but the deaf hear not.

They utterly lose their game, and the fools regret what is lost.

All the tax they pay shall be by way of punishment, and it shall not be credited in God's court.

O men, the work by which God would cast a veil over your sins you have not performed.

Since the Guru hath shown me that the world is such as it is, I have sung the praises of God alone.

Having renounced all pride in his strength and skill, Nanak hath entered Thine asylum.

What the holy gain by devotion :—

By dealing in the name of God

The saints and holy men are propitiated, the Beloved is obtained, His praises are sung, and the music of the five instruments is played.

When I obtained God's favour I obtained a sight of Him, and am now imbued with His love.

By serving the saints I conceived love and affection for my darling Master.

When the Guru fixed divine knowledge in my heart, I rejoiced that I should not be born again.

I have obtained tranquillity and the treasure of God within me,

And renounced all the wiles of the lust of my heart.

For a long time my soul hath been very thirsty :

O God, grant me a sight of Thee, show Thyself unto me.

Embrace poor Nanak who hath entered Thine asylum.

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The Guru in his humility and sense of dependence on God prays to Him :—

Would that some one would destroy the strong fortress *of sin,*
Save me from desires, avarice, deception, worldly love, and error ;
And that the diseases of lust, wrath, avarice, and pride would leave me !
May I in the company of the saints love God's name, sing His praises,
Meditate on Him day and night,
And capture and raze the rampart of error !
Nanak, the Name is my treasure.

The Guru instructs a disciple :—

Abandon lust, wrath, and covetousness,
And remember God's name in thy heart.
The worship of God is a profitable work.
Forsake the sins of pride, worldly love, and falsehood, and ever utter God's name.
O man, attach thyself to the feet of the saints.
Awake and remember the feet of the Lord God
Who is compassionate to the poor, the Purifier of sinners, and the Supreme Being.
Serve God, O Nanak, and thy lot shall be perfect.

The play of the world :—

God hath exhibited this play consisting of rejoicing and mourning, joy, and sorrow.
One moment man feareth, again he feareth not, and other times he pursueth his fancies ;
One moment he enjoyeth pleasures, and again he abandoneth them ;
One moment he practiseth Jog, penance, and worship of many kinds, and again he wandereth in error ;
And sometimes, O Nanak, God of His mercy applieth man to His love by association with saints.

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The Guru continues his instruction :—

Take the protection of the one God,
Utter the hymns of the Guru,
Obey the order of the True One,
Receive the treasure *of the Name* in thy heart,
And thou, O man, shalt enter into happiness.
He who in life is dead
Shall cross the terrible ocean.
Call him the fearless
Who is the dust of all men's feet.
O man, the instruction of the saints
Removeth all anxieties.
Sorrow can never approach him
Whose happiness is in the Name.
All men obey him
Who listeneth to God's praises.
Nanak, profitable is his advent into the world,
And he is pleasing to the Lord, O my soul.

The Guru prays to the Lord of the unowned :—

God is for him
Who hath nobody besides.
He who knoweth the state of his heart
Knoweth everything.
Save me who have fallen—
This, O my soul, is Nanak's prayer.

The Guru's message to his soul :—

O *my soul*, who hast come from afar,
Hear my message.
Everybody hath abandoned the things
To which thou art attached.
They were as a dream for those
Who repeated God's name.
They who leave God and attach themselves to others
Hasten to transmigration.
It is only they who repeat God's name
Who shall continue to live.

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He to whom God is merciful,
O Nanak, becometh His worshipper.

Asa Ashtapadi

Man must make his choice between God and mammon :—

When I please the five *virtues*, I displease the five *sins*.
When I put the former into my heart, I dispossess the latter.
In this way the city *of my body* is peopled, O my brethren.
Trouble departed from me when I grasped the divine knowledge of the Guru.
The Guru hath made a fence [1] round the true religion :
Meditation on the divine knowledge of the Guru is a strong thorny gate.
O my brethren and friends, sow the field of the Name,
And make the perpetual service of the Guru your traffic.
Make all your shops out of peace and rest and happiness.
The wholesale dealer,[2] the retail dealers,[3] form a company in the one God's name.
Where the true Guru hath set God's seal
Neither infidel-tax, nor fine, nor poll-tax is levied.
Load and dispatch your cargo of the Name,
So shall you, under the Guru's instruction, return home with a profit.
The wholesale dealer is the true Guru ; the retail dealers are his disciples ;
The stock-in-trade is the Name ; the remembrance of the True One is the account kept.
O Nanak, everlasting is God's city ;
He who serveth the perfect Guru shall abide in it.

Asa Birihara

Worship God alone and you shall be happy :—

Remember the supreme God, O my dear friend, and sacrifice thyself for a sight of Him.

[1] To keep out evil passions. [2] The Guru. [3] The disciples.

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O my dear friend, why abandon Him, whose memory causeth sorrow to be forgotten ?

I would sell this body to the saint, O my dear friend, if he caused me to meet the Beloved.

The pleasures and attractions of sin are insipid ; I have abandoned them, O mother.

Lust, wrath, and covetousness forsook me, O my dear friend, when I fell at the true Guru's feet.

They who are imbued with God go not elsewhere,[1] my dear friend ;

They who have tasted God's essence, O my dear friend, are satisfied and contented.

They who seize the skirt of the saint, O Nanak, shall cross over the terrible ocean.

Asa Chhant

Jubilation on spiritual victory :—

Joy ! great joy ! I have seen God.

I have tasted, I have tasted His sweet essence.

His sweet essence hath rained on my heart : through the kindness of the true Guru I have obtained composure.

Since the five enemies fled, my home hath become habitable, and I sing a song of rejoicing.

The holy saint being my intercessor, I am comforted and satisfied with the ambrosial Word.

Saith Nanak, when I saw God with mine eyes my heart was gratified with Him.

Highly adorned are my beautiful gates :

My continual guests are the beloved saints.

When I did homage to them and served them, they adjusted mine affairs.

God Himself is the Groomsman, He Himself is the Bridesman, He Himself is the priest, He Himself is the God of marriage.[2]

He Himself adjusteth His own affairs ; He Himself sustaineth the world.

[1] Worship not false gods.

[2] The Brāhmans when celebrating marriages worship different gods and planets.

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Saith Nanak, when the Bridegroom sitteth at home with me adorned are my beautiful gates ;

The nine treasures in abundance then enter my house,

And I obtain everything, everything by meditating on the Name.

By meditation on the Name with composure and devotion God is ever my Helper.

My cares are at an end, my transmigration hath ceased, and my mind no longer feeleth anxiety.

When I call out God's name, spontaneous music playeth, and there is a scene of wondrous splendour.

Saith Nanak, when the Beloved is with me, I obtain the nine treasures.

All my brethren and friends became overjoyed

When I on meeting the Guru conquered in the very toilsome struggle of the arena ;

When on meeting the Guru I repeated God's name, I conquered and the walls of the fortress of error were demolished.

I obtained the wealth of many treasures, and God stood by to assist me.

He whom God hath made His own possesseth divine knowledge, and is conspicuous among men.

Saith Nanak, the brethren and friends of him on whose side standeth God rejoice.

How man should love God :—

When water and milk are placed over a fire, the water alloweth not the milk to burn ; O men, in that way love God.[1]

As the bumble-bee becometh entangled and intoxicated by the odour of the lotus, and leaveth it not even for a moment,

So relax not a whit thy love for God ; dedicate to Him all thine ornaments and enjoyments.

Man in the company of the saints hath no fear of what is called the way of death where wailings are heard.

1 The Guru's meaning is that man the water should sacrifice himself for God and God, the milk would blend him with Himself.

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Sing and meditate on God's praises, and all thy sins and sorrows shall depart.

Saith Nanak, chant the song of God, O man, love Him and bear Him such affection in thy heart

As a fish beareth water ; it hath not a moment's happiness out of it ; such love bear God, O man.

The chatrik thirsty for raindrops chirrupeth every moment ' Rain, beautiful cloud ! '

So love God, give Him thy soul and fix all thine attention on Him.

Be not proud, seek God's protection, sacrifice thyself for a sight of Him.

The woman who hath true love for the Guru and with whom he is well pleased, shall meet her parted Spouse.

Saith Nanak, chant the song of the eternal God ; love Him,

O my soul, and bear Him such affection

As the love of the sheldrake for the sun ; she feeleth much anxiety as to when she shall behold the day.

As the kokil in love with the mango sweetly singeth, so love God, O man :

Love God, be not proud, all are but guests of a single night.

Now why art thou, who camest and shalt depart naked, attached to and enamoured of the world ?

By entering the asylum of the feet of the pious, the worldly love thou feelest now shall depart, and stability be thine,

Saith Nanak, sing the chant of the Merciful Being, O man, and love God *as the sheldrake* watcheth for the day.

As the deer at night hearing the sound of the bell giveth its life ; so, O man, bear love to God.

As a wife in love with her husband waiteth on her beloved ; so give thy heart to thy Darling :

So give thy heart to thy Darling, enjoy Him, and thou shalt obtain all happiness and bliss.

My friend, my Beloved, we have met after a very long time, and I have clothed myself in red.[1]

[1] Put on red clothes, and dyed my lips, hands, feet, &c. Red is worn by married women, but never by widows.

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When the Guru became the mediator, I saw God with mine eyes ; none appeareth to me like my Beloved.

Saith Nanak, chant the song of the compassionate and fascinating One ; O man, grasp God's feet and such love bear thou Him.

The great God to whom all creation is subject cannot be obtained by idle pilgrimages and ablutions :—

Of roaming and searching from forest to forest and of many ablutions [1] I have become very weary.

Nanak, when I met the holy man, I found God in my heart,

Whom countless munis and penitents seek for,

Whom millions of Brahmas worship, and whose name is uttered by men of divine knowledge ;

To meet whom, the Bright One, men perform devotion, penance, mortification, religious ceremonies, worship, many purifications and adorations,

Wander over the earth, and bathe at places of pilgrimage.

O God, men, forests, glades, beasts, and birds all worship Thee.

The merciful beloved God is found, O Nanak, and salvation obtained by meeting the society of the saints.

Millions of incarnations of Vishnu and of Shiv with the matted hair

Desire Thee, O merciful One ; for Thee their souls and bodies feel endless longing.

The Lord is infinite and unapproachable, He is the all-pervading God and Master.

Demigods, Sidhs, the crowd of celestial singers meditate on Thee ; the Yakshas and Kinars utter Thy praises.

Millions of Indars and various gods repeat Thy name, O Lord, and hail Thee.

Thou art the Patron of the patronless, saith Nanak ; Thou art the compassionate ; associate me with the saints that I may be saved.

[1] *Avgāh.* The gyānis translate this word search, but it is a not uncommon Sanskrit word bearing the meaning given.

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Millions of Devis and Lakshmis serve Thee in divers ways.

Invisible and visible beings, wind, water, day and night adore Thee.

The stars, the moon, and the sun meditate on Thee; the earth and the heavens sing Thy praises.

All the sources of production and all articulate creatures ever meditate on Thee.

The Simritis, the Purans, the four Veds, and the six Shastars repeat Thy name.

Nanak, through the society of the saints meet the Purifier of sinners, to whom the saints are dear.

As much as God communicated to me, so much doth my tongue utter.

They who serve Thee unknown to me are without number.

Thou art the all-pervading, indefinable, unfathomable Lord; Thou art within and without all things.

We are beggars all, Thou alone art the Giver; Thou art not far away; nay, Thou art present and manifest.

Thou art in the power of Thy saints; how can their praises be recounted who meet Thee?

May Nanak obtain the boon and honour to be allowed to place his head on the saints' feet!

God confers bliss on those who love Him:—

Abiding is the marriage state of the saint; her Spouse neither dieth nor departeth.

She who hath God for her Husband shall ever enjoy Him.

The Lord is indestructible and invisible; He is ever young and stainless.

He is not distant; He is ever present; He filleth every direction for ever and for ever.

He is the Lord of the soul from whom proceed salvation and wisdom; I love the love of that Beloved.

Nanak expoundeth what he knoweth from the Guru's instruction; abiding is the married state of the saint; her Spouse neither dieth nor departeth.

She who hath God for her Spouse enjoyeth great bliss.

Happy is such a woman, she is completely honoured:

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She enjoyeth honour, greatness, and happiness, she singeth God's praises, and is ever with her great Lord.

She hath all perfections, the nine treasures ; her home is never empty, it containeth everything.

The married state of her whose speech is honeyed and who obeyeth her Beloved, shall ever be permanent.

Nanak expoundeth what he knoweth through the Guru's instruction—she who hath God for her Spouse enjoyeth excessive bliss.

Come, my companions, to the holy man, and let us apply ourselves to his service.

Let us lay aside our pride, grind *his corn*, and wash his feet.

Let us efface and not parade ourselves, and our troubles shall depart.

Let us take the Guru's protection, obey him, and be happy with whatsoever he doeth.

Let us do him the lowest service, dispel care, be wakeful and stand before him with clasped hands day and night.

Nanak expoundeth what he knoweth from the Guru's instruction ; come, my companions, to the holy man, and let us apply ourselves to his service.

He on whose forehead such destiny hath been written applieth himself to the saints' service.

The desires of him who hath obtained the company of the saints shall be fulfilled.

In the company of the saints are love of God and remembrance of His name.

The sins of superstition, worldly love, and duality all are abandoned by him,

In whose heart dwell peace, composure, and devotion ; he singeth God's praises with joy and delight

Nanak expoundeth what he knoweth through the Guru's instruction—he on whose forehead such destiny hath been written, applieth himself to the saints' service.

The Guru gives way to self-depreciation :—

I am a sinner, devoid of understanding and virtue, friendless and low,

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Foolish, hard-hearted, of mean birth, steeped in the mire of worldly love,

Enveloped in the filth of error, and in acts of pride and arrogance—the thought of death entereth not my heart.

Through spiritual ignorance I am entangled with domestic enjoyments and worldly love.

Youth fadeth away, age increaseth, Death which hovereth over me bideth his time.

Nanak representeth, my hope is in Thee, O God ; preserve me, lowly though I be, in the asylum of Thy saints.

I have wandered in many births and have suffered great pain in wombs.

Deeming enjoyments and gold delicious, I have become entangled with them.

Through transmigration I have been born innumerable times, and have wandered through many lands.

Now I have taken God's protection, and obtained all comfort from His name.

O Protector, beloved Lord. by me nothing was or shall be effected.

Nanak hath obtained happiness, comfort, and joy through Thy mercy, and hath crossed over the ocean of the world.

God hath saved nominal saints : what fear have the real saints ?

In any case carefully listen to God's praises.

By carefully listening to His word man obtaineth divine knowledge and the wealth of His name.

He becometh imbued with God's love and singeth His praises.

Were the earth to become paper, the forests pens, and the wind a writer,

The end of the Endless One could not be described ; Nanak hath grasped the protection of His feet.

The inward satisfaction obtained by devotion :—

Day and night become pleasant by remembering God's name.

By love to His lotus feet wickedness and sin depart ;

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Pain, hunger, and poverty flee away, and man's path appeareth clear.

When we meet the society of the saints and love the Name, the heart's longings are satisfied.

By beholding God, man's desires are fulfilled and his whole family saved.

Day and night, night and day, O Nanak, it is joy to remember God's name.

The Guru prays for grace to remember God :—

To utter God's name in the company of the spotless saints is a holy thought.

O God, saith Nanak, bestow mercy on me, that I may not forget Thy name for a moment !

The virtues of the man of pure life are conspicuous and God renders him happy. This chant is sung by Sikhs at marriages :—

The stars glitter on a clear night.[1]

Holy men the beloved of my Lord are awake ;

The beloved of my Lord are ever awake, and remember His name night and day.

They meditate in their hearts on His lotus feet, and forget Him not for a moment.

They renounce the mental sins of pride and worldly love, and efface the pain of wrong-doing.

Nanak representeth, the servants of God, the dear saints are ever awake.

My couch hath splendid trappings.

In my heart joy hath sprung up since I heard that my Lord was approaching.

On meeting my Lord I have entered on happiness and am filled with the essence of joy and delight.

He embraced me ; my sorrows fled ; my soul, mind, and body all bloomed afresh.

I have obtained my heart's desires by meditating on God ; the time of my union with Him I account auspicious.

Nanak representeth, when he met the Bearer of prosperity, the essence of all pleasure was prepared for him.

1 Night is here explained by human life, and the stars by virtues.

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My companions meeting me asked me to describe my Spouse.

I was so filled with the sweets of love that I could not speak.

The attributes of the Creator are deep, mysterious, and boundless ; the Veds have not found His limit.

She who meditateth on the Lord with devotion and love, who ever singeth His praises,

And is pleasing to her God, is full of all virtues and divine knowledge.

Nanak representeth, she who is dyed with the colour of God's love shall be easily absorbed in Him.

When I began to sing songs of joy to God,

My friends became glad, my troubles and mine enemies fled away,

My happiness and comfort increased, I rejoiced in God's name, and He Himself bestowed mercy on me.

I clung to His feet, and being ever wakeful I met Him.

Happy days came, I obtained peace with all treasures and was blended with God.

Nanak representeth, the saints of God are ever steadfast in seeking His protection.

Why should man fall away from God for the sake of short-lived pleasure ?—

Rise and go, O traveller,[1] why delayest thou ?

Thine appointed time is complete ; why covetest thou what is false ?

Thou covetest what is false, and by the deceit of Maya thou committest innumerable sins.

O wretched man, Death hath sought thee ; thou shalt be overcome by him, and thy body shall be a heap of ashes.

Thou shalt depart leaving thy property and youth ; no more shalt thou have clothing and food.

Saith Nanak, thine acts shall accompany thee, their effects cannot be effaced.

Instead of pleasure there ever resulteth pain from the commission of sin.

[1] The soul.

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Lo ! as the deer is snared on a moonlight night,[1]
So the sins thou hast committed shall not forsake thee ; they shall lead thee away with a halter round thy neck.
Thou art deceived by a mirage ; thou embracest an unsubstantial lover ;
Thou art intoxicated with avarice, greed, and conceit ; thou art brimful of pride.
Nanak, man like the deer is destroyed by his ignorance, and his transmigration ceaseth not.
The fly is caught in the sweets—how can it take flight ?
The elephant falleth into a pit—how can it escape ?
It will be difficult for her to escape who remembereth not her Spouse even for a moment.
Her sufferings and punishment cannot be reckoned ; she shall obtain the fruit of her own acts
What she hath done in secret shall become manifest ; she shall be ruined in this world and the next.
Nanak, without the true Guru the proud self-willed man is ruined.
God's servants live by clinging to His feet.
The Lord embraceth those who seek His protection.
He giveth them strength, understanding, divine knowledge and meditation; He Himself causeth them to utter His name.
God Himself is the society of His saints : it is He who saveth the world.
The Preserver ever preserveth those whose acts are pure ;
Nanak, they shall never go to hell ; God's saints are under His protection.

Man cannot hide his sins from God :—

What man doeth either by day or night shall be recorded on his forehead.
He from whom man seeketh to conceal his acts is with him and seeth them :
The Creator is with him and seeth them ; why committeth he sin ?
Do good acts, repeat the Name, and thou shalt never go to hell.

[1] When hunters are out and snares are laid.

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During the eight watches of the day repeat God's name, and it shall accompany thee.

Ever worship in the company of the saints, O Nanak, and the sins thou hast committed shall be blotted out.

By violence and fraud thou fillest thy belly, O ignorant fool,

Although God the Giver continueth to give thee everything.

The compassionate Lord is ever the Bestower ; why forget Him ?

Join the society of the saints and boldly worship God, so shall thy whole family be saved.

The Name is the support of the sidhs, the strivers, the gods, the munis, and the saints.

Nanak representeth, ever worship God the sole Creator.

Cheat no one ; God assayeth everything.

They who practise falsehood and deception shall be born again in this world,

While those who have meditated on the one God have crossed over its ocean ;

Having abandoned lust, wrath, and blame of the blameless, they have entered the sanctuary of the Lord.

God pervadeth sea and land, the nether regions, and the firmament : He is exalted, inaccessible, and infinite.

Nanak representeth, God is the prop of His servants : H. lotus feet are their support.

Lo ! the world is a phantom city ; nothing is durable.

The enjoyments of the world shall not accompany thee.

God is ever with thee ; remember Him day and night.

Beside the one God there is none : burn the love of worldly things.

Deem that God in thy heart as thy friend, thy youth. thy wealth, thine all.

Nanak representeth, he who obtaineth God by great good fortune entereth on happiness and rest.

The effect of worldly love on man and other animals :—

The illusion of mammon is terrible,[1] the illusion of mam

[1] Also translated—A wall between God and man.

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mon is terrible ; alas ! great is its intoxication, it perverteth men's natures, and their lives, alas ! pass in vain.

In the deep and awful forest, in the deep and awful forest, alas ! the thieves of the soul rob the house[1] in broad daylight, and night and day eat the *plunder*.[2]

By night and day they eat the plunder ; life passeth away without God ; come to me, O God, Thou Lord of mercy.

Without the companionship of the Beloved many births and deaths have taken place, and there is no salvation.

I am without family, beauty, distinction, or divine knowledge ; who is my cherisher but Thee, O God ?

With clasped hands Nanak hath entered Thy sanctuary ; O beloved Lord, grant him salvation.

Alas ! as a fish out of water, a fish out of water dieth by separation from it, so how can I live without the Beloved ?

The deer faceth the arrow, it faceth the arrow, alas ! it sacrificeth its life while absorbed in the pleasure of listening *to the hunter's bell*.

Love to the Beloved hath sprung up within me : I have abandoned the world to meet Him : curses on the body which remaineth for one moment without Him !

Mine eyelids close not ; I am absorbed in the love of the Dear One ; my mind anxiously looketh for Him night and day.

They who are imbued with God's love and intoxicated with the Name, lose all fear, doubt, and worldly love.

Bestow mercy and compassion, O Thou compassionate, all-pervading God, that Nanak may be absorbed in Thy love.

The bumble-bee is humming, the bumble-bee is humming ; alas ! intoxicated with the savour and odour of the honey of the flowers,[3] it entangleth itself in its love for the lotus.

The heart of the chatrik thirsteth, the heart of the chatrik

[1] In this world the deadly sins take possession of the heart.

[2] The gyānis translate—The sun eats men night and day, that is, time consumes man's life.

[3] Man enjoys earthly pleasures.

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thirsteth ; its heart longeth for the beautiful cloud-drops ; when it drinketh all its fever departeth.

O Destroyer of fear, O Destroyer of sorrow, come to me : my soul and body feel for Thee excessive love.

Beautiful, clever, wise Lord, with what tongue shall I utter Thy praise ?

Take me by the hand, give me Thy name : he on whom Thou lookest with favour hath his sins erased.

Saith Nanak, he who beholdeth God the Purifier of sinners feeleth no pain.

I think of the Lord, I think of the Lord ; me friendless preserve in Thine asylum : I delight to meet Thee who giveth delight to my soul.

I meditate on Thy beautiful form, I meditate on Thy beautiful form ; my soul longeth for a knowledge of Thee, O God, who preserveth the honour of Thy suppliants.

God who bestoweth full honour and destroyeth sorrow hath fulfilled all my desires.

Happy was that day when God embraced me : on meeting my Spouse my couch was adorned.

God casting a glance of favour on me, all my sins have been erased.

Nanak representeth, my desires have been fulfilled. I have found the Bearer of prosperity, the Treasury of excellences.

GUJARI

The necessity of the Guru :—

Men perform devotional exercises [1] and the six religious acts *of the Hindus* ; worldly people are steeped in such things ;

But without the Guru the filth of pride leaveth not their hearts, and they lose their game.

O my God, mercifully preserve me.

Out of millions some rare man is a servant of God ; all others are worldly.

[1] *Kiriāchār*. This includes worship, applying frontal marks, bathing, feeding idols, &c.

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The Shastars, the Veds, the Simritis, all have I searched; they all utter one cry :—

'Without a guru none obtaineth salvation'; observe and consider this in thy mind.

Were one to bathe at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage and wander over the whole earth,

Were one to perform various purifications day and night, all would be darkness without the true Guru.

Running hither and thither, I traversed the whole world, but now I have arrived at God's door.

God hath removed my sinful desires and enlightened my understanding: Nanak is saved under the Guru's guidance.

Man through his perversity is ever doing what he ought not to do :—

Man proposeth to go to the west, but he is led away to the east.

God in an instant establisheth and disestablisheth; He holdeth in His hands the result of man's designs.

Human devices are of no avail:

What my Lord deemeth fit shall continue to be.

Men who go forth with the object of acquiring territory and amassing money, die on the way.

Their armies, officers, and servants—all shall they leave and depart to the city of Death.

Through obstinacy man asserteth himself and deemeth there is none other like himself.

The food which blameless persons have reprobated and laid aside he eateth again and again.[1]

He to whom God is kindly disposed and merciful shall have his shackles cut off.

Saith Nanak, he who hath met the perfect Guru is acceptable, whether he be a family man or an anchoret.

The advantages of devotion and charity :—

They who repeat the priceless Name shall have their shackles cut off;

[1] That is, he indulges in forbidden pleasures.

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They shall be freed from the sins of lust, wrath, worldly love, and the disease of pride.

They who joining the company of the saints sing God's praises,

Shall have their hearts purified by the favour of the Guru and obtain the highest of all happiness.

I have adopted this as my worship—to deem good whatever God doeth :

To consider friends and enemies as the same is an index of the way to God.

He filleth every place, wherefore I go nowhere.[1]

He is in every heart, uninterruptedly in all things ; He is immersed in love and dyed with love.

When God is merciful and compassionate, man arriveth at the abode of the Fearless.

In one moment his troubles and anxieties are at an end, O Nanak, and he becometh absorbed in God.

Man ought to trust to God alone :—

Every one to whom I address myself is full of his own troubles ;

But he who heartily adoreth the Supreme God shall cross over the terrible ocean.

None but the great God can remove this distress and sorrow.

Whoever forsaketh God and becometh a worshipper of others, shall find his honour, dignity, and reputation decrease.

They who are acquaintances and relations for the sake of mammon are of no avail.

God's slave, even though he be of lowly birth, is exalted ; in his company man obtaineth whatever his heart desireth.

Even though man have thousands and millions of viands obtained by sin, yet shall his hunger not be satisfied thereby.

By remembering the Name there appear endless lights by which the Unseen is manifested.

Wandering and wandering I have arrived at Thy door, O Destroyer of fear, sovereign God.

Nanak desireth the dust of the saints' feet ; in it he findeth his happiness.

[1] I practise my devotions at home.

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All worldly possessions are temporary ; the Name alone is permanent :—

Man first dwelleth in his mother's womb ; leaving it he cometh into the world.

He then desireth splendid houses, beautiful gardens, and mansions ; but none of these shall go with him.

Vain is every desire of the covetous.

The perfect Guru hath given me God's name; it is a thing that becometh my soul.

Man is attached to and rejoiceth in the company of dear friends, relations, sons, brethren, and wife ;

But when the last moment hath arrived, Death seizeth him while they look on.

By unworthy means man amasseth wealth, gold, silver, and copper ;

But he really only gaineth his hire as a labourer; everything else passeth to others.

Horses, elephants, chariots man acquireth by violence and calleth his own ;

But when there is a long journey before him, they will not travel a step with him.

The Name is my wealth, the Name maketh me happy as a king, the Name is my family and helper.

God gave Nanak the wealth of the Name which shall never perish or transmigrate.

Men of the lowest castes have by devotion obtained celestial bliss and glory :—

Those who have lapsed God hath purified and made his own ; every one boweth before them.

No one now asketh their caste or their tribe ; men beg the dust of their feet.

Such, O God, is *the effect* of Thy name !

Thou art the Lord of all creation ; Thou specially assistest Thy servant.

In the company of the saints, Nanak hath obtained wisdom ; singing God's praises is his support.

In this way God's servants Namdev, Trilochan, Kabir, and the tanner *Rav Das* obtained salvation.

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God is unknowable :—

O God, none there is who understandeth Thee ; how may we know Thee ?

Shiv, Brahma, and all the munis have not been able to realize Thy state.

The story of God is recondite and deep.

God cherishes His servants, and they sing His praises :—

God's servant hath no worldly wisdom, resource, or cleverness ;

As occasion offereth, he meditateth on God.

It is God's function to love His saints ;

He cherisheth and fondleth them as His own children.

God's saints sing His praises as their devotion, penance, mortification, and religious ceremonies.

Nanak hath entered the asylum of the Lord ; he hath obtained there the fearless boon of happiness.

The Guru enjoins worship and saintliness :—

My beloved friends, worship God day and night ; make not the slightest delay.

Serve the saints with love ; put aside pride and obstinacy.

The entrancing merry God is my soul and honour ;

He dwelleth in my heart ; my mind is fascinated as I behold His sports.

By remembering Him my mind is happy, and its rust is rubbed off.

The importance of meeting *God*[1] cannot be described ; Nanak, it is beyond everything.

Only the really holy man is free from worldly love :—

Men call themselves Munis, Jogis, and learned in the Shastars, but *Maya* hath them all under her control.

The mind is lost in astonishment at her subjection of the

1 This is also translated in a secular sense the importance of union cannot be described.

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three gods[1] and the three hundred and thirty millions of demigods.

She is potent and continueth to pervade the whole world.

Her secret is obtained by the Guru's favour; no one besides knoweth it.

Ever conquering she hath subdued all places, and enmeshed all the world;

Saith Nanak, she misleadeth not the holy man, but becoming his handmaiden claspeth his feet.

The Guru humbles himself before God :—

Small is the power of mother, father, brother, son, and kinsman.

Though various forms of mammon are seen, yet none shall go an inch with one.

O God, I have none but Thee.

I am helpless, devoid of merits; possessing none I have come to Thee.

I am a sacrifice again and again to Thy feet; in this world and the next Thine is the power *to save*.

In the company of the saints Nanak hath obtained a sight of Thee; to none else oweth he obligation.

God's omnipotence :—

In a moment Thou establishest and disestablishest; Thy worth cannot be appraised.

Thou turnest a king into a beggar in a moment, and into the lowly Thou infusest splendour.

O ye people, ever meditate on your God.

Why are ye anxious and solicitous regarding the things which perish in a moment?

O God, Thou art my prop, my perfect True Guru; I have fallen under Thy protection.

I, Nanak, am heedless, silly, childish; reach me Thy hand and save me.

A supplication to God :—

It is Thou who conferrest gifts on all; do Thou abide in my heart.

[1] Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv.

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He in whose heart Thy lotus feet are contained, hath not the darkness of doubt.

O my Lord, where I remember Thee, there art Thou *present.*

O Thou who cherishest all, have mercy on me that I may ever praise Thee ;

That I may remember Thy name at every breath and long for Thee only.

Nanak's prop is the Creator ; he hath renounced the hopes he had in others.

No evil can befall him whom God protects :—

Nanak seeketh Thy protection, O Creator ; Thou, O God, art the support of the soul. .

What can the world do to him whom Thou aidest and protectest ?

The Guru humbles himself and prays to God for mercy :—

I have never fixed my attention on God.

I have passed my life in worldly occupations and not sung the name of the Treasury of excellences.

I have by deception exerted myself in various ways to amass money kauri by kauri.

How much sorrow was debited to me when I forgot God and was eaten up by the arch fascinator *mammon* !

Be gracious, O Lord, and take not mine acts into account.

O God, Thou art compassionate and benign, an ocean of clemency ; Nanak hath come under Thy protection.

The advantages of meditating on God :—

By the Guru's favour I have meditated on God, and all my doubts have vanished.

Anxiety, ignorance, and fear have left me, and my sins are at an end.

God's name is dear to my soul.

Having met the saints, I have under their instruction meditated on God in the most sinless way.

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Devotion and the performance of various ceremonies are profitable when the Name is remembered.

When Thou didst graciously protect me, my desires were fulfilled.

May I never at any time forget God the omnipotent!

How can I describe Thy various attributes? They are innumerable and ever ineffable.

Thou art the Remover of the sorrows of the poor, the Saviour compassionate and merciful.

The immovable dignity is obtained by remembering the Name; Nanak hath firmly grasped Thy protection.

Ashtapadi

God's praises, and supplications unto Him :—

O Lord, King of men, Friend of the poor, Purifier of sinners,

Dispeller of fear and terror, Abode of mercy, Treasury of excellences, profitable is Thy service.

O God Gopal, great Gobind,

I have taken the protection of Thy feet, Thou merciful God, cause me to cross the terrible ocean of the world.

Dispeller of lust and wrath, Burner of pride and worldly love, Murari, Honey of the soul,

Sustainer of the earth, set aside my transmigration and preserve mine honour, Thou Primal Joy.

Many burn in their desire for mammon; but by the Guru's spell divine knowledge is obtained in the heart, *and they are healed.*

Prick *the bubble of* my pride, O Thou full of mercy, and dispel my anxieties, O Thou Eternal Being.

O man, remember the Omnipotent every moment, and calmly apply thyself to the contemplation of God.

O compassionate to the poor, ever happy, who fillest all space, I beg the dust of Thy saints' feet.

From the evils of worldly and sensual love, and from the sins of hope and desire *preserve us.*

Preserve the faith and remove doubt from our hearts; save us, O Formless One!

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Even they who are without raiment become well attired from the treasury of God's storehouses.

The stupid, the senseless, and the fools become virtuous and patient by God's favouring glance.

Thou shalt obtain salvation while alive by repeating the name of the Lord of the world, remembering Him, and having faith in Him in thy heart.

The belief that God is compassionate and merciful to His creatures and pervadeth everything is the rule of the saints.

God showeth Himself to those who hear His praises and utter His name.

Saith Nanak, O God, Saviour of sinners, receive me in Thine embrace.[1]

Gujari ki War II

When God is pleased, man obtains every boon :—

When Thou art pleased, O Kind and Incomprehensible One, Thou dwellest in my heart.

When Thou art pleased, O Kind One, I obtain the nine treasures in my own home.

When Thou art pleased, O Kind One, I act according to the Guru's instruction.

When Thou art pleased, O Kind One, Nanak shall be absorbed in the True One.

Kings without piety are not held in honour :—

How many sit on thrones and have many musical instruments played for them !

But without the true Name, Nanak, nobody's honour hath been preserved.

The demigods and priests do homage to God :—

Men standing with the Veds and the books of the Musalmans meditate on Thee, O God.

They who are prostrate at Thy door cannot be counted.

Brahma and Indar on their thrones meditate on Thee.

Shiv, Vishnu, and the avatars proclaim Thy praises.

[1] The Hindi names in this hymn obviously only mean God, not any of His alleged incarnations.

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Moslem priests, Prophets, Shaikhs, and saints *utter Thy name.*

God the warp and woof is woven into every heart.

By falsehood man passeth away, by honesty he abideth.

Man applieth himself to those duties to which God appointed him.

They who are slow to devotion must eventually suffer :—

Man is slow to goodness, but a tiger to evil.

Nanak, to-day or to-morrow the feet of the heedless shall fall into a trap.

God loves man despite his sins :—

However evil our ways, Thy love for us, O God, is not hidden.

Saith Nanak, Thou O Lord, the true Friend, hast overlooked our sins of thought.[1]

Man is saved by humbling himself before God :—

Countless sinners become pure by fixing their attention on God's feet.

He, O Nānak, on whose forehead such destiny hath been written, obtaineth God's name for the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage.

The following is uttered by Sikhs when they put on new clothes :—

Thou, O God, hast given me the raiment of love to preserve mine honour.

O my Lord, Thou art wise and far-seeing ; Nanak knoweth not Thy worth.

By remembering Thee, I obtain everything, I find nothing difficult.

Nanak, he whose honour the true Lord protecteth can be dishonoured by no one.

1 Also translated—

Whatever difficulties there may be, love is not hidden.

Thou, O Lord, preservest *the honour* of those in whose hearts Thou, the true Friend, art.

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God is the raft to ferry man over the dangerous ocean of the world :—

The river is deep ; I cannot ford it ; *yet I must because* I love Thee.

My heart is sewed to Thy feet, O God, saith Nanak ; Thou art the raft and the boat.

The saints are the Guru's friends :—

They, a sight of whom banisheth evil inclinations, are my friends.

Nanak, I have searched the world all over ; there are few such persons.

Long for the Omnipotent :—

Nanak, long for that God who is the support of all ;

By whose power the earth resteth upon water, and timber containeth fire.[1]

The Guru prays to God who is potent to bestow :—

All Thou hast made is dependent on Thee alone.

What Thou madest in the beginning prevaileth in the world.

I am astounded on beholding Thy astounding might.

Thy slave hath come under Thy protection ; act and I shall be saved.

All wealth is in Thy hands to give it to whom Thou pleasest.

He to whom Thou art merciful repeateth Thy name.

Men read religious books without spiritual advantage :—

The broth is stirred with spoons, but they know not its flavour.

Nanak, those men are the best who are imbued with the relish of God's love.

The Guru is convinced of the unity of God :—

When my Beloved was kind to me, I searching found One Creator ; Nanak, no other can be seen.

[1] It is believed that fire is naturally inherent in timber.

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Sin may be avoided by remembering the Guru's instruction :—

Take aim with the arrow of truth and bring down sin.

Remember the Guru's instruction, Nanak, and no sorrow shall befall thee.

He who forgets God can never prosper :—

Millions of obstacles are in his way who forgetteth the Name :

He croaketh day and night, Nanak, like a raven in an empty building.

The life of an anchoret is not necessary to salvation :—

Nanak, I have met the true Guru, and my union with God is accomplished.

Even while men laugh, and play, and dress, and eat, salvation can be obtained.

The favours conferred by the Guru :—

Hail ! hail to that true Guru who hath demolished the fortress of doubt !

Congratulations to that true Guru who hath united me with God !

The Guru hath given me as a medicine the inexhaustible treasure of the Name.

It hath cured the great and terrible disease of *spiritual ignorance*.

In obtaining the wealth of the Name, I have found a great treasure ;

And by recognizing myself I have won this priceless human life.

The praises of the Guru the omnipotent being cannot be expressed.

The Guru is the supreme Brahma, illimitable, invisible, and inscrutable.

Effort encouraged by the Guru :—

O man, by striving and earning enjoy happiness.

Nanak, by meditating on God, meet Him and thine anxieties shall vanish.

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God destroys slanderers and protects the holy :—

God at once destroyed the slanderers and suffered them not to live for a moment.

He caught them and yoked them to birth, for He could not endure the torments of His slaves.

He dragged down the slanderers by the hair of their heads, and sent them on the road to Death.

He threw them into hell, where they groaned in agony ;

But God, true that He was, O Nanak, embraced and protected His saints.

DEVGANDHARI

The intoxication of devotion :—

Thy servant, O God, is intoxicated with Thine elixir.

He who obtaineth the store of the essence of love, forsaketh it not to go elsewhere.

While seated he repeateth God's name, while sleeping he repeateth God's name, he taketh God's essence for his food.

Bathing in the dust of the saints' feet is equal to ablution at the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage.

Profitable is the life of God's servant who hath made God a father of good children.

Nanak, he who recognizeth the all-pervading God, taketh all with him and saveth them.

The following is sung at banquets and also when the Granth Sahib is brought to the temple in the early morning :—

O God, this is the desire of my heart :

That Thou, the Treasure of mercy, the Compassionate, shouldst make me the slave of Thy saints ;

That I should touch their feet in the morning and behold them night and day ;

That I should devote my body and soul to their service and sing God's praises with my tongue ;

That I should ever abide with the saints and remember Thee at every breath I draw.

The Name is my sole support and wealth ; from it Nanak obtaineth delight.

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The Guru's delicious sensation on meeting God :—

O Beloved, Thy words are nectar.

O my Beloved, very beautiful, Bewitcher of the soul, Thou art in everything and yet distinct.

I long not for empire, I long not for salvation ; [1] my soul loveth Thy lotus feet.

There may have been Brahma, Shiv, Sidhs, Munis, and Indar, but I desire only a sight of Thee.

O Lord, I have come helpless to Thy door, and, weary that I am, have entered the asylum of Thy saints.

Saith Nanak, I have met God who beguileth the heart ; my soul is refreshed and happy.

The unity of God :—

Know that there is only one God :

Know Him to be one through the Guru's instruction.

Why wander ? wander not, my brethren ; God is surely contained in every place.

As the fire which is in timber cannot be made available without skill,

So God's door is not obtained without the Guru.

Abandon pride in the company of the saints ;

Thus, saith Nanak, shall the Primal Treasure be obtained.

The Guru deprecates evil communications :—

Turn away, O my soul, turn away,

Turn away from the apostate.

False is the love of the false ; abandon it, O my soul, and thou shalt be saved ; thou shalt not be saved in the company of the apostate.

As any one who entered a house filled with soot would become black,

So whoever associated with the apostate would become defiled ; but he who meeteth the Guru shall escape from Maya, and flee *from evil association.*

O merciful One, Ocean of mercy I crave this boon of Thee, not to bring me face to face with the apostate.

Make Nanak Thy slave of slaves, and his head shall roll under the saints' feet.

[1] The Guru loves God and expects no reward.

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Bihagra Chhant

The following was composed in reply to a question how God could be worshipped :—

I have seen one miracle of God, O my beloved ; what He doeth is perfect justice.

God appointed the world as a beautiful arena, my beloved, where all men come and go.

He who created the earth made men's coming and going.

God inviteth some who meet the true Guru to His palace ; others wander astray in error.

Thou alone, O God, knowest Thine own limit ; Thou art contained in everything.

Verily speaketh Nanak—hear, O saints, God dispenseth perfect justice.

Come and meet me, O companions, my beloved ; let us worship God's name.

Worship the perfect true Guru, my beloved ; let us smooth the way to death.

Having under the Guru's instruction smoothed the arduous road, we shall obtain honour in God's court.

They whom God so predestined fix their attention on Him day and night.

Pride, egotism, and worldly love depart when we associate with the holy man.

Saith the slave Nanak, salvation is obtained by worshipping God's name.

O saints, my beloved, let us unite and with clasped hands worship the Imperishable Being.

I have examined many forms of worship, my beloved ; *but they are all vain* ; let us devote our souls and bodies *all to Him.*

When soul, body, and wealth belong to the Lord, what offering shall we make Him ?

The compassionate God embraceth him to whom He showeth mercy.

He on whose forehead such destiny was written loveth the Guru.

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The slave Nanak saith—let us by association with the saints worship God's name.

I have returned, O my beloved, from searching in every direction ; and have found God in my own home.

God hath made *this body* as a temple, O my beloved, and He is contained therein.

The Lord God is contained in everything ; He becometh manifest by the Guru's instruction.

Darkness is dispelled, and troubles removed when the Guru hath caused the essence of God's nectar to trickle into the mouth.

Wherever I look, there and in every place is the Lord, the Supreme Being.

Saith the slave Nanak, on meeting the true Guru, I have found God on returning home.

The exquisitely pleasurable feeling of union with God :-

O pleasant night, grow long as I love the Dear One ;

O unpleasant sleep, grow short that I may ever touch His feet.

I long for the dust of His feet, and I ever beg for His name for the love of which I have abandoned the world.

Forsaking my very evil inclinations, I have become imbued with the love of the Dear One and intoxicated without wine.

I have met the Dear One on the right way ; He hath taken my arm, and I have become absorbed in His love.

Nanak imploreth Thee, O Lord, to extend him the favour to continue attached to Thy feet.

O my friends and companions, let us remain attached to God's feet.

Our hearts feel great love for the Dear One ; let us pray for His service.

Let us go and meet the saints of God, meditate on Him, and we shall obtain His service.

Let us forsake the sins of pride and worldly love, and dedicate to Him our bodies, wealth, and souls.

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God is the great Being, all-pervading, of perfect excellence ; on meeting Him all error and fear depart.

Nanak representeth, hear my counsel ; my companions, let us ever and ever repeat God's name.

God's spouse is a happy wife, and enjoyeth every pleasure ;

She shall not become a widow ; her Spouse is long-lived.

She is never unhappy, she meditateth on God ; blest and fortunate is she.

She sleepeth in peace and rest ; her sins are blotted out, and she awaketh in the delight and love of the Name.

She remaineth absorbed in God's love ; His name is her jewels ; the words of the Dear One are to her sweet and pleasing.

Nanak representeth, I have obtained my heart's desire ; I have met God who is a long-lived Spouse.

He in whose soul and body God the Primal Joy is contained,

Hath at home songs of rejoicing and millions of pleasures.

God, my Spouse, is infinite, compassionate, the Possessor of wealth, the Saviour of sinners.

God, the Extender of mercy, is He who causeth man to cross the terrible ocean.

God embraceth him who seeketh His protection ; this is the function of the Lord.

Nanak representeth, I have found God as my Spouse, and He ever indulgeth in dalliance with me.

Dark is the night and difficult the road. There is none to light man's way and guide him but God :—

Thou who art imbued with love for many worldly things shall find thy way difficult.

O sinner, there is none to help thee ;

No helper is thine ; thou shalt ever regret it.

Thou utterest not God's praises : shall these days ever return ?[1]

As leaves separated from the tree shall not grow again thereon, *so shall thy relations and friends part from thee*, and thou shalt proceed alone on thy way to Death.

[1] Shalt thou ever again have such an opportunity ?

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Nanak representeth, without the name of God man ever wandereth in distress.

O man, thou practisest deception in secret, but God who knoweth everything knoweth thee.

When Dharmraj taketh thine account, thou shalt be pressed like a bundle[1] of sesame.

O mortal, thou shalt suffer the penalty of thine acts, and wander in many wombs.

Imbued with the love of the arch fascinator, thou shalt lose the jewel of thy human life.

Thou wert clever at everything else except repeating the one God's name.

Nanak representeth—they for whom it was so destined are attracted to superstition and worldly love.

The ungrateful are separated from God and have no mediator.

The all-cruel myrmidons of Death shall seize them ;

Shall seize and lead them off, and they shall obtain their deserts on account of their love for the arch fascinator.

They never repeated God's praises under the Guru's instruction, so their breasts shall be applied to the hot pillar.

Man is ruined by lust, wrath, and pride ; he loseth his senses and then regretteth.

Nanak representeth—without repeating God's name man faileth to meet Him.

There is none but Thee, O God, the Preserver.

It is Thy function to save sinners.

I seek Thy protection, O Saviour of sinners, Master, Ocean of mercy, compassionate :

O Creator, Cherisher of every heart, rescue me from the blind well.

Thou art my Protector, cut away my heavy fetters, and give me the Name as my sole support.

Nanak imploreth—O God, compassionate to the poor, reach me Thy hand and save me.

The day when God blended me with Himself was fortunate:

[1] As much sesame as is put at one time into a press.

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All happiness then appeared, and misery remained far apart.

Comfort, ease, joy, and delight ever accrue from singing God's praises.

In association with the saints worship God with love, and thou shalt not again rush through births.

God graciously embraceth man according to the result of former acts.[1]

Nanak representeth—when God is met, man never again wandereth in transmigration.

Prayer and praise of God :—

Hear my supplication, O my Lord God,

Though I am full of millions of sins, nevertheless I am Thy slave.

O Thou Dispeller of grief, merciful, fascinating, Destroyer of trouble and anxiety,

I seek Thy protection, protect mine honour ; Thou art in all things, O spotless One,

Thou hearest and beholdest us ; Thou art with us all, O God ; Thou art the nearest of all to us.

O Lord, hear Nanak's prayer, save the slave of Thy household.

Thou art ever omnipotent ; we are poor and beggars.

O God, save us who are involved in the love of mammon.

Bound by covetousness and worldly love, we have committed various sins.

The Creator is distinct and free from entanglements ; man obtaineth the fruit of his acts.

Show us kindness, Thou purifier of sinners ; we are weary of wandering through many a womb.

Nanak representeth—I am the slave of God who is the Support of the soul and life.

Thou art great and omnipotent ; my understanding is feeble.

Thou cherishest even the ungrateful ; Thou lookest equally on all.

[1] Literally—According as the sprout cometh from the seed.

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Unfathomable is Thy knowledge, O infinite Creator; I am lowly and know nothing.

Having rejected the gem *of Thy name*, I have amassed kauris; I am a degraded and silly being.

By the commission of sin I have amassed what is very unstable and forsaketh man.

Nanak hath sought Thy protection, O omnipotent Lord; preserve his honour.

When I sang God's praises in the association of the saints, He united me, who had been separated from Him, with Himself.

By ever thoroughly singing God's praises, He who is happiness itself becometh manifest.

My couch, when God accepteth me as His own, is adorned by Him.

Having dismissed anxiety I am no longer anxious, and suffer no further pain.

Nanak liveth beholding God and singing the praises of the Ocean of excellences.

WADHANS

God holds His court in every heart, but the screen that conceals it can only be rent by piety :—

Very exalted is His court;
It hath no end or limits.
Hundreds of thousands and millions hasten,
But they can never reach His court.
What is that auspicious hour when God is met?
Hundreds of thousands of saints worship Him.
Hundreds of thousands of great penitents do penance unto Him.
Hundreds of thousands of Jogis practise Jog.
Hundreds of thousands of great enjoyers enjoy enjoyments;[1]
But God *is not thus found*; He dwelleth in every heart: only a few know it.

[1] There are some sects of Hindus, notably the *Bām Māragis*, who believe that heaven is gained by terrestrial enjoyments.

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Is there any friend who can rend the screen between Him and us ?

If that friend be kind to me, I will make efforts *to meet God,*

And sacrifice my body and soul unto Him.

After many wanderings I have come to the saints,

And all my sorrows and doubts are dispelled.

God hath invited me to His court to quaff nectar.

Saith Nanak, my Lord is the most high.

The love of the saint for the Beloved :—

My heart desireth to meet the True Guru ; how shall I find Him, my dear ?

Even though hundreds of amusements be afforded a child, it cannot live without milk.

The hunger of my heart departeth not, O my boon companion, even though hundreds of dishes be served before me.

My soul and body feel love for the Beloved ; how shall my heart be satisfied without beholding Him ?

Hear, O my friend and beloved brother, introduce me to the Friend and Giver of happiness.

He who ever repeateth to me God's words knoweth all the secrets of my heart.

I cannot abide for a moment without *God,* and I cry for Him as the chatrik for water.

What excellences of Thine, O God, shall I recount ? Thou preservest men without merits like me.

My boon companion, I am waiting for my Spouse ; when shall I behold the Beloved with mine eyes ?

All my pleasures and amusements are forgotten ; without my Beloved they are of no account.

This vesture becometh me not ; I know not how to adorn myself.

I make obeisance to those companions of mine who enjoy their darling Beloved.

I have made all decorations, O my boon companion, but without the Beloved they are of no avail.

When my Spouse speaketh not to me, O my companion, my youth passeth all in vain.

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Blessed, blessed are the happy wives, O my boon companion, who are united with their Spouse.

I am a sacrifice to such happy wives, O my boon companion, and I ever wash their feet.

As long as duality and superstition were in my heart, I thought God distant ;

But when I met the perfect true Guru, O my companion, all my hopes and desires were fulfilled.

I obtained the highest happiness, O my boon companion, and discovered that my Beloved was everywhere.

Nanak hath obtained divine pleasure, O my boon companion, by touching the true Guru's feet.

Wadhans Chhant

The following is sung at marriages after the usual circumambulations are completed :—

O my God, my hopes and desires have been fulfilled.

I am without merits ; all merits are Thine ;

All merits are Thine, O my Lord ; with what mouth shall I praise Thee ?

Thou hast not considered my merits or demerits ; Thou hast at once pardoned me.

I have obtained the nine treasures ; congratulations resound and unblown trumpets play.

Saith Nanak, I have found a good Spouse and home, and all my anxieties are at an end.

Sorath

Prayer and worship are not to be addressed to idols and demigods, but only to the Creator :—

To whom else shall I pray ? whom else shall I worship, since it is God who created all ?

The different persons who appear the greatest of the great shall all be blended with the dust.

The Fearless, the Formless, the Destroyer of fear will grant all happiness and the nine treasures.

O beloved God, I am satiated with Thy gifts.

Why should I flatter wretched man ? what need I from him ?

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He who meditateth on God possesseth everything; God hath appeased his hunger.

The Giver of happiness conferreth such wealth as shall never be exhausted.

The true Guru hath introduced me to God; I am now happy and absorbed in bliss.

O my soul, repeat the Name, worship the Name, utter the Name night and day.

Hear the instruction of the saints and all thy fear of death shall depart.

They to whom my God is merciful are attached to the Guru's words.

Who can appraise Thy worth, O God? Thou art compassionate to all creatures.

Whatever Thou doest prevaileth; what can we poor children do, O God?

Preserve Thy slave Nanak, as a father cherisheth his son.

Man's life hangs by a frail thread; his only hope is in God:—

Sons, kinsmen, the wife of thy household are attached to thee for thy wealth.

None of them will assist thee at the last moment; their love is all false.

O man, why pamperest thou thy body?

It shall vanish like a cloud of smoke; worship the one beloved God.

The body is disposed of in three ways—it is thrown into the river, to the dogs, or burnt to ashes.

Man deeming himself immortal sitteth at home and forgetteth the Cause of causes.

God fashioned beads[1] of many sorts and strung them together on a frail string.[2]

That string shall break, O wretched man, and then shalt thou regret.

Meditate day and night on Him who created thee and adorned thee.

[1] Human beings. [2] Life.

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God hath extended His mercy to Nanak who hath taken the true Guru's protection.

Happiness depends on man's mental condition :—

To the happy every one seemeth happy ; the sick man will have it that every one is sick.

The Lord God acteth and causeth to act ; in His power is the union of the soul with Him.

O my soul, he who dispelleth his doubts,

And knoweth that God is in all things, will have it that no one erreth.[1]

He whose soul is happy in the company of the saints deemeth that every one is happy.

He whose heart is filled with the disease of pride shall groan in *the pain* of birth and death.

Everything appeareth manifest to him to whose eyes the salve of divine knowledge is applied.

He in whom there is the darkness of spiritual ignorance seeth nothing ; again and again shall he wander in transmigration.

O my Lord, hear my supplication ; Nanak prayeth for this happiness—

That his heart may be attached to the place where the saints sing Thy praises.

Men's bodies and souls belong to the saints, and it is they who procure men's salvation :—

Our bodies belong to the saints, our wealth to the saints, our souls are entrusted to the saints :

By the favour of the saints we meditate on God's name, and all comfort then resulteth.

There are no givers but the saints.

They who enter the sanctuary of the saints shall be saved.

Millions of sins are erased by serving the saints and singing God's praises with zest.

By association with the saints, which is obtained by good fortune, man obtaineth happiness here, and his countenance shall be bright hereafter.

[1] That is, he finds no fault in others.

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I have but one tongue; the saints are full of various excellences; how far can I recount their praises?

The Inaccessible, the Inapprehensible, the ever Imperishable, is obtained by seeking the protection of the saints.

I without virtue, low, friendless, and sinful have come to their shelter.

O God, rescue Nanak who is perishing in the blind well of domestic love.

Prescriptions for salvation:—

After bathing remember God, and thy body and soul shall be healed.

By taking God's protection good fortune dawneth, and millions of obstacles are removed.

God's words and hymns are the best language.

Sing, hear, and read them continually, my brother, and the perfect Guru will preserve thee.

The greatness of the true Lord is immeasurable; the saints are dear to the Compassionate One.

He hath continued to preserve the honour of the saints, and cherish them according to His ancient practice.

God's ambrosial name ever eat as food, *O man*; put it into thy mouth at all times.

Continually sing God's praises, and the pains of old age and death shall all flee away.

My Lord hath heard my supplication: all mine affairs have been adjusted,

And Guru Nanak's greatness hath shone through the whole world.

The Guru feels that he cannot worship God with sufficient fervour:—

God is the Lord of millions of worlds; He is the Benefactor of all creatures.

He cherisheth and careth for us; but we, fools that we are, know none of His merits.

I know not how to adore God.

I only repeat 'Har, Har, Guru, Guru!'

Wherefore, O God, my name is God's servant.

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The Compassionate to the poor, the Merciful, the Ocean of happiness filleth all hearts.

He beholdeth, heareth, and is ever with us; but I, fool that I am, thought Him distant.

God is endless; even if I estimate and describe Him, how know I how great He is?

I supplicate my true Guru to instruct me a fool.

That I am a fool is a small thing; millions of sinners are saved.

They who have heard and seen Guru Nanak shall not again fall into wombs.

Jog is worthless for those who have obtained the Guru's instruction:—

The things which afforded me great anxiety have all vanished.

I fixed my breath at the top of my nose, composed myself to rest, and the upturned lotus of my heart bloomed.

Behold a wonderful thing occurred!

The Guru put into my heart the wisdom of that God whom we hear spoken of as unfathomable.

The deadly sins which had greatly tortured me became afraid,

And implored me to save them from God since they had entered my protection.

When the storehouse of God is open, he who is so fated receiveth therefrom.

One gem my Guru gave me, and my soul and body have become happy.

The Guru hath given me one drop of nectar, so I have become permanent and immortal.

God entrusted the storehouses of worship to Guru Nanak, and never took an account from him.

God and man contrasted:—

We are impure; Thou, O Creator, art pure; we are without virtues; Thou bestowest them.

We are fools; Thou art clever and wise; Thou knowest all contrivances.

O God, such are we, and such art Thou.

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We are sinners, Thou art the Destroyer of sins ; great are Thy dominions, O God.

Thou didst create all things, and having created dost cherish them : Thou hast given soul, and body, and life.

We are without merits ; no merits are ours ; grant us Thy favours, O Kind One.

Thou doest well towards us, but we are ungrateful ; Thou art ever and ever compassionate.

O Thou, the Giver of happiness, the Disposer, preserve us Thy children.

Thou art a treasure, the immovable Monarch ; men and the lower animals beg of Thee.

Saith Nanak, this is our condition ; preserve us through Thy saints.

The Guru has absolutely devoted himself to the saints :—

I am, beloved friends, the dust of the saints' feet ; I have fallen under their protection.

The saints are my powerful stay ; the saints are mine ornaments.

I have ingratiated myself with the saints,

And obtained what was allotted me.

Ye saints, my soul is yours.

With the saints have I dealt, with the saints have I traded.

From the saints have I gained a profit—the storehouses of God's service are full.

The saints entrusted to me their stock-in-trade, and then my mind's anxiety vanished.

What can Dharmraj do, now that all his account-books are torn up ?

Through the favour of the saints I have obtained great joy and happiness.

Saith Nanak, my soul is reconciled with God, and become imbued with His wondrous love.

Human pride and forgetfulness of God :—

Man is immersed in the darkness of worldly love, and knoweth not the Giver.

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Forgetting Him who fashioned his soul and body man only admitteth his own strength.

O foolish man, the Lord God keepeth an eye on thine acts.

He knoweth what thou doest ; nothing remaineth concealed from Him.

Thou art intoxicated with the pleasures of the palate, with covetousness and pride—the sources of many sins.

Weighted with the fetters of pride thou hast wandered in suffering through many births.

Closing folding-doors and hanging up many screens man entangleth himself with another's wife.

When Chitr and Gupt call for thine account, who shall screen thee ?

O Compassionate to the poor, All-pervading, Destroyer of sorrow, there is no shelter but in Thee.

Extricate us from the ocean of the world, O God ; Nanak hath entered Thy sanctuary.

The omnipresence of God :—

As fire is contained in all timber, and butter in all milk,

So the light of God is contained in everything high and low ; He is in the hearts of all living things.

O saints, He is contained in every heart. He filleth all space ; He pervadeth sea and land.

The true Guru hath dispelled all my doubts ; Nanak singeth the praises of the Ocean of excellences.

The Omnipresent is contained in all things though ever distinct from them.

The Guru has obtained everything precious from God :—

When the great God was merciful, I obtained all the desires of my heart.

By touching God's feet and singing His praises I have become immortal.

It was a good and completely auspicious occasion.

By repeating the Name I have obtained peace, composure, and happiness ; and unblown trumpets play for me.

On meeting the Lord, my Beloved, my house and home became comfortable.

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The slave Nanak hath obtained the treasure of God's name, and all his desires are fulfilled.

The greatness of the Guru :—

When the Guru's feet dwelt in my heart, God granted me excellent qualities.

When the omnipresent supreme God became merciful, I saw the treasure of His name within me.

O my friends, the Guru is my preserver.

He ever bestoweth greatness and glory twofold and fourfold.

The men and lower animals who have beheld him are all saved.

Wonderful is the greatness of the perfect Guru ; Nanak is ever a sacrifice unto him.

Some Sikhs repeat the following before the Sohila, at bed-time :—

The word of the Guru is my protection ;
It guardeth me on every side.
My soul is attached to God's name,
And so for shame Death hath fled away.
O Lord, Thou bestowest happiness on me ;
Thou the omnipresent God hast cut away my fetters and cleansed my heart.
Nanak, God perisheth not—
His worship is not in vain.
By repeating Thy name, O God, Thy saints rejoice,
And all their desires are fulfilled.

The Guru's devotion to God and its results :—

I am a sacrifice to my Guru
Who hath preserved mine honour intact.
I ever meditate on my God,
And thus obtain the reward my soul desireth.
O ye saints, there is none beside God.
He is the Cause of causes ;
He hath given us His blessing,
And made all other creatures subject to us.

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Nanak, when I meditated on the Name
All my sorrows departed.

Man should not be ashamed, but should be eager to worship God :—

As a hungry man is not ashamed when eating,
So God's slave *is not ashamed* to sing His praises.
Why be slothful in thine own business ?
By remembering God thy face shall be bright in His court, and thou shalt obtain happiness for ever and ever.
As a lustful man is greedy to gratify his lust,
So is God's slave to sing His praises.
As a mother is wrapped up in her child,
So the holy man repeateth God's name.
He who obtaineth the Name from the perfect Guru
Shall, O Nanak, meditate upon it.

The Guru's prayer and its result :—

'Hear my prayer, O my Lord ; men and animals are protected by Thee.
O Thou Cause of causes, protect the honour of those who repeat Thy name.
O beloved Lord, extend Thy sovereignty over us.
Whether bad or good we are Thine.'
When the omnipotent Lord heard this appeal, He cut off my fetters and regenerated me.
He dressed me in a robe of honour, blended His worshipper with Himself, and Nanak became conspicuous as a mountain.[1]

God's kindness to His saints :—

God hath subjected men and the lower animals *to His saints* ; all are servants at their courts.
God accepteth His saints and causeth them to cross the terrible ocean :
He hath arranged all their affairs.
The Compassionate to the poor, the Merciful, the Ocean of mercy, the Omnipresent is my master.

[1] Guru Nānak became conspicuous in the world.

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God's servant on whom He bestoweth the robe of devotion is everywhere

Welcomed and respected, and not allowed to want for aught ; Nanak knoweth God's power.

SORATH ASHTAPADI

Man corrupted by association with the world is saved by the Guru :—

The mother's womb is an ocean of grief, O my Beloved ; there God causeth His name to be repeated.

When man emergeth therefrom, O my Beloved, his evil passions develop and his worldly love increaseth.

Him to whom Thou didst show favour, O my Beloved, Thou hast caused to meet the true Guru.

Such a man worshippeth Thee, O my Beloved, at every breath, and is attached to Thy name.

Thou art the support of my soul and body, O my Beloved ; Thou art the support of my soul and body.

There is no Creator but Thee, O my Beloved, Thou art the only Searcher of hearts.

Man cometh into the world, O my Beloved, after wandering in countless births and suffering pain in various wombs.

He forgot the true Lord, O my Beloved, and so suffered heavy punishment.

They who have met the perfect true Guru, O my Beloved, are attached to the true Name.

We are saved, O my Beloved, by following those who take the protection of the True One.

He who eateth because the food is sweet, O my Beloved, maketh his body ill.

Bitter is the consequence, my Beloved ; sorrow is the result.

Thou, O Beloved, having caused man to eat *sweet* food hast led him astray ; so his separation from Thee shall continue.

O my Beloved, Thou hast introduced to the Guru and saved those who were so destined from the beginning.

Man is full of longing for mammon, O my Beloved ; God never entereth his heart.

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The bodies of those who forget Thee, O supreme God, become ashes.

They utter many a groan, O my Beloved, but their torture ceaseth not.

They whom Thou didst introduce to the Guru and regenerate, retain their capital intact.

As far as possible, O my Beloved, associate not with the infidel.

On meeting him, O my Beloved, man forgetteth God and becometh dishonoured.

The perverse obtain no entrance into God's court, O my Beloved, but are punished *by Death.*

It is said that a man went to the Guru and told him that he had long performed various religious ceremonies, but his heart was still troubled. He asked the Guru for the remedy, and also the way to God. The Guru replied as follows :—

Although man read and study the Veds, perform the niwali and bhujangam [1] feats,

He shall not escape from the company of the five deadly sins ; nay, he shall be the more entangled in pride.

O my beloved, it is not by such means God is found ; I know it, for I have done many such things.

I have dropped down weary at the Lord's door : may He grant me wisdom and discrimination !

Man may be vowed to silence ; he may live on leaves ; [2] he may roam about naked in the forest ;

He may visit all the places of pilgrimage on earth ; but even then he could never escape from worldly love.

With a desire in his heart *for emancipation* he may take his seat at a place of pilgrimage, and apply his head to the saw ;

But even though he made hundreds of thousands of such efforts, his mental impurity would not depart.

[1] *Bhujangam*, literally—a snake, but applied by Jogis to the vertebral column, through which they say they draw up the breath from the anus to the brain.

[2] *Karpāti.* Also translated—He may use his hands as a platter. Some faqīrs deny themselves plates or dishes of any sort.

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He may bestow gifts of many sorts—gold, women, horses, and elephants ;

He may offer corn, clothes, and lands in abundance ; but even then he could not reach God's door.

He may continue attached to worship, adoration, obeisance, prostrations, and the six acts ;

But he could not in that way find God ; he would merely fall into the meshes of pride.

Men have grown weary performing Jog and the eighty-four postures of the Sidhs :

Man may attain a long life, but without association with God he shall be born again and again ;

He may enjoy the sport of kings and the delights of empire, and issue orders not to be disobeyed ;

He may possess beautiful couches, and use sandal and distilled aloe-wood, but such things form the gate of terrible hell.

Singing God's praises in association with His saints is the highest act of all.

Saith Nanak, this privilege is obtained by him whose acts recorded in previous births entitle him to receive it.

Thy worshipper, O Lord, is intoxicated with Thy love.

Since the Destroyer of the sorrows of the poor became merciful unto him, his soul hath been absorbed in God's praises.

Dhanasari

How the senses lead astray :—

The fish long in love with the water loseth its life on leaving it ;

The bumble-bee dieth on account of its love for the lotus ; it cannot find its way out.[1]

Now my soul hath contracted love for the one God.

Under the true Guru's instruction I recognize Him who neither dieth nor is born, and who is ever with us.

Through the force of lust the elephant is ensnared ; the poor animal falleth into another's power.

[1] At night when the petals of the lotus close.

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The deer giveth up its life for the hunter's bell ; through love of it he is slain.

Mortal beholding his family is led astray by covetousness and wrapped up in mammon.

Very much attached to worldly things, he deemeth them his own, but at last departeth without them.

Know that he who loveth any but God, shall ever be miserable.

Saith Nanak, the Guru hath explained to me that by God's love man ever rejoiceth.

Man blindly commits sinful acts and only abstains when his eyes are opened by the Guru :—

It is man's practice to do what he shall be ashamed of—

He slandereth the saints, reverenceth the infidel, and adopteth other such perverse practices.

Led astray by worldly love, he loveth what he ought to eschew.

Like a mirage or the green leaves of the forest even so is man's state.

Even if a streak be made on a donkey's body with sandal, he will still prefer ashes ;

So man instead of loving God's nectar devoteth himself to sinful enjoyments which deceive.

The best saints to purify men in this world are to be found by good fortune.

The jewel of life is lost in exchange for a worthless glass bead.

When the Guru applieth to man's eyes the salve of divine knowledge, the sins and troubles of many births flee away.

By love to the one God in the company of the saints Nanak hath escaped from these evils.

The worship of the Hindus, of the Jogis, and of the Jains is unavailing :—

Worship, fasting, frontal marks, ablution, the bestowal of copious alms and presents at festivals,

Austerities, and flattering addresses to God, never prevail upon Him.

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Man only obtaineth rest by repeating God's name.

All search for God in various ways; but the search is difficult, and He is not found.

Lip-worship, penance, wandering over the earth, the performance of austerities with body reversed,

Following the path of the Jogis and the Jains—it is not by such things the Lord is satisfied.

It is by repeating His ambrosial and priceless name and praises He is obtained by the man to whom He showeth mercy.

By association with the saints the love of God is obtained: Nanak is made happy by the dust of the saints' feet.

Man is helpless without God:—

I am miserable; save me, O Lord,

I can do nothing of myself, O my Lord; mercifully grant me Thy name.

Family and the world are a sea of fire;

Doubt, worldly love, and spiritual ignorance are storms therein.

While on the crest of the wave man is happy; while in the trough he is unhappy.

His thirst and hunger are never allayed.

From yielding to mental desires resulteth the disease of the deadly sins.

The five deadly sins man's companions are very intractable.

The lives, souls, and wealth of the world are Thine, O God.

Nanak, know that God is ever near.

The foolish man is attracted by temporary not permanent advantages:—

Value as a straw the things which forsake thee;[1]

They are useless entanglements.

Man loveth the things which depart not with him;

His enemies he deemeth his friends—

[1] Also translated—Thou doest foolish things which thou shalt have to abandon.

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In such error is the world led astray—
The fool loseth the boon of human life ;
He is not pleased even to see the true religion.
Deeming falsehood and deception sweet he is attached to them.
He loveth gifts but forgetteth the Giver.
The wretched creature thinketh not of death.
He weepeth for *the loss* of the property of others.
He forfeiteth the benefit of all his religious acts.
Understanding not the will of God, he suffereth transmigration.
He committeth sins and then regretteth.
What pleaseth Thee, O God, is acceptable.
I am a sacrifice to Thy will,
Nanak is Thy poor slave ;
Preserve me, O my Lord !

The sensible man hoards up God's name and praises :—

God's name is the support of poor me.
To earn God is my daily occupation ;
The name of the one God is what I hoard up,
That it may be useful to me in this world and the next.
Dyed with the peerless dye of God's name,
The saints sing the excellences of the Formless One.
Excessive humility is the glory of the saints ;
They recognize their greatness in God's praises,
And find their happiness in God's service.
In it they obtain comfort and their anxieties depart.
Where the saints meet together,
They celebrate God's praises with music and song.
Joy hath its abode in the saints' company,
Which is obtained by him on whose forehead such destiny was written.
With clasped hands I supplicate them
To allow me to wash their feet and sing their praises.
O compassionate, merciful, and omnipresent God,
Nanak liveth on the dust of the saints' feet.

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The rich, the landlords, and the rulers should consider themselves inferior to the saints :—

As the rich are proud beholding their wealth, and landlords *their lands* ;
As the monarch deemeth that all sovereignty is his, so God's saints *are proud of* their Lord's support.
If any one remember his Protector
And act as He endoweth him, he shall not be the worse therefor.
Nanak, by the favour of the saints they shall sing God's praises and their hearts become pure,
Who forsaking idols take refuge in the one God, saying, 'We have entered Thy sanctuary.'

God's kindness to His saint :—

God who extended His might in the four quarters of the earth put His hand on my head,
Looked on me with an eye of favour, and dispelled my sorrows.
He hath preserved me His slave.
Embracing me, the Compassionate One, the Pardoner, wiped out all my demerits.
Whatever I ask of my God He granteth me.
Whatever God's slave Nanak uttereth shall prove true both in this world and the next.

God is ever man's friend and helper :—

God remembering His function alloweth not man to see the hour of trouble ;
He giveth His hand, preserveth His own, and cherisheth them at every breath they draw.
My soul continueth devoted to God.
At the beginning and the end God is ever our helper ; hail to our Friend !
On beholding the marvellous greatness of the Lord my soul is delighted.
Nanak is happy remembering God ; the omnipotent Lord hath preserved mine honour.

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The vigilance of the holy :—

Deem him unfortunate who forgetteth the Lord of life, the Giver.

He whose soul is attached to God's feet shall obtain a tank of nectar.

Thy slave awaketh in the love of God's name ;

All sloth hath now departed from his body, and his soul is attached to the Beloved.

Wherever I look, there is God a thread on which every heart is strung.

Drinking the water of the Name, the slave Nanak hath parted with love *for all beside.*

ASHTAPADI

The society of saints is superior to all places of pilgrimage :—

The more I bathed at sacred places the more impurity of pride I contracted ; the Lord of my heart accepted not at all *my exertions.*

When shall I obtain the society of the saints in which there is ever divine pleasure ? My spirit will lave therein, and I shall obtain the eye-salve of divine knowledge.

He who practiseth obstinacy, and looketh for wealth, like a crane watching a *fish*, shall be of no account.

Is there any such bestower of happiness as will recite to me legends of God ? when I meet such a person I shall be saved.

JAITSARI

Man amasses wealth in vain and has no real friend but God :—

Doth any one know who is a friend in this world ?

He to whom God is merciful can tell ; his ways are pure.

Parents, wife, sons, relations, lovers, friends, and brethren,

Meet according to the acts of previous births, but at the last hour none of them will aid one.

In collecting pearl necklaces, gold, rubies, diamonds, and wealth which gladdeneth the heart

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Man's life is passed: ever grumbling he is never contented.

Were he to possess elephants, carriages, steeds, swift as the wind, land, and armies—

Of these none would go with him; he must depart naked.

God's beloved saints are beloved by Him; in their company sing God's praises.

Nanak, when man hath the society of such saints, he is happy in this world, and his face shall be bright in the next.

The following was written after the Guru's conversation with a Bairagi:—

O happy wives, my companions, give me, give me intelligence of my Beloved.

I am astonished at the different accounts I hear of Him; I relate them to you.

Some say that God is altogether distinct from the world; others that He is altogether included in it.

His colour is not seen; His outline is not distinguished; O happy wives, tell me truly—

'He is included in everything; He dwelleth in every heart, yet He is not blended with anything; He is separate.'

Nanak saith, Listen, O ye people, put the saints' word into your hearts.

A song of rejoicing:—

Desirable is my Friend;

Gladly sing songs of rejoicing in every house for He dwelleth in every heart.

Worship Him in weal; worship Him in woe; forget Him not at any time.

By repeating the Name there is the splendour of millions of suns, and the darkness of superstition vanisheth.

Thou, O God, art in all places; whatever appeareth is Thine.

Nanak, he who obtaineth the society of the saints shall not again be subject to transmigration.

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JAITSARI CHHANT

The Guru's passionate thirst for God :—

I thirst day and night for a sight of Thee, O God ; I ever think of Thee night and day.

Nanak, the Guru opening the doors of my understanding hath caused me to meet God, the Friend.

Hear me, my friends, and good people, I make one representation—

I wander, O my beloved, searching for the fascinating Darling.

Show Him to me, O my beloved, grant me a sight of Him even for a little, and I will lay down my life for you.

Mine eyes are dyed with the colour of the Beloved, and rest not even for a moment.

My soul is attached to God as a fish to the water, as the thirsty chatrik to the *raindrops*.

The slave Nanak hath found the True Guru, and all his thirst is quenched.

O my friend, I am not equal to any of the companions of the Beloved.

O my friend, one of them is better than the other ; who thinketh of me ?

Of His many companions one is better than the other, O my beloved ; the Lord ever playeth with them.

On seeing them my heart also longeth to obtain the Lord of excellences.

I would lay down my life for any one who pleased my Darling.

Nanak saith, hear my prayer, O ye happy wives, show Him to me, that I may see what my Beloved is like.

O my friend, I love my Beloved, but He careth not for me.

O my friend, thou hast enjoyed the Darling ; point Him out to me who inquireth for Him.

They on whose forehead such destiny was written, obtain the Darling by effacing their pride.

God took my arm and drew me towards Him regardless of my merits or demerits.

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Everything becometh her on whom Thou hast put a garland of virtues and clothed in red.[1]

Nanak, blessed is that happy wife with whom her Husband abideth.

O my friend, I have obtained Him who hath ever been the object of my vows.

The Spouse I desired hath come and congratulations have been sung.

I am in great joy and happiness; the Beloved is kind and ever affordeth me new delight.

I have been very fortunate; the Guru hath caused me to meet God through the true society of the saints.

My hopes and desires are all fulfilled; my body is united with that of the Beloved.

Nanak representeth—through meeting the Guru I have obtained the object of my vows.

Man compared with a traveller who amasses no wealth :—

The world's inhabitants are travellers filled with pride;

Impelled by the love of mammon they commit various sins;

They are drowned in covetousness, worldly love, and pride, and think not of death;

They pass their lives talking of their sons, friends, worldly affairs, and wives.

When the days they were destined to *remain in the world* have expired, they shall suffer on beholding the myrmidons of Death.

Nanak, the deeds that have been done cannot be wiped out; why hath man not earned the wealth of God's name?

Man maketh many efforts in *worldly affairs*, but God's name he singeth not;

Wherefore he wandereth about in numberless births, dieth, and is born again

In beasts, birds, rocks, trees, whose number cannot be told.

[1] The dress of the married woman, not of her who is deprived of her spouse.

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Man reapeth what he soweth, and obtaineth *the result* of his own acts.

The jewel of his life he loseth in play, and pleaseth not his God.

Nanak representeth—man wandereth in error, and obtaineth not rest even for a moment.

When youth hath fled, old age sitteth down in possession.

The hands tremble; the head shaketh, and the eyes see not :

The eyes see not without worshipping God ; man leaveth his wealth and departeth.

Man's relations with whom he hath worn out his mind and bôdy, obey him not ; nay, they throw dirt on his head.

The love of the infinite and omnipresent God abideth not for a moment in the heart.

Nanak representeth—there is no delay in the destruction of the false who are as forts of paper.

Nanak hath fallen under the protection of God's lotus feet :

God Himself caused me to cross the rough and terrible ocean.

Meeting the company of the saints I have worshipped God, and He hath embraced and preserved me.

He hath granted my prayer and bestowed on me His name ; He hath not regarded my demerits.

I have obtained God the Treasury of excellences, the Infinite whom my heart desired.

Nanak representeth—I have partaken of the feast of God's name by which I am satiated.

Jaitsari ki War

It is said that the whole of the Jaitsari ki War was composed by the Guru as instruction to a Sikh called Tiloka. Parts of it are read daily, and the whole completed in ten days after the decease of a Sikh :—

Slok I

In the beginning God pervaded creation, in the present He pervadeth it, and in the future He will pervade it.

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Nanak, the saints remember the All-pervading who is the Destroyer of sin and Lord of the world.

Behold, hear, and cause others to hear, and fix the True One in thy heart.

Nanak, be absorbed in the love of God who is fully contained in all things.

God's omnipotence and omnipresence :—

PAURI I

Sing of God, the only Pure One ; He is contained in everything.

He is potent to do and cause to be done : what He doeth taketh place.

In a moment He establisheth and disestablisheth ; there is none but Him.

He pervadeth the continents, the universe, the nether regions, the islands, and all worlds.

He whom God causeth to understand understandeth ; he alone is the pure man.

Why forget God who brought man forth from the womb ?—

SLOK II

God having put thee into thy mother's womb, made the framework of thy body.

Thou didst remember Him at every breath, Nanak, and so the great heat did not consume thee.

With body reversed thou didst dwell in a filthy place.

Nanak, why forget that Lord by whose name thou didst escape therefrom ?

PAURI II

O man, thou wert conceived from blood and seed, and placed in the fire of the womb.

Thy head downwards, thou wert dirty, restless in the darkness of a terrible hell.

By remembering God thou wert not burned ; clasp Him to thy heart and soul.

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Forget not for a moment Him who preserved thee in a painful place.

By forgetting God thou shalt never be happy, but shalt lose thy human life.

Ever remember God and His benefits :—

Slok III

God bestoweth the gift of the fulfilment of the heart's desires and of all hopes.

Nanak, remember God who destroyeth suffering and misery ; He abideth not far away.

Love Him through whom thou enjoyest all pleasures.

Nanak, forget not that Lord even for a moment who made this beautiful body.

Thank God for what He hath given thee :—

Pauri III

God who is able to give, gave thee soul, life, body, wealth, and pleasures to enjoy.

He gave thee houses, mansions, chariots, horses, and made thee fortunate ;

He gave thee sons, wife, friends, servants.

Meditate on that God ; thy soul and body shall be refreshed, and the pain of separation from Him healed.

Repeat God's praises in the company of the saints, and all thy maladies shall depart.

Man's first duty is to God :—

Slok IV

They who strive for the sake of family and make various efforts for wealth,

Who are without the service and love of God, O Nanak, are as ghosts.

That love shall fade which is devoted to any other than God.

Nanak, true is the way of loving the Lord.

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The body perishes unhonoured, wherefore man should remember God, with whom rests salvation :—

PAURI IV

By forgetting God the body becometh ashes, and every one calleth it a ghost.

Even they whom one loved allow him not to remain a moment in their house.

Of what use is wealth improperly amassed ?

As man soweth, so shall he reap ; his body is the field of acts.

The ungrateful who forget God shall wander in transmigration.

Superstitious ceremonies are of no avail; God's light in the heart burns all sin :—

SLOK V

Millions of alms, ablutions, and various penances for purification *are of no avail.*

Nanak, to repeat God's name with the tongue removeth all sin.

However much firewood one may collect, if a spark be applied to it, *it will be consumed* in a moment ;

So when the true Lord dwelleth in the heart, Nanak, all sins disappear.

The effect of remembering and praising God :—

PAURI V

Millions—yea, all sins depart by remembering God's name.

Man obtaineth the reward his heart desireth by singing God's praises.

The fear of transmigration is removed, and a lasting and true abode obtained.

If it be so decreed in the beginning, man becometh absorbed in God's feet.

O God, mercifully preserve me ; Nanak is a sacrifice unto Thee.

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The Guru likens to worms those who only think of pleasures :—

SLOK VI

They who turn their thoughts to peerless houses, to pleasures, and to delights of the palate,

And who never think on God—such people, Nanak, are worms in filth.

Forsake all worldly things : why fix thy love on them ?

Nanak, the body which forgetteth the Lord shall become ashes.

PAURI VI

Man may enjoy a beauteous couch, varied pleasures, and all delights ;

He may possess a palace, gold, and silver ; he may use perfumes and wear pearls and diamonds ;

He may enjoy the pleasures his heart desireth and have no anxiety whatever ;

But if he remember not God, *he shall be like* a worm in ordure.

Without God's name there is no peace, how shall the heart be consoled ?

The bliss of spiritual happiness obtained by toil :—

SLOK VII

Anchorets search in the ten directions for the love of God's lotus feet :

They renounce deceptive mammon, Nanak, in the delightful company of the saints.

May I repeat God's name in my heart and with my lips, and wander *preaching* in all countries !

Nanak, all worldly things are false ; I live by hearing God's true fame.

The poor and holy man, if pious, is king of the world :—

PAURI VII

He who liveth in a ruined hut with all his clothes torn,

Who hath neither caste, nor lineage, nor respect, who wandereth in the wilderness,

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Who hath no friend or lover, who is without wealth or beauty, and who hath no relation or kinsman,

Is king of the whole world if his heart be filled with God's name.

God is well pleased with him, and men are saved by the dust of his feet.

Worldly pleasures are vain without devotion :—

Slok VIII

A man may have many sports, empire, pleasures, beauty, the umbrella of empire, fans waving over him, and a throne to sit on—

They who are absorbed in such things are fools, ignorant, and blind ; Nanak, the desire for mammon is a dream.

In dreams man enjoyeth all pleasures, and worldly things appear sweet to him.

Nanak, without the Name beautiful Maya is deceptive.

The fool is misled by his folly :—

Pauri VIII

The fool attacheth his heart to a dream :

When he awaketh he forgetteth empires, pleasures, and delights, and suffereth disappointment.

His life passeth away in pursuing worldly things,

But his desires have not been fulfilled because he hath been fascinated by Maya.

What can the poor creature do when God Himself leadeth him astray ?

The condition of the persons and habitations of those who forget God :—

Slok IX

They who forget God, Nanak, are as wanderers in the wilderness,

Even though they dwell in heaven or conquer the nine regions of the earth.

Where there are millions of plays and spectacles, without remembrance of the Name,

Nanak, that place is desolate, and equal to millions of hells.

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PAURI IX

Man deemeth a place a city, though it be only a very terrible wilderness.

On seeing false wealth, man believeth it to be real.

Men go mad through lust, wrath, and pride.

When the club of death falleth on their heads, they shall regret.

He who wandereth without *the company of* the perfect divine Guru is a demon.

Everything deceives except devotion to God :—

SLOK X

Deceptive is empire, deceptive is beauty, deceptive are wealth and pride of birth.

Man amasseth poisonous wealth with deceit and guile, Nanak, but nothing can go with him save God's name.

Men mistake on beholding the colocynth which appeareth beautiful—

It is not worth an eighth of a paisa ; Nanak, *thus wealth appeareth beautiful*, but will not depart with one.

Contempt of wealth and condemnation of idolatry:—

PAURI X

Why amass what will not go with thee as thou proceedest ?

Say why thou endeavourest to acquire what thou must leave behind ?

How can thy mind be contented and not distressed when thou forgettest God ?

He who forsaketh God and attacheth himself to idols shall abide in hell.

O God, be merciful and compassionate, and dispel Nanak's dread *of transmigration.*

The holy man finds no pleasure in worldly enjoyments :—

SLOK XI

Not sweet to me are the pleasures of empire, not sweet are sensuous enjoyments, not sweet are the pleasures of wealth.

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Sweet is association with God's saints, O slave Nanak; sweet is the sight of God.

It is thus love is produced, and the mind absorbed therein.

The real thing is then found and the Lord is then sweet.

PAURI XI

Without God nothing is sweet to His saints:

All other pleasures are insipid: I have seen this after careful search.

The doubt and pain of ignorance were removed when the Guru became my mediator.

When the love of God's lotus feet pierced my heart, it became as if dyed with madder.

God then dwelt in my life, my soul, my mind, and my body; and everything that was false vanished.

The lower animals are led by their senses, the saints only by devotion:—

SLOK XII

The fish cannot live without water, nor the chatrik without the cloud;

The deer is smitten with the arrow of the bell; the bee is entangled by the odour of the flower.

The saints are pleased by God's lotus feet, Nanak, and by nothing else.

The Guru's love for God:—

O God, may I behold Thy face without blinking and not turn my mind elsewhere!

Nanak will abide with that Lord God who is the Friend of the saints.

PAURI XII

How can a fish maintain life without water?

How can the chatrik be satisfied without raindrops?

As the deer fascinated by the bell runneth towards *the huntsman*;

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As the greedy bumble-bee on finding an odorous flower hath itself shut up in it ;

So holy men love God and are satisfied on beholding Him.

SLOK XIII

The saints meditate on God's lotus feet and adore them at every breath.

They forget not the name of the Imperishable One ; O Nanak, the supreme God fulfilleth their hopes.

God is stitched into their hearts and is never a moment out of them.

Nanak, the true Lord fulfilleth their desires and ever watcheth over them.

A supplication :—

PAURI XIII

O Lord, fulfil my hopes who have hopes in Thee.

He who meeteth God shall never grieve.

My heart desireth Thee ; grant me a sight of Thee that my anxiety may depart.

May my body be purified with the dust of Thy feet !

May the supreme God through the divine Guru be ever present !

The devotion of the saints :—

SLOK XIV

Nanak is ever a sacrifice to those who meditate on the Supreme Being,

Who repeat His name with their tongues and hear His ambrosial word with their ears.

Everything is false save the Lord alone :

Nanak, blest are they who love the True One.

Holy are they who in any manner are concerned with God :—

PAURI XIV

I am ever a sacrifice to those who hear God's story.

Perfectly distinguished are they who bow their foreheads to God.

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The hands of those who write the praises of the Endless One are adorned thereby.

Their feet are pure and clean who walk in God's way :

They are saved with the saints and all their sorrow fleeth away.

Happy the time when the saints meet God :—

SLOK XV

To make effort and repeat God's name are completely obtained by God's will.

Happy that moment, O Nanak, when I obtain a sight of God !

The value of that moment cannot be estimated ; its happiness is beyond measure.

Nanak, that time is acceptable when my Beloved meeteth me.

PAURI XV

Tell me what time that is when I shall obtain God :

That time is very auspicious when I shall meet the Lord.

By meditating on God for the eight watches of the day, the desires of the heart are realised.

By great good fortune the company of the saints is obtained ; I bow and touch their feet.

My heart thirsteth for a sight of the saints ; Nanak is a sacrifice unto them.

The reward of devotion :—

SLOK XVI

God is the Purifier of sinners, the Remover of every sorrow.

Nanak, they who repeat His name enter His secure asylum.

They altogether abandon pride and cling to God's feet.

Nanak, on beholding God their troubles and anxieties depart.

A fervent prayer :—

PAURI XVI

Blend me with Thee, O Compassionate One ; I have fallen at Thy door.

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Preserve me, O Compassionate to the poor; wandering I have become very weary.

It is Thy function, O God, to love the saints and save sinners.

Beside Thee there is none: grant my supplication.

Take me by the hand, O Compassionate One, and *save me* from the ocean of the world.

The cure for the heart's fever:—

SLOK XVII

I have the support of the praises of the merciful God who saveth the saints.

Nanak, man groweth pure by associating with the saints and taking shelter in God.

The heart's fever is not at all removed by sandal, the moon, or the cold season;

It is cooled, Nanak, by repeating God's name.

Salvation is secured by devotion:—

PAURI XVII

All men are saved by the shelter of God's lotus feet.

The heart groweth fearless on hearing God's glory.

There shall be nothing wanting when the wealth of the Name is stored up.

The society of the saints is obtained by greatly meritorious acts.

Meditate on God during the eight watches of the day, and ever hear His praises.

All mercies are obtained by repeating God's name and praises:—

SLOK XVIII

Nanak, to repeat the praises of the name of the merciful supreme Being

Is to obtain mercy, to remove sorrows, and to shake off mammon.

The burning fever *of my* heart hath been quenched; God Himself hath preserved me.

Nanak, repeat the name of that God who created the world.

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The results of meditation and holy association :—

PAURI XVIII

When God is merciful we feel not worldly love.

Millions of sins are removed by meditating on the one God.

When the body is bathed in the dust of the holy man's feet, it becometh pure;

The mind and body are relieved; man obtaineth the perfect God,

And he is saved with his family and all his tribe.

Praises of the true Guru :—

SLOK XIX

The Guru is Gobind, the Guru is Gopal, the perfect Guru is Narayan;

The Guru is merciful, the Guru is omnipotent; Guru Nanak is the saviour of sinners;

The Guru is the boat to cross over the dangerous and unfathomable ocean of the world.

Nanak, everything is effected by touching the feet of the true Guru.

The Guru's power :—

PAURI XIX

Hail! hail to the divine Guru in whose company God's name is repeated!

When the Guru is merciful, all demerits vanish.

The supreme being, the divine Guru, exalteth the lowly;

He cutteth off the galling chains of mammon, and maketh man his servant.

Through him the tongue singeth the praises of the Eternal God.

God alone to be worshipped :—

SLOK XX

The one God is seen, the one God is heard, the one God is spoken of.

Nanak beggeth the gift of His name: O compassionate Being, mercifully grant it to him.

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I worship the one God, I remember the one God, I make supplication to the one God.

Nanak hath amassed the wealth of the Name, the real capital.

God alone is merciful, omnipresent, and omnipotent :—

PAURI XX

God is merciful, illimitable ; He alone filleth the world.

He is everything Himself ; whom can I mention like Him ?

O God, Thou grantest gifts, and again receivest them.

Transmigration dependeth altogether on Thine order ; immovable is Thine abode.

Nanak beggeth a boon ; mercifully grant him Thy name.

Vain are decorations and wealth without devotion :—

TODI

Without knowing God man's birth were vain :

He decketh and adorneth himself in various ways, but it is as though he were dressing a corpse.

The miser running in every direction amasseth wealth with toil ;

Yet he practiseth not charity or serveth the saints, and his wealth availeth him not.

A woman putteth on her jewels, decketh her couch, and maketh great preparations :

If she obtain not the company of her spouse, the sight of her decorations will but pain her.

A man may work all day pounding husks with a pestle ;[1]

Yet he only suffereth pain like a forced labourer ; his wealth shall not be spent on himself.

God implanteth His name in the heart of him to whom He is kind.

Nanak, such a man yearneth for the society of the saints and obtaineth God's love.

1 This corresponds to the English expressions—threshing beaten straw, winnowing chaff, &c., &c.

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A prayer to God :—

Ocean of mercy, dwell for ever in my heart ;

So enlighten my understanding that I may love Thee, O God.

May I obtain the dust of Thy saints' feet to apply to my forehead !

From being a great sinner may I be purified and sing Thy praises and Thine attributes !

May Thine order be sweet to me, and what Thou doest please me !

May what Thou givest satiate me, so that I may run after no one else !

O Lord God, may I ever know Thee near me, and may I remain the dust of all men's feet !

May I meet the company of saints so that I may obtain my God !

We are ever and ever Thy children ; Thou, O God, art our Master.

Saith Nanak, we are children ; Thou art our father and mother : put Thy name as milk into our mouths.

The Guru prays for God's name as the sole means of salvation :—

O Lord, I crave Thy name as a gift ;

Naught else shall depart with me ; may I also obtain the favour of singing Thy praises !

Empire, wealth, varied pleasures and enjoyments are all as the shadow of a tree.

Man hasteth in every direction, but all his efforts are vain.

All his affairs who desireth other than God appear to be unstable.

Nanak prayeth for the dust of the saints' feet that his mind may obtain rest.

God's name is all things to the Guru :—

God's name is the support of my soul ;

By its use my life, soul, and mind are comforted.

The Name is my caste, the Name is my lineage, the Name is my family ;

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The Name is ever my companion ; God's name delivereth me.

The pleasure of worldly things is much spoken of, but none of them shall depart with thee.

The Name is my beloved and my friend ; God's name is Nanak's storehouse.

By devotion mind and body are purified :—

Sing God's excellent praises and thy maladies shall be healed.

Thy countenance shall become bright, thy heart pure, and thy life profitable in this and the next world.

Wash the Guru's feet, serve him, and make him thy heart as an offering.

Abandon egotism, contention, and pride : accept what cometh from God.

He on whose forehead such destiny hath been written, attacheth himself to the Guru's service.

Saith Nanak, except the one God there is none able to accomplish aught.

The Guru prays God to forgo his account :—

O True Guru, I have sought Thy protection.

May I obtain Thy name to give comfort and glory and remove my anxiety.

I behold no other place of shelter ; I have arrived weary at Thy gate.

Heed not my account ; without it may I be saved ! deliver me though devoid of virtue.

Thou ever forgivest, Thou art ever kind, Thou supportest all.

The slave Nanak followeth the saints : save him in this human birth.

The Guru's beatitude when singing of God :—

When my tongue singeth of God, who is an ocean of merits,

Peace, composure, and delight spring up in my heart, and all sorrows take flight.

O man, whatever thou askest thou shalt obtain by worshipping God's feet, the abode of pleasure.

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They shall free thee from both birth and death, and carry thee across the terrible ocean of the world.

Searching and searching I have ascertained that the real thing is to depend on God as His slave.

If, O Nanak, thou desire everlasting happiness, ever remember God.

The miser especially needs God's favour :—

O miser, thy body and soul are full of sin.

In the company of the saints worship the Lord ; it is He alone who draweth a veil over thy sins.

When there are many holes in the boat,[1] they cannot be stopped by the fingers.

Address Him who made the boat, *and they shall be stopped, and* the frail boat become sound.

If any one try to lift a mountain with words, *he cannot succeed* ; where it was there it remaineth.

Nanak hath no strength or power ; O God, preserve him; he hath sought Thy protection.

They who are slaves of mammon shall with difficulty be saved :—

Alas ! alas ! the wealth in which thou art wrapped up, O fool, is little or naught.

What thou deemest thine own is not thine.

Thou hast not thought of thy God for a moment.

What belongeth to another thou deemest thine own.

Thou hast not given a place in thy heart to the Name which is with thee.

Thou hast attached thy heart to things which thou must abandon.

Thou hast amassed worldly things but remainest hungry and thirsty.

Thou hast not obtained the viaticum of the ambrosial Name.

Thou hast fallen into the pits of lust, wrath, and worldly love.

Nanak, through the favour of the Guru some rare man is saved.

[1] Thou hast committed many sins.

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Serving the one God is the Guru's sole occupation :—

I have but one God ;
I recognize none other.
I have found my Guru through great good fortune.
He hath impressed on me God's name,
Which is to me devotion, penance, fasting, and religious observances.
By meditating on God I have obtained all comfort and peace.
To praise God is my devotion, my occupation, and my caste.
I feel great joy on hearing His praises
Saith Nanak, he who hath found God
Hath all things in his home.

The Guru has found God by diligent and pious search :—

Man desireth the love of God the Beautiful,
But God's love is not obtained by mere words.
Searching for a sight of Him I look in every lane.
My doubts have been dispelled on meeting the Guru.
I have obtained this wisdom from the holy man according to the destiny recorded on my forehead.
In this way Nanak hath seen God with his eyes.

Reject mammon and be simple at heart :—

O mother, mammon is deceitful,
She is, if God be not worshipped, as burning grass, the shadow of a cloud, or the water of a hill-stream.
Renounce thy devices and great cleverness ; clasp thy hands and follow the way of the saint.
Remember the Lord the Searcher of hearts ; this is the best fruit of human birth.
Holy men preach divine knowledge, but luckless fools understand it not.
The slave Nanak is absorbed in love and devotion ; by remembering God the filth of his sins hath been burnt.

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God's saving name is obtained from the Guru :—

O mother, the feet of the Guru are dear to me ;
God giveth them by favourable destiny : millions of advantages are obtained by beholding the Guru.
By singing the praises of the Immortal and Indestructible, unmannerly lust, wrath, and pride vanish.
They who are dyed with the true love become permanent ; birth and death shall not again torment them.
I deem all joys and pleasures false except worshipping God through the compassionate Guru.
The slave Nanak hath obtained the jewel of the Name, without it everybody is robbed of his human birth.

BAIRARI

The advantage of congregational devotion :—

The saints meeting together sing God's praises,
And thus remove the pain of millions of births.
What the heart desireth is in this wise obtained.
They have mercifully granted me God's name
In which abide all happiness and greatness.
By the Guru's favour Nanak hath obtained this knowledge.

TILANG [1]

The kindness of God :—

Kind, kind is the Lord ;
My Lord is kind :
To all creatures He giveth gifts.
Why waver, O mortal ? the Creator will protect thee.
He who gave thee birth will support thee.
He who created the earth will take care of thee.
He is the Master and the true Cherisher of all hearts.
His power and worth cannot be known ; He is great and unconcerned.
Servant of God, do Him service as long as there is breath in thy body

[1] The Tilang measure is much sung by Baloches. Hymns in this measure ordinarily contain several Persian words.

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Thou, O God, art all-powerful, ineffable, inapprehensible; the soul and body are Thy property.

Nanak's prayer ever is that by Thy mercy he may obtain happiness.

The Guru praises God under whatever name known :—

O Creator, on beholding Thy might I long to meet Thee.

Thou alone art my spiritual and temporal Lord ; Thou art unsullied by the whole creation.

In a moment Thou makest and unmakest : wonderful are Thy manifestations.

Who knoweth Thine acts ?[1] Thou art a light in the darkness.

O Allah, Thou Thyself art the Lord of the world, the merciful Khuda.[2]

Why should they who adore Thee day and night go to hell ?

Azrail is a friend of the slave whose support Thou art.

All the sins of Thy servant who obtaineth a sight of Thee, are pardoned.

All worldly things are for the present ; true happiness is to be found in Thy name.

On meeting the Guru, Nanak hath ascertained this ; wherefore he ever singeth the praises of the one God.

SUHI

God has installed the Guru as a beloved housewife in His palace :—

God hath given me possession of the household ; I have become the housewife.

My Spouse hath made the ten organs of *action and reflection* my slaves.

I have put together all the things of the house,
And with thirsty desire I long for my Beloved.
What merits of my beloved Spouse shall I mention ?
He is the wise, handsome, and compassionate God.

[1] Also translated—play.

[2] Allah and Khudā used in this verse are Muhammadan names of God.

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I have put on chastity as my ornaments and applied the fear of God as a pigment to mine eyes.

I chew the ambrosial Name as my betel ;

My bracelets, my dress, mine ornaments admirably become me.

A woman obtaineth all happiness if her Beloved go to her house.

I have fascinated my Spouse by the charm of my virtues .

I have made Him subject to me and the Guru hath dispelled my doubts.

My palace is the most exalted of all.

My Beloved hath forsaken all other women and become my lover.

The bright light of the sun [1] hath appeared.

I have spread my couch with infinite faith in Him.

My Darling who affordeth ever new delight hath come to my couch to enjoy me.

Nanak, when I met my Beloved I obtained happiness.

Man is unable to render due thanksgiving to God for all His favours :—

What praises of Thine shall I recount, O Thou who bestowest on me though devoid of virtue ?

What skill hath a purchased slave ? this soul and body are totally Thine.

I am a sacrifice to a sight of Thee, Thou merry, beloved, and fascinating Darling.

O God, Thou bestowest on me a poor beggar ; Thou art ever and ever beneficent.

What can be accomplished by myself is nothing, O my inaccessible and infinite Lord.

What service shall I perform ? what shall I say to please Thee ?

How shall I obtain a sight of Thee ?

Thy measure cannot be ascertained ; Thy limit cannot be found ; my soul thirsteth for Thy feet.

Becoming bold I pray to obtain this gift that the dust of the saints' feet be applied to my face.

[1] Divine knowledge.

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The Guru extended mercy to his slave Nanak, so God reached him His hand and saved him.

Man is swift to evil and slow to good :—

Man riseth early for evil deeds ;
But he sleepeth when it is time to repeat God's name.
The fool knoweth not his opportunity ;
He becometh involved in worldly love and pleasures ;
In the midst of his covetousness he is elated, pleased.
And looketh not even at holy men.
The ignorant clown never understandeth.
He is again and again involved in entanglements.
He is pleased on hearing immoral songs,
While his mind is slow to hear God's praises.
O blind one, thou seest not with thine eyes :
Thou must leave all these false occupations and depart.
Saith Nanak, O God, mercifully grant me
The favour of the company of Thy saints.

Man obtaineth something when he becometh the dust *of the saints' feet*—

He to whom God giveth understanding repeateth His name.

The Guru's instruction :—

Man seeth with his eyes, but yet is blind ; he heareth, but yet is deaf ;

What is near him he deemeth distant ; the sinner ever committeth sin.

O mortal, do such acts as shall secure thy deliverance,
And repeat God's name the ambrosial word.
Thou art ever filled with the love of horses and palaces,
But none of them shall depart with thee.
Thou scrubbest thy vessel of clay ;
Yet it is very foul, and shall be punished by Death's mace.
Man is bound by lust, wrath, covetousness, and worldly love,
And is thereby swallowed up in a great pit.
Hear Nanak's prayer—
O my God, save me, a sinking stone !

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The Guru's self-sacrifice and abject servility to God's saint :—

God's saint is my life and wealth ; I am his water-carrier ;
He is dearer to me than all brethren, friends, and sons, yea, than even life itself.
Let me make a fan of my hair, and wave it as a chauri over the saint ;
Let me bow my head beneath his feet, and apply their dust to my face ;
Like a poor man let me offer him my supplication with sweet words ;
Abandoning pride let me fall at his feet, and obtain the treasure of virtues.
Let me obtain a sight of him again and again.
Let me treasure up his ambrosial word in my heart, and make him continual obeisance.
I desire the society of holy men ; I hope for it, I pray for it.
O Lord, have mercy upon Nanak that he may touch Thy slaves' feet.

God's praises :—

I supplicate the true Guru to grant me the Name as my support.
When the True King is pleased, the world is cured of its fever.
Thou, O Lord, art the prop of the saints ; Thou art the shelter of the saints ; Thou art the true Creator.
True are Thy chattels, true Thine extension.[1]
Thy form is unapproachable ; unequalled is a sight of Thee.
I am a sacrifice to Thy servants to whom Thy name is dear.
All hopes are fulfilled when the Unapproachable and the Unequalled is obtained.
Guru Nanak hath met the primal God, and is a sacrifice unto His feet.

1 The world which has been projected from the Creator.

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Salvation is only found in the Guru's instruction which is open to all :—

Salvation is not obtained by reading all the Veds, the books of the Musalmans, the Simritis, and the Shastars.

He who under the Guru's instruction repeateth the one Word shall obtain unsullied glory.

The four castes of Khatris, Brahmans, Sudars, and Vaisyas are partners in God's word.

Nanak, by repeating under the Guru's instruction the name of God who dwelleth in every heart, man shall be saved in this age.

ASHTAPADI

The magnification of God's name :—

The Simritis, the Veds, and the Purans proclaim

That without the Name all ritual is false and valueless.

The Name, which is unequalled wealth, abideth in the hearts of the saints.

Transmigration, worldly love, and sorrow are removed in the company of the saints.

They who indulge in worldly love, strife, and pride shall assuredly weep.

They who are without the Name shall find no happiness.

By boasting of his property, bonds are forged for man.

They who devote themselves to works of mammon shall be born in hell and heaven.

By reflecting and reflecting and reflecting I have come to this conclusion,

That without the Name there is no happiness and man assuredly faileth.

Many come and go, die and are born again.

Without knowing God all is vain and men wander in wombs.

They to whom God is merciful, obtain the society of the saints,

And repeat God's name which is ambrosia.

Millions, yea, countless and endless persons search *for God* ;

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But God is near him whom He causeth to know Him.
Forget me not, O Bountiful One ; grant me Thy name.
It is Nanak's pleasure to repeat Thy praises day and night.

CHHANT

God ever speaks mildly :—

God who is my Friend and my Lord, speaketh mildly ;
I am weary of trying Him, but He never speaketh harshly.
The perfect God who thinketh not of our demerits, knoweth not how to speak harshly.
To purify sinners is God's function ; He destroyeth not a particle of man's work.[1]
He dwelleth in every heart ; He pervadeth everything ; He is the nearest of the near.
The slave Nanak is ever under the protection of God, his immortal Friend.

The advantage of singing God's praises :—

BILAWAL

Exalted, peerless, endless Lord, who knoweth Thy merits ?
By singing them man is saved ; by hearing them man is saved, and multitudes of sins are effaced.
O Lord, Thou savest beasts, sprites, and idiots ; even stones Thou causest to cross the terrible water.
The slave Nanak hath entered Thine asylum, and is ever and ever a sacrifice unto Thee.

The first verse of the following is often inscribed on new houses :—

The True Guru hath made my house and family permanent.
He who slandereth them is already destroyed by the Creator.
The slave Nanak taketh the protection of Him whose word is eternal and incomparable.

Advantages of meeting the Guru and his saints :—

The cripple can cross over a mountain, the blockhead become an accomplished preacher,

[1] That is, man loses not a particle of the advantage of devotion.

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And the blind see the three worlds on meeting the pure Guru.

O my friends, hear the advantage of the company of the saints—

With them impurity is washed away, millions of sins set aside, and the heart purified.

Such is service to God that by it an ant can overcome an elephant.

God hath given the fearless gift to him whom He hath made His own.

For him a lion becometh a cat, and a mountain a blade of grass :

They who toiled for half a dam have become very rich.

What praise of Thine can I utter, O Thou of endless excellences ?

Mercifully grant Nanak Thy name, O God, otherwise he cannot behold Thee.[1]

The Guru's self-abasement before God's saints :—

Let me perform service for Thy slave, O Lord : and wipe his feet with my hair.

Let me give him my head as an offering, and listen to the praises of the Abode of pleasure.

My soul reviveth on meeting Thee ; wherefore meet me, O Merciful One.

Night and day my mind is happy thinking on the Merciful One.

O God, attach me to the skirts of Thy saints who save the world.

O God, grant me the gift of the dust of the saints' feet.

I have no tricks of speech or cleverness, nor can I labour *in Thy service.*

Preserve me from doubt, fear, and worldly love, and cut away Death's noose.

I implore Thee, O Lord of mercy, O Father, to cherish me !

O Abode of happiness, let Nanak sing Thy praises in the company of the saints.

[1] *Rita*, which means empty, also means way, and the phrase may be translated—Show me the way to behold Thee.

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Abase thyself before the saint of God :—

Draw water, fan, and grind for God's slave, and then shalt thou be happy.

Burn for him in the fire empire, possessions, and dominion.

Touch the feet even of the saints' servant.

Forsake the possessors of wealth and the lords of umbrellas.

The saints' dry bread is equal to all treasure.

The thirty-six dishes in the house of the infidel are as poison.

A man is not naked when he clotheth himself in the rags of the saints ;

He loseth his honour when he putteth on the silken robe of the infidel.

When one contracteth friendship with an infidel, it is dissolved half way.

Whoever serveth God's saint shall be saved in this life and the next.

Everything was produced by Thee, O Lord ; Thou didst contrive this contrivance *of the world.*

Nanak, on beholding the saints, singeth God's praises.

The Guru's search for God :—

Searching and searching I search round the forests

For that God who is undeceivable, invulnerable, and inscrutable.

When shall I behold my God the delight of my soul ?

Better than waking is the dream in which I abide with God.

As I listen to the Shastars on the four castes and the four stages of life, I *am not satisfied* but thirst to behold God.

He hath no colour nor outline, nor is He made of five elements ; He is imperishable.

The saints or some rare man of great sanctity may describe His appearance.

They whom He mercifully meeteth are to be congratulated.

His doubts vanish *who seeth God* within him and without him.

Nanak, he whose acts are perfect meeteth God.

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There is salvation for the repentant sinner :—

Body, wealth, and youth pass away.[1]

Thou hast not repeated God's name, and day hath dawned on thee while committing sin at night.

Through continually eating various forms of food thy teeth are worn and drop out.

Thou wert robbed while talking of thy possessions, and thou didst feel no compunction on committing sin.

Great enormities are a terrible sea of trouble in which man perisheth ;

But the Lord God, O Nanak, taketh the arm of him who seeketh His protection and extricateth him.

The Guru's love for God :—

I am in love with the Beloved.

The Lord hath drawn me with such a strong thread that if I try to break it, it will not break ; and if I try to let it go, it will not go.

O Lord, mercifully abide day and night in my heart.

I am a sacrifice to God, an account of whom I have heard, but cannot express.

The slave Nanak, Thy slave of slaves, prayeth—O God, show me Thy mercy !

Submission to God's saint is equal to all pilgrimages :—

The feet of the Supreme Being's slave whose praise is pure, are equal to millions of pilgrimages to the Ganges.

Nanak, he who batheth in the feet of the holy man shall have the sins of many births washed away.

BILAWAL ASHTAPADI

The Guru describes his love for God :—

O God, there is none but Thee.

The love of my heart *for Thee is like that of* the chakor for the moon,

Or the love of the fish for the water.

[1] Also translated—The play of body, wealth, and youth is over.

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As the bumble-bee forsaketh not the lotus,
As the chawki desireth the sun,
So Nanak thirsteth for God's feet.
As the husband is the life of his young bride,
As the covetous man *is pleased with* a gift of wealth,
As the affinity of milk for water,
As the very hungry man desireth food,
As a mother loveth her son,
So, O Nanak, ever remember God.
As the moth falleth into the lamp,
As the thief fearlessly stealeth,
As the elephant is entrapped through his lust,
As the sinner is caught in his misdeeds,
As the gambler's vice forsaketh him not,
So Nanak applieth his soul to God.
As the deer loveth the hunter's bell,
As the chatrik longeth for the rain-drops,
So I live by association with the saints.
I love to worship God,
And my tongue repeateth His name.
O God, grant Nanak a sight of Thee.
He who singeth, heareth, or writeth God's praises
Shall receive all the reward thereof from God.
He shall himself cross over the ocean of the world,
And save all his family.
God's feet shall be a boat for him
Who in the association of the saints singeth God's praises.
O Lord God, protect mine honour.
O God, Nanak hath taken the protection of Thy door.[1]

GAUND

Man, even when captivated by the world, shall be saved by seeking God's protection :—

O man, thou art caught like a fish or a monkey ; thou art captivated with the dye of the safflower.

The movements of thy feet and thy breathings are counted; thou shalt only be saved if thou sing God's praises.

O man, understand this and cease thy perversity.

[1] *Duār* in the original.

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Canst thou not find a place to dwell in at home? why goest thou to others' houses? [1]

Impelled like an elephant by the pleasure of lust, thou remainest attached to thy family.

As birds meet together and again separate, *so thou too shalt be separated from thy people, but thou shalt obtain* a firm abiding-place if in association with the saints thou meditate on God.

As the fish perisheth through love of its palate, so foolish man is ruined by his covetousness.

Thou art in the power of thy five enemies, but thou shalt escape from them by seeking God's protection.

O Destroyer of grief, be merciful to the poor; man and the lower animals all are Thine.

May I obtain the favour to continually behold and meet Thee! Nanak is the slave of Thy slaves.

The supreme efficacy of God's protection :—

Him whom the Protector protecteth
The Formless One will assist.
Fire shall not touch him in his mother's womb;
Lust, wrath, covetousness, and worldly love shall not affect him.
When man repeateth the name of the Formless One in the company of the saints,
Dust shall be thrown in the face of whoever slandereth him.
The spell of God's name [2] is armour for His slave:
Enemies and ill-wishers can make no impression on him.
He who indulgeth in pride shall pass away,
While God protecteth His poor slave.
God will embrace and defend him
Who falleth under His protection.
He who is very proud
Shall in a moment be blended with the dust.
I am ever and ever a sacrifice to Him

[1] Do good thyself, and then go and preach to others.
[2] *Rām kawach.* Literally—God's coat of mail; but the term is also applied to a particular spell.

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Who is, was, and shall be the true One.
God hath mercy and protecteth His slaves :
He is the support of Nanak's soul.

God described by negatives :—

Wonderful and greatly unequalled is a description
Of the Soul of the world, the Supreme Being :
He is not old, nor is He young ;
He hath no sorrow, nor is He caught in Death's halter ;
He neither perisheth, nor departeth ;
In the beginning and in every age He pervadeth the world ;
He feeleth nor heat nor cold ;
He hath no friend, no enemy ;
He feeleth nor joy nor mourning.
Everything belongeth to Him and He is potent to act.
He hath no father, and no mother ;
He is without limit, and from the beginning ;
He is not the subject either of virtue or of vice.
In every heart He is ever awake ;
He created one energy Maya with the three qualities.
Great Maya is His shadow.
He is undeceivable, invulnerable, inscrutable, and compassionate.
Compassionate to the poor He is ever merciful ;
His condition and measure cannot be known :
Nanak, I am a sacrifice unto Him.

RAMKALI

A prayer to God and miscellaneous instruction :—

Have mercy upon me, O Bountiful to the poor, and think not at all of my merits or demerits.

Why should we wash clay ? O Lord, to be unclean is the condition of man.[1]

O my soul, serve the True Guru, and thou shalt be happy.

Thou shalt obtain whatever thou mayest desire, and not again feel sorrow.

God fashioned us frail vessels, put His light within us, and cherisheth us.

[1] That is, man is ever sinful.

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We act as the Creator predestined for us from the beginning.

Man claimeth his soul and body to be entirely his own; hence his transmigration.

He thinketh not on Him who gave them; he is blindly wrapped up in worldly love.

He who knoweth the God who made him shall reach His unequalled palace.

May Nanak Thy slave serve Thee and sing Thy praises, O God!

By due meditation on God man is preserved from the deadly sins:—

My God hath assisted me, and I have disposed of all mine enemies.

I have bound the enemies who plundered this world.

My God is the True Guru.

To utter His name and put confidence in Him is equal to enjoyment of the delights of many empires.

The Protector watcheth over him who thinketh of none but Him.

He whose support is Thy name alone, O Lord, despiseth the world.

He who hath met the Giver of comfort, becometh perfect; he is not deficient in anything.

On meeting God, the best thing, man obtaineth the supreme position, and forsaketh it not to go elsewhere.

I cannot describe a Being like Thee who art true, invisible, and infinite.

Nanak, our Lord is unequalled, unfathomable, and unwavering.

Praises of God:—

Thou art wise, Thou art immovable, Thou art my caste, Thou art my lineage.

Thou art unwavering, Thou waverest never; then how can I feel anxiety?

Thou alone art the one God;

Thou alone art the one King.

Through Thy mercy I have obtained happiness.

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Thou art a lake; we are Thy swans; in Thee are gems and rubies.

Thou art the Giver; Thou hesitatest not at all; we eat *from Thy hands* and are ever happy.

We are children, Thou art our Father, Thou puttest milk into our mouths.

We all play and Thou ever fondlest us: Thou art ever brimful of excellences.

Thou art perfect and fillest every place: O Perfect One, we too are satiated with Thy company.

After many efforts I have become blended with Thee; Nanak, there is nothing more to be said.

A votary of Krishan invited Guru Arjan to see the circular dance in honour of his god. The Guru replied that the whole world was dancing and playing, and there was no necessity to go to such an entertainment. A man ought to dance as follows:—

Make thy hands the cymbals, thine eyes the kettledrums, thy forehead the rebeck,

Thine ears the sweet pipe, and thy tongue the prelude.

Bring dancing with the heart as the motions of thy hands and thy tinkling anklets,

And dance to God.

Let the Compassionate One be the spectator and behold thy dressing and decorations.

Let thine arena be the whole earth, the firmament above its canopy,

And the breath the sole manager.

From the water and the other elements God created a puppet to which acts are attached.

In the four corners of the earth God lit up and placed both the moon and sun as lamps.[1]

There are ten dancing girls[2] and five accompanists[3] together in one chamber.[4]

[1] An attendant holding a lamp in each hand goes round and lights the theatre.

[2] The organs of action and perception.

[3] The five senses.

[4] The body.

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They separately gesticulate and all speak different tongues.

In every house there is dancing day and night, and in every heart the trumpets [1] sound.

God causeth one man to dance in secular occupations, another He diverteth therefrom, and a third He debaseth by transmigration.

Saith Nanak, he who meeteth the perfect Guru shall not dance again.

Instruction to a Jogi :—

O Jogi, the four *Veds* call to thee, but thou obeyest them not ;

The six *Shastars* also tell of one thing.

The eighteen *Purans* combined speak of the one God ;

Yet, even so, thou hast not found their secret.

The kinguri of God playeth an unequalled strain,

O intoxicated Jogi.

In the first age the village of truth was inhabited ; [2]

In the Treta age there was some falling off ; [3]

In the Dwarpar half the truth remained ;

In the Kal one-fourth remained, and then God was shown *by the Guru*.

On one string [4] the gems of *souls* were strung ;

They were all kept separate by knots : [5]

The rosary thus formed revolved in many ways.[6]

When God draweth the string, they all come together.[7]

From the four elements the body [8] was constructed.

In it there were difficult passages and many windows.[9]

When the Jogi cometh searching and searching to God's door,

1 Thoughts, fancies, &c.. &c.

2 That is, truth dwelt wherever there were human habitations.

3 *Dutera*—two or three. Men were at sixes and sevens.

4 God's power.

5 That is, by different bodies.

6 Men were subjected to different forms of transmigration.

7 Are absorbed in God from whom they sprang.

8 *Mat.* Literally—a Jogi's dwelling.

9 This refers to the practice of the Jogis fixing their breath in different parts of the body and practising introspection.

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Then, O Nanak, he shall find God's private apartment.
Thus shall his kinguri play an unequalled strain :
On hearing it the Jogi's mind will be pleased.

The Guru recommends God's love instead of the practice of Jog :—

There[1] are the full sounds of the five musical instruments.
Without being struck they play wondrously and marvellously.
The saints, God's people, sport there.
The Supreme Being pervadeth all things, but is not combined with them.
In His palace are happiness, composure, and joy.
The company of the saints sit and sing God's praises ; theirs is not the malady of transmigration.
There only God's name is remembered.
Few are they who there find rest.
Love is their food and singing their support.
There are countless everlasting seats.
There no one falleth, or wavereth, or runneth astray.
It is only by the favour of the Guru a few find that paradise.
There is neither doubt, nor fear, nor worldly love, nor mammon.
There in deep repose is the merciful God
Who hath not end or limit.
He is at once concealed and manifest.
Nanak, the wonderful condition of him cannot be described
In whose heart is God's love.

The following was addressed to a tyrannical official :—

Thou amassest wealth by causing misery ;
But it shall not avail thee ; it shall only benefit others.
Thou practisest pride and actest like a blind man ;
Thou shalt be bound by Death's halter in the next world.
Dismiss thy jealousy of others, O fool.
Thou hast but one night to stay here :

[1] In the company of the saints.

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Though intoxicated with wealth thou must depart ;
Yet thou continuest to love vanities.
In the period of childhood one is heedless ;
In the heyday of youth man is attached to unsavoury pleasures ;
In the third stage of life he amasseth wealth ;
When old age cometh on he leaveth everything and departeth with regret.
After long time man obtaineth a human body so difficult to obtain ;
But it is as dust without the Name.
He who knoweth not Him who created him,
Is worse than a beast, a sprite, or an idiot.
Hear me, O Creator, Gobind, Gopal,
Compassionate to the poor, ever merciful,
If Thou free men, they shall be freed from their bonds.
Nanak, the world is heedless ; O God, pardon and unite us with Thee.

Where the saints dwell and pray, there is heaven :—

Where the saints put their feet, there are the sixty-eight places of pilgrimage ;
Where the Name is uttered, there is heaven.

Advice to a Brahman :—

Sing the praises of God's name, O Pandit.
Religious ceremonies are of no avail ; pride is of no avail ; go home contented in thy mind.

The Hindu gods, goddesses, and sacred books know not God's greatness :—

The Veds know not His greatness ;
Brahma knoweth not His secrets ;
The incarnations know not His limit :
The Supreme Being is without limit.
Only God knoweth His own state ;
Men merely speak of Him from hearsay.
Shiv knoweth not His secret ;
The demigods have grown weary searching for Him ;

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The goddesses know not His secret ;
The unseen Supreme Being is over all.
God playeth according to His pleasure :
It is He who separateth, it is He who uniteth.
Some wander, others He applieth to His worship.
He causeth man to know His works.
Hear the true instruction of the saints—
It is only they who have seen with their eyes who can tell *God's greatness.*
He is not the object either of virtue or of vice.
Nanak's God is all in all.

The Guru warns man to seek God's protection betimes :—

O man, neither thy body nor thy soul is thine own :
It is by thy worldly love thou fallest into such error.
Thou friskest about like a lamb or a kid :
When thou expectest not, Death will cast his noose and hurl his quoit at thee.
O my soul, seek the protection of God's lotus feet.
Repeat the name of God the Helper who is with thee, and under the Guru's instruction thou shalt obtain the true wealth.
The imperfect things of this world will never be perfect.
Man is ever miserable on account of lust, wrath, and pride.
He committeth sin to gratify his heart.
O thoughtless man, nothing will go an inch with thee.
Thou practisest deceit, and knowest many tricks ;
Thou laboriously siftest dirt for kauris ;
Thou never thinkest on Him who gave thee everything ;
Thou art greedy for perishable things, and thy pain will not leave thee.
When the supreme God was compassionate,
My heart became the dust of the saints' feet
God with His lotus hand hath attached me to His skirt.
Nanak hath become absorbed in the Truest of the True.

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ASHTAPADI

God's praises and the Guru's instructions to men:—

O man, remember the Preserver,
Who fashioned thee out of this water,
And made thy earthly body—
The Luminous One who gave thee speech, understanding, and reason,
And who protected thee in thy mother's womb.
O man, forsake all else and meditate on Him
Who gave thee father and mother,
Who gave thee brother and sons,
Who gave thee a wife and friends.
Remember that God
Who gave thee priceless air,
Who gave thee priceless water,
And who gave thee fire to burn—
O man, remain under that God's protection.
Place thy heart at the feet of that God
Who gave thee thirty-six species of food,
Who made within thee a place to contain them,
And who gave thee land and chattels to use.
O man, adore the feet of that God
Who made thee eyes to see, ears to hear,
Hands to work, feet to walk,
A nose, a tongue, and a head to crown[1] all ;
Who made thee pure from being impure,
And who gave thee the highest among all births.
Wilt thou now be accepted by Him, or wilt thou not ?
O man, thine affairs shall be arranged by meditating on Him.
In this world and the next there is but the one God ;
Wherever thou lookest, there is He.
The heart is slow to serve Him ;
But by forgetting Him man cannot abide for a moment.
We are sinners and without merits ;
We do no service or good deeds.

[1] Literally—the large bead in a rosary.

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The boat of the Guru is only found by good fortune.
Nanak, a stone floateth over by associating with the saint.

The object of the following composition is to instruct man to remember God at all seasons :—

Guru Arjan's Seasons

Ramkali

Slok I

O man, salute God the Supreme Being, and desire the dust of His saints' feet.

Nanak, dispel pride, repeat the name of God who is omnipresent.

He is the remover of sin, the dispeller of fear, an ocean of happiness.

Nanak, ever meditate on Him, the Compassionate to the poor, the Destroyer of sorrow.

Chhant

O fortunate beings, sing God's praises, and God will be merciful unto you.

Delightful the season, the month, the hour, and the time when you repeat God's name.

Blessed are they who imbued with love for God with single mind meditate on His attributes.

Profitable are the lives of those who have found Him.

Good acts, alms, and religious ceremonies are not equal to God's name which removeth all sin.

Nanak representeth, I live by remembering Him who is free from transmigration.

Slok II

Strive to attain the Inaccessible and Inapprehensible, and bow to His lotus feet.

Saith Nanak, mention of Thee by those whose support is the Name, will be pleasing to Thee.

O my friends, seek the protection of the saints and remember the eternal God.

Nanak, by repeating God's name you shall become green from being withered.

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CHHANT

Excellent is the season of spring ; Chet and Baisakh are pleasant months.

Having obtained God as my Spouse, my soul, body, and life bloom afresh.

O my companions, when the lotus feet of the immovable Spouse enter my house, I rejoice and am happy and glad.

He is beautiful, clever, and wise, a Recognizer of merit and inestimable.

I have obtained Him by great good fortune, dispelled my sorrow, and fulfilled my desires.

Nanak representeth, by seeking Thy protection my fear of Death is dispelled.

SLOK III

Nanak had been bound in the soft[1] fetters of the record of his previous acts.

Without the company of saints he killed himself wandering and doing various religious acts, but now he is released.

God blendeth with Himself those who please Him ; it is He who also separateth man from Him.

Nanak, I have fallen under the protection of God whose glory is great.

CHHANT

Jeth and Har form the hot season when the heat is intensely severe.

God looketh not on the woman who is separated from His love.

She is ruined by great pride ; she beholdeth Him not, and dieth in agony.

Attached to mammon she is displeased with God, and gaspeth like a fish out of water.

Death shall punish her for her sins, and she shall dread the transmigration which awaiteth her.

Nanak prayeth—preserve me in Thine asylum, O Thou who fulfillest desires.

[1] Man immersed in worldly pleasures does not feel his fetters.

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SLOK IV

My love is attached to my Beloved ; I cannot abide for an instant *without Him*.

Nanak, He of His kind disposition filleth my soul and body.

He who was my friend at many births hath taken me by the hand.

God with hearty love hath made Nanak the slave of His feet.

CHHANT

The rainy season in Sawan and Bhadon bestoweth comfort and joy.

The lowering clouds rain, and sea and land are filled with honey.[1]

God pervadeth every place, and His name, which is the nine treasures, filleth my heart.

By remembering the Lord, the Searcher of hearts, whole families are saved.

They who are awake in the love of the Beloved shall never be shamed ; the Merciful One will ever pardon them.

Nanak representeth, I have obtained God as my Spouse who ever pleaseth my soul.

SLOK V

Thirsty with desire I wander thinking when I shall behold God.

O Nanak, is there any friendly holy man who will bring me to meet Him ?

Without meeting Him I have no rest ; I cannot abide for a moment.

Nanak, by entering the sanctuary of God's saints my desires shall be fulfilled.

CHHANT

In Assu and Kartik, the cool season, I thirst for God and make preparation to meet Him.

Searching for a sight of Him I wander thinking when I shall meet the Lord of excellences.

[1] That is, water.

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I have no happiness without my Beloved Spouse; my necklaces and bracelets are all hateful to me.

However beautiful, clever, accomplished, and wise I may be, my body is as if it had not breath in it.

My soul thirsteth to meet God, I look here and there and in every direction for Him.

Nanak prayeth, O God Lord of excellences, mercifully unite me with Thee.

Slok VI

Nanak, since I have met the all-pervading God, my doubt as to whether I am separated from God or not hath been removed.

My heart-burning hath been slaked, comfort hath ensued, and I have peace of soul and body.

God sent holy men with *this message*—'I am not far from thee.'

Nanak, by repeating the Name of the all-pervading God, my doubts and fears have been dispelled.

Chhant

In Maghar and Poh, the snowy season, God appeareth to me and I am refreshed.

I have obtained a sight of God, my heart-burning hath been slaked, and deceitful mammon put to flight.

All my desires have been fulfilled; I have met God face to face, and as a worshipper have worshipped His feet.

Singing the praises of the Unseen and Inscrutable is my necklace, my hair-strings, my decorations, and all my delight.

Death cannot look at those who desire the love and service of God.

Nanak representeth, God hath blended me with Himself, and my love shall not now be sundered from Him.

Slok VII

When a happy wife hath obtained the wealth of God's name, her mind never wavereth.

Nanak, by association with the saints God the Friend appeareth in the heart.

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Woman enjoyeth millions of songs, joys, and pleasures with the dear Beloved.

By repeating God's name, O Nanak, man obtaineth the fruit his heart desireth.

CHHANT

Magh and Phagun, the autumnal season, are pleasing to the heart and full of excellence.

O my friends and companions, sing a song of rejoicing, God my Husband hath come home.

My Jewel hath come home, my heart meditateth on Him, and my couch is beautiful and bright.

The woods and glades become green ;[1] on beholding the scene I am entranced.

By repeating the pure spell in my heart I have met the Lord, and my desires have been fulfilled.

Nanak representeth, I have met my Spouse, God the Bearer of prosperity ; and shall now be ever engaged in dalliance.

SLOK VIII

The saints are succourers of the soul and pilots across the terrible ocean :

Nanak, know them for the most exalted of all, for they love God's name.

They who know God have crossed over ; they are brave, they are heroes.

Nanak is a sacrifice to those who by repeating God's name have reached the shore.

CHHANT

The saints' feet preside over all ; *by means of them* all troubles are erased ;

They dispel the pain of transmigration and cause devotion to God to enter the heart ;

They are imbued with God's love and intoxicated with divine knowledge : I forget them not for a moment.

He who renounceth pride and falleth under the protection

[1] Autumn has become spring for the Guru.

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of their feet, shall obtain all favours from the Lord of the world.

I salute God, Gobind, the Ocean of excellence, Srirang[1] the Primal Lord.

Nanak supplicateth—do Thou, O God, who art the same in every age have mercy on me.

Ramkali ki War II

A Sikh called Mahila asked the Guru if saints could free men from the fear of transmigration and unite them with God. The following was the Guru's reply :—

As I have heard of the true Guru, so have I found him.

He is the mediator at God's court and uniteth with God those who have been separated from Him.

He maketh fast the spell of God's name *in the disciples' heart*, and healeth the malady of pride.

Nanak, God caused those so destined from the beginning to meet the true Guru.

By propitiating God everything is obtained :—

If the one God be my friend, all will be my friends ; if the one God be my enemy every one will quarrel with me.

The true Guru hath shown me that without the Name all is vanity.

The infidel and the evil who are attached to the pleasures of the world shall suffer transmigration.

Nanak, by the favour of the true Guru I have recognized the Lord God.

The perverse :—

Friendship with the perverse is an alliance with mammon :

While we look on, it fleeth away, and findeth nothing to arrest it.

While the perverse have raiment and food they cling to us ;

The day they get nothing they utter abuse.

The perverse and those in the darkness of ignorance know not the state of the soul.

[1] This name in the Granth Sāhib obviously means God.

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A false joining will not last ; it is like a broken stone cemented with mud.

The blind know not themselves ; they suffer in the midst of false occupations.

Involved in false worldly love they pass their days in pride.

God bestoweth His full favour on those to whom He extendeth His mercy from the first.

Nanak, they who seek the shelter of the true Guru are saved.

The Guru prays for a holy life :—

Be merciful, O my God, that I may pass my life with the saints !

They who forget Thee are born and die ; their sorrows are never at an end.

O man, where the way is difficult, nay, everywhere remember the True Guru in thy heart.

By repeating God's name no one shall obstruct thy path.

It is only the saints who can influence God :—

Thou, O Lord, comest not into man's power even by abundant supplication ;

Thou comest not into man's power even by reading the Veds ;

Thou comest not into man's power by bathing at places of pilgrimage ;

Thou comest not into man's power by running over the earth :

Thou comest not into man's power by any artifice ;

Thou comest not into man's power by giving copious alms.

Every one is in Thy power, O Inaccessible and Inapprehensible.

Thou art in the power of the saints ; Thou art their strength.

When the feet, head, mouth and soul are beautiful :—

The feet are beautiful which move towards Thee, O Lord ; the head is beautiful which boweth to Thy feet ;

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The mouth is beautiful when it singeth Thy praises ; and the soul when it entereth Thy protection.

God's praises :—

Thou, O God, art great ; greatly unrivalled is Thy dignity ;

Various are Thy manifestations ; Thine acts cannot be known.

Thy life is within animals ; Thou knowest everything ;

Everything is in Thy power ; Thy palace is beautiful ;

It is filled with joy and gratulation.

Without pride thou bearest honour, greatness, and splendour.

Thou art filled with all potencies ; Thou appearest everywhere.

Nanak, Thy slave of slaves maketh supplication before Thee.

The Guru's devotion to God :—

I am a sacrifice unto Thee, O great God.

Of me who am without merits Thou art the perfect benefactor ; Thou art the compassionate Lord of the poor.

Standing or sitting, sleeping or waking, O man, deem God thy soul, thy life, thy wealth, and thy property.

The thirst for a sight of Thee, O God, is great in my heart ; Nanak *prayeth*—make me happy by a sight of Thee

MARU

Instances of the success of devotion :—

The boy Dhru at the age of five years was helpless, but by remembering God he became fixed and immortal.

Ajamal through love for his son called upon Narayan, whereupon the good angels smote the myrmidons of Death.

What numberless persons my Lord saved !

I am poor, of little intellect, without virtue ; I fall at Thy door for protection.

The pariah [1] Balmik was saved, so was the wretched huntsman [2] ;

[1] *Supchār*. Literally—one who cooks and eats dogs.
[2] Who accidentally shot Krishan.

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The elephant which remembered God even for a moment was saved.[1]

God preserved His servant Prahlad, and *Narsinh* tore Harnakhas with his nails.

Bidur, son of a handmaiden, became pure and his whole family illustrious.

What sins of mine can I confess? I have been absorbed in the false love of the world.

Nanak hath come to God's sanctuary and shelter; O Lord, stretch out Thine arm, and take me to Thee.

By devotion man obtains salvation during life:—

When my fate was favourable and God was merciful, I sang His praises.

My toil hath ended, I have obtained rest, and all my wandering is at an end.

Now I have obtained the dignity of *real* life.

I have remembered God in my heart under the protection of the saints.

I have banished lust, wrath, avarice, and worldly love; these enemies all have I banished.

Ever the Almighty is present to view; nowhere is He distant.

I have obtained happiness and rest; all my desires have been fulfilled by the assistance of the saints.

God in a moment hath purified the sinner; God's praise cannot be expressed.

I have become fearless, all fear hath departed; I have taken the shelter of God's feet.

Nanak singeth God's praises and fixeth his attention on Him night and day.

True religion is not found among Hindu sectaries:—

The Pandit shouteth aloud the Veds, but his heart is slow to good works.

[1] It is stated in the *Bhagat Māl* that a shark caught an elephant's leg and was dragging him into deep water. The elephant thought of God, at the same time lifted a lotus flower with his trunk as an offering, and was saved.

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The silent devotee sitteth apart, but the knots of desire are in his heart.

The anchoret abandoneth his home, but he is not saved by flight.

To whom shall I tell the state of my heart ?

Where shall I find him who is saved himself and who will bring me to meet God ?

The penitent chasteneth his body, but his thoughts wander in every direction.

The Brahmachari practiseth continence, but there is pride in his heart.

The Sanyasi wandereth in pilgrimages and while there quarrelleth with strangers.[1]

The Ramdasis [2] in their efforts to get bread put on tinkling anklets, *and dance before idols.*

Men fast, perform their daily religious duties, and the six acts for the purpose of ostentation.

With their mouths they chant sacred songs and hymns, but they sing not heartily God's praises.

God's saints are pure and free from joy, sorrow, covetousness, and worldly love.

If God be merciful, my soul shall obtain the dust of the saints' feet.

Saith Nanak, when I meet the true Guru my anxiety shall depart.

My Lord God is the Searcher of hearts.

The Beloved knoweth all the secrets of my heart, so I have forgotten all my idle prayers.

Maru Anjuli

A homily addressed to a Muhammadan :—

At night all animals congregate under a tree.[3]

Some speak hotly and others gently to one another.

When the sun riseth they depart, as when their lives have come to an end.

They who commit sin shall assuredly be ruined.

[1] By holding religious discussions with them, or telling them they are not so good as he.

[2] Dancers at Hindu temples.

[3] The world.

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Azrail will seize and torture them.

When the Book-keeper[1] calleth for their accounts, the Creator will consign them to hell.

No brother or sister will accompany them.

They shall depart, leaving their property, their youth, and their wealth.

They know not the benevolent Creator, so they shall be pressed like bundles of sesame.

Thou mayest rob others of their property ;

But God who is with thee, O man, seeth and heareth thee.

Through worldly greed thou fallest into a pit, and knowest not the future.

For this reason thou shalt be born and die, and be born again,

And suffer much punishment in a distant country.[2]

Mortal, blind that he is, knoweth not who made him; wherefore he shall suffer misery.

Man straying from his Maker is ruined.

The play of the world is evil ; man is sometimes sad and sometimes glad.

He practiseth not truth or patience ; he goeth not to the saints, but wandereth as it pleaseth him.

God Himself performeth the whole play ;

One man He extricateth and another He sinketh in the wave.

As God causeth man to dance so he danceth.

Every one passeth his life according to his past acts recorded on his forehead.

If the Master be merciful, man shall meditate on Him.

If man associate with the saints, he shall not fall into hell.

O Lord, grant the gift of Thine ambrosial name to Nanak, and he shall ever sing the song of Thy praises.

Maru ki War II

The Guru's devotion to God and his longing to behold Him :—

If Thou but say the Word, O my Friend, I will cut off my head and give it Thee.

[1] The god of death.

[2] Thy way hereafter shall be tedious and arduous.

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Mine eyes long to behold Thee.
My Love is with Thee ; I see that all other love is false.
I shudder at clothes and food until I behold the Beloved.
O my Spouse, I arise at dawn to behold Thee.
Collyrium, garlands, betel, and dainties are all as ashes without a sight of Thee, O God.

Love and longing for God :—

If Thou, O God, be my friend, separate not Thyself from me for a moment.
Thou hast fascinated my soul ; when, O my life, shall I behold Thee ?

The house into which the Bridegroom comes is happy and imparts happiness to others :—

If Thou enter my courtyard, the whole land shall become beautiful.
When I am without my Spouse, the One God, nobody careth for me.
Everything shall be beautiful if the Bridegroom come and make my courtyard His own ; [1]
Then the wayfarer who cometh to my house shall never depart empty.[2]

Against adultery :—

What shall I say to thee, O blockhead ? look not on another's vines [3] ; art thou their master ?
Nanak, the whole world is blooming like a garden of flowers.[4]

In this world take care how thou travellest :—

Walk along the footpath ; there is thick slush on the ground.
Take care lest thy feet slip and thou be splashed.

[1] Literally—take possession of my courtyard and sit in it.
[2] The holy men who visit me shall always take away God's name.
[3] Others' wives.
[4] The garden of beauty is large, and there are many women to select from without poaching on neighbours' property. The Guru also possibly meant that men and women ought to select their own mates.

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Men rely on unrealities and are disappointed :—

Thinking what is false and transitory to be real, thou runnest before others *to seize it* ;

But Nanak, it shall melt away like butter in the fire and fade like the water-lily.

The Guru stimulates his soul to piety :—

O foolish soul, thou art lazy in God's service ;

A long time shall elapse before this opportunity shall return.

Man acts heedlessly, but the Guru can guide him :—

Thy thatch is of thick grass, yet, O careless man, thou lightest fire in it.

They who are so fated, shall obtain shelter in the teacher.[1]

Man's worldly efforts will not secure salvation The following couplet has in view the practice of offering huge cakes at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar. The priests read the *darud*,[2] receive the offered cakes, break off small pieces for the pilgrims, and keep the solid remainder for themselves. The feast then begins. Where there is no priest the *darud* is not read :—

Nanak, men grind corn, cook, prepare, and set *the bread* before them ;

But without the true Guru they must sit and watch without eating until the darud is read.[3]

The following is repeated by Sikhs as a grace before meals :—

Nanak, they who propitiate the Guru

Cook loaves, put them on the dish, and eat to satiety.

Shrink not from efforts for salvation :—

Turn thine attention to the next world ; turn not thy face backward.

[1] That is, the Guru.

[2] The first chapter of the Qurān, here means the Muhammadan benediction.

[3] They shall wait for ever. Men make worldly efforts but they are ineffectual without the Guru.

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Nanak, make thyself now acceptable, and thou shalt not be born again.

God is the Friend who pleases all :—

My merry Friend is every one's friend ;
All think Him their own ; He maketh no heart sad.

They to whom the Guru once looked up, before his installation, now look up to him :—

They whom I followed are now following me ;
They on whom I rested my hopes now rest their hopes on me.

The Guru desires to sacrifice himself as a wife for her beloved Spouse :—

May I become a couch for my Beloved, and my eyes its coverlet.[1]
If He look on me but once I shall obtain happiness beyond all price.
May I become a throne also for my Beloved King.
If He put His foot on me, I shall bloom like the lotus.

The Guru is the only regenerator :—

God who is unseen and not subject to destiny, is not obtained by devices of wisdom.
God is not found in the six *Hindu* systems, nor in roaming and wandering, nor in wearing religious garbs.
They who fast until they see the moon [2] are of no account.
Though they read the whole of the Veds, they understand not God the real thing.
They draw marks on their foreheads, make ablutions, but within them is blackness.
He who weareth a religious garb findeth not God without true instruction.

[1] That is, let me give God a place in my eyes.
[2] Some fast on the day when no moon is visible. On the first day of the moon they eat a mouthful, on the second day two mouthfuls, and so on to the day of the full moon. The mouthfuls then decrease in the ratio of their previous increase.

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He who is led astray can only find the road if favourable destiny had been written on his forehead at first.

It is only he who beholdeth the Guru with his eyes whose life is regenerated.

Rise betimes and remember God :—

Rising at dawn repeat God's name, and meditate on the Guru's feet.

The filth of birth and death shall depart by singing the true One's praises.

Without the Name the body is altogether blind and empty.

Nanak, his human birth is profitable in whose heart the true Master dwelleth.

Select good companions :—

Nanak, break with the false and seek for the saints who are true friends.

The former will leave thee while alive ; the latter will not forsake thee even when dead.

TUKHARI CHHANT

Devotion to God and the Guru :—

I am a sacrifice to the darling Guru ; I have given my soul unto him.[1]

Hearing his words my soul is happy.

My soul attached to God's love is happy as the fish in water.

Thy worth, O God, cannot be described ; Thy palace is unrivalled.

O Lord, Bestower of all merits, hear the supplication of one poor man.

Grant a sight of Thee to Nanak ; he is a sacrifice unto Thee ; he hath sacrificed his life unto Thee.

BHAIRO

The following prayer is uttered by pious Sikhs on awaking in the morning :—

I am happy when rising ; I am happy when sitting.

I feel no fear when I know

[1] Also translated—O Darling God, I am a sacrifice to Thee whom the Guru hath implanted in my heart.

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That the one Lord, who is the Searcher
Of all hearts, is my Protector.
I sleep without anxiety and awake without anxiety.
O God, Thou art everywhere contained.
Nanak, since the Guru fixed his spell in my heart,
I abide happy at home, and find peace abroad.

The following was written on a theme of Kabir:—

I practise not fasting, nor observe the Ramzan :[1]
I serve Him who will preserve me at the last hour.
The one Lord of the earth is my God,
Who judgeth both Hindus and Musalmans.[2]
I go not on a pilgrimage to Makka, nor worship at Hindu places of pilgrimages.
I serve the one God and none other.
I neither worship *as the Hindus*, nor pray *as the Musalmans*.
I take the Formless God into my heart, and there make obeisance unto Him.
I am neither a Hindu nor a Musalman.[3]
The soul and body belong to God whether He be called Allah or Ram.
Kabir hath delivered this lecture.
When I meet a true guru or pir, I recognize my own Master.

Piety and worldly pride contrasted:—

Excellent, excellent, excellent, excellent, excellent is Thy name!
False, false, false, false is worldly pride!
True are Thy servants who have obtained a sight of Thee the incomparable One.
Without Thy name the whole world is ashes.
Wondrous is Thy might; I praise Thy feet.
We are enriched by uttering Thy praises, O true King.

[1] The lunar month of the Muhammadan fast.
[2] Also translated—I have renounced both the Hindus and the Muhammadans.
[3] This line is very important in reference to recent controversies as to whether the Sikhs are Hindus.

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Thou art, O God, the support and shelter of those who have no support.

Cherisher of the poor, I meditate on Thee day and night.

The Lord Himself is kind to Nanak.

May my heart not forget Him who is my life and soul!

Miscellaneous instruction :—

God the Creator of all things is fascinating, formless, the Giver of happiness.

Who is so intoxicated with the juice of sin that he can leave such a God and worship elsewhere ?

O my soul, worship God.

I have seen all other devices ; by attending to them man's work is marred.

The perverse, blind, and spiritually ignorant leave God and worship a goddess who is His handmaiden.

Being without the Guru and like unto beasts, they slander those who worship God.

The soul, body, and wealth are all God's ; the apostates say that they are their own.

They are proud, their understanding is evil and filthy ; without the Guru they must again wander in the terrible ocean of the world.

God is not found by penances, burnt offerings, or by visiting the banks of rivers.

By effacing himself and seeking the Guru's protection, Nanak crosseth over the world.

All animals are led astray by their senses :—

The disease of pride hath impoverished man ;
The disease of lust subdueth the elephant ;
Through disease of the eye the moth is burned to ashes ;
Through disease of the ear the deer is ruined :
Every one we see hath his own special disease.
It is only my true Guru united with God who is free therefrom.
Through disease of the palate the fish is caught ;
Through disease of the nose the bumble-bee dieth ;
The whole world is the prey of disease—

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Entangled in the disease of worldly love and sin.
Through disease man dieth and through disease is he born.
Through disease the soul wandereth in wombs again and again.
Man cannot free himself from the toils of disease even for a moment :
Without the true Guru disease never forsaketh him.
When God is merciful to any one,
He taketh his arm and freeth him from disease.
The fetters of him who hath obtained the association of the saints burst ;
Saith Nanak, the Guru hath cured his disease.

Man is slow to good and swift to evil :—

Man is not slow to devise evil,
Or ashamed to have intercourse with a prostitute.
All day man laboureth ;
But, when it is time to remember God, he feeleth as if adamant had fallen on his head.
Attached to mammon the world is led astray,
Thy Creator never entereth thy mind, *O man.*
Toiling and moiling in vain sufferest thou hardship ;
Yet thy worldly business is never completed.
Thy heart is absorbed in lust, wrath, and covetousness,
And thou shalt die gasping like a fish out of water.
He who is preserved by God Himself
Ever repeateth His name.
Nanak, he who hath found the true Guru,
Singeth God's praises in the company of the saints.

How happiness is obtained :—

There is no happiness in the acquisition of great wealth,
There is no happiness in beholding the performances of acrobats,
There is no happiness in conquering many countries—
All happiness is obtained by singing God's praises.

Some of God's attributes :—

God the Cherisher is merciful ; who can count His merits ?

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He hath many forms and manifestations ; He is the Lord of all.

With Him are varied knowledge, varied meditation, varied devotion and penance.

Various are His merits, His voices, and His sports ; various holy men keep Him in their hearts.

Near Him various voices and various instruments continually sound ; He hath various relishes : various sins and maladies are removed by hearing His praises.

Nanak, serve the unequalled God through whom all the advantages of sacred rivers, of the six schools, of fasting, worship, and of wandering in pilgrimages are obtained.

BASANT

The attributes of the holy :—

It is he who associateth with the saints who is the real penitent ;

It is he who loveth the Guru who constantly meditateth on God ;

It is he who hath obtained the fear of God who is without fear ;

It is he whose doubts depart who is happy ;

It is he whose heart is fixed who is a hermit ;

It is he who hath found the true place who is permanent.

The season of spring, which is an emblem of our transitory life, is also the time for a new access of devotion :—

Our hearts bloom on beholding the flowers *of spring, but these quickly fade.*

Remembering this let us completely abandon pride,

And become absorbed in God's lotus feet.

Ye fortunate, come to God.

Think upon God, O my soul,

On the margin *of the stream* there are very many sweet-smelling trees,

Yet some one shrub is withered there ;[1]

[1] There is one man in the society of the saints not perfect in his faith. These two verses are also translated—Soft trees yield abundant

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But since the season of spring hath come,
It now blossometh luxuriantly.
The Kal age hath now arrived ;
Freely plant the one Name.
It is not at all the season for other planting :
Never wander astray in error.
He on whose forehead such destiny hath been written,
Shall obtain God on meeting the Guru.
O my soul, this is the season of the Name.
Nanak uttereth God's praises—Hari ! Hari ! Hari ! Hari !

Injunctions to the Guru's Sikhs :—

Join and unite together, my brethren, lay aside differences, love one another.

Associate yourselves with God's name, O holy men ; spread your mat and sit on it.

In this way, my friends, throw your dice.[1]

O holy men, repeat God's name day and night, and at the last hour you shall not suffer.

Make the practice of religion your board, and truth your pieces.

Conquer lust, wrath, covetousness, and worldly love ; such a game is pleasing to God.

Rise at dawn, perform your ablutions, then and at bed-time worship God.

My true Guru shall cause you to win the critical throw, and you shall go home with happiness and comfort.

God Himself playeth ; God Himself looketh on ; He Himself made what is made.

Nanak, the man who playeth under the Guru's instruction shall win the game and go home *happy*.

God's praises :—

Only Thou, O Lord, knowest Thy power ; none beside knoweth it.

He to whom my beloved *Guru* showeth mercy, recognizeth Thee.

odour. Others remain like dry firewood. That is, the tender-hearted receive full benefit from the Guru's instruction, while the hard-hearted reject it.

[1] The reference is to the Indian game of chaupar.

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I am a sacrifice to Thy worshippers.

Thy place, O God, is ever beautiful; Thy play is unequalled.

Thy service can be performed by Thyself and none other.

It is only he who pleaseth Thee, and whom Thou lovest who is Thy worshipper.

Thou art the great Giver; Thou art the great Sage: there is none equal to Thee.

Thou art omnipotent; O my Lord, how know I how to worship Thee?

Thy palace is invisible, O my Dear One; it is difficult *to obey* Thy will.

Saith Nanak, I have fallen at Thy door; protect me who am stupid and ignorant.

SARANG

The servant's dependence on his Master:—

Every one remembereth *his master*.

Whoever is a servant goeth to his master

To tell him his sorrow, to tell him his joy, to tell him his state:

It is from him he getteth honour, from him strength, from him advantage.

Some rely upon empire, youth, wealth, and possessions; others upon fathers and mothers.

Instead of all these Nanak hath had the Guru; and all his hopes have been fulfilled.

The Guru has found happiness in God's asylum:—

O God, I have come to Thine asylum.

The anxiety of my mind hath departed since I obtained a sight of Thee.

Though I spoke not, Thou hast known my state, and caused me to utter Thy name.

By uttering Thy praises my misery hath fled; I am filled with happiness and peace, and altogether delighted.

Taking mine arm, Thou hast brought me forth from the blind well and abode of mammon.

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Saith Nanak, the Guru hath cut off my entanglements, and, though I was separated *from God*, hath brought me to Him.

Thanksgiving to God :—

O God, how friendless and helpless am I !

From what humble beginning didst Thou make me man by Thy power !

Giver of life and soul to all creatures, Thou art unequalled ; Thy merits cannot be described.

Thou art the Beloved of all, the Cherisher of all, the Support of all hearts.

No one knoweth Thy state or condition ; from Thyself alone hast Thou made the extension *of the world*.

Nanak prayeth—seat me on the boat of the holy man, and I shall cross over the dangerous ocean.

KANRA

Exhortation to devotion :—

Come my friends and saints,

Sing God's praises with joy and pleasure, and your sins shall be erased and put aside.

Lay the feet of the saints on your foreheads, and there shall be light in your dark abodes.

By the favour of the saints the lotus of the heart bloometh ; repeat God's name and behold Him near you.

Nanak is a sacrifice to the time when, by God's mercy, he found the saint.

PRABHATI ASHTAPADI

A satire on certain forms of Hindu worship :—

The mind containeth great wrath and pride.

Men worship and make great display ;

They perform ablutions, and make the marks of quoits[1] on their bodies ;

Yet the filth of their hearts never departeth.

No one hath found God in that way.

Men impress Vishnu's marks *on their bodies, yet* their minds are fascinated by mammon.

[1] The quoit is one of the emblems of Vishnu, with which his worshippers are frequently branded.

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They commit sin and are in the power of the five evil passions.

They bathe at places of pilgrimage, and say that all their sins have vanished,

Yet they again fearlessly commit them.

The ministers of Death will bind and take them away to his city.

They put on tinkling anklets and play cymbals,

While in their hearts there is deception, and they wander like demons.

A serpent is not killed by beating his lair.

God who made men knoweth all things.

They perform fire-penance, and wear ochre-coloured garments ;

Smitten by some calamity [1] they run away from home,

Leave their country and wander abroad,

Taking the five deadly sins with them.

They have their ears torn and steal morsels *to live on* ;

They beg from house to house and fail to be satisfied ;

They leave their own wives, and ogle the wives of others ;

They find no home and are very miserable ;

They make vows of silence, and speak not ;

In their hearts are worldly desires and they wander in births ;

Abstaining from corn their bodies undergo pain.

They understand not God's order, but are filled with pride.

Without a true guru no one hath obtained the supreme state—

Inquire of all the Veds and the Simritis.

The perverse perform useless works,

Which, like a house of sand, have no stability.

They to whom the merciful God is pleasing,

Knot the Guru's word in their garments.

Among millions only a few saints are seen :

Nanak, man is saved in their company.

He who is lucky obtaineth a sight of them ;

He is saved himself and saveth all his family.

[1] Disinclination to labour is a frequent cause of embracing the life of a faqīr.

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Sahaskriti[1] Sloks of Guru Arjan

ADDRESSED TO

Krishan Lal and Har Lal, two Brahmans who went from Banaras to visit the Guru.

God preserves the holy man.

A huntsman on seeing a deer may discharge hundreds of thousands of arrows *and miss him* ;

So he whom God preserveth, O Nanak, shall not have a hair of his head touched.

The life of a king, however great, hangs by a hair :—

A king may make many efforts ; strong and brave men may serve him on every side ;

He may dwell in a steep and lofty place, and never think of death ;

But when the order of God cometh, O Nanak, an ant can take away his life.

Dismiss all anxiety for thy relations and love God alone :—

Be not anxious for thy mother, father, brother, or for men ;

Be not anxious for wife, son, friend ; being occupied with them is to be subject to mammon.

One merciful all-pervading God is the Cherisher of all beings.

The holy man is the real hero :—

All the saints are an invincible army of heroes who have donned the armour of humility ;

The repetitions of God's praises are their weapons, the Guru's words their shelter and the bucklers in their hands ;

They are mounted on horses, chariots, and elephants, and know God's way ;

They walk fearlessly among the armies of their enemies, and charge them with God's praises ;

1 Sahaskriti in the Granth Sāhib means a mixture of Sanskrit, Prākrit, and Hindi.

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They conquer the world, O Nanak, and take captive the five thieves.

Man is debased without the Guru's instruction :—

The life of mortal without the Guru's instruction is accursed and defiled.

The blockhead is not equal to a dog, a donkey, a raven, or a snake.

Death cannot affect the holy :—

Nanak, Death's myrmidons shall not look at him who worshippeth God's lotus feet,

Keepeth God's name in his heart, and singeth His praises in the company of the saints.

All earthly things may be gained, but not devotion without God's grace :—

Not difficult to obtain are wealth and beauty ; not difficult to obtain is the sovereignty of demigods ;

Not difficult to obtain are pleasing viands ; not difficult to obtain is elegant raiment ;

Not difficult to obtain are sons, friends, brothers, and relations ; not difficult to obtain are woman's favours ;

Not difficult to obtain is accomplishment in learning ; not difficult to obtain are cleverness and dexterity ;

But God's name alone is difficult to obtain ; Nanak, it is obtained by His favour in the company of saints.

The six attributes of the saint :—

He is called a holy man and perfect saint who is filled with the following six *pairs of* qualities—

Who possesseth the spell of God's name, and meditateth on Him who filleth every place ;

Who deemeth woe and weal as the same, and whose life is pure and without enmity ;

Who is compassionate to all creatures, and who hath expelled the five deadly sins ;

Who subsisteth on God's praises, and who abideth in the world untouched by it as the lotus in the water ;

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Who instructeth friend and enemy alike, who loveth God's service ;

Who heareth not slander of others, and abandoning pride becometh the dust of all men's feet.

The deadly sins :—

O love, thou art an invincible hero in the fight ; thou crushest even the very powerful.

Thou fascinatest the company of the musicians of heaven, demigods, men, beasts, and birds.[1]

I bow to God the Creator ; Nanak seeketh the protection of the Lord of the world.

O lust, *thou givest* an abode in hell ; thou causest man to wander in many a womb ;

Thou stealest the heart, thou pervadest the three worlds, thou destroyest devotion, penance, and virtue ;

Thou conferrest scant happiness, O bodiless [2] one, thou art fickle, thou fillest high and low ;

But fear of thee, saith Nanak, is dispelled by associating with the saints and taking shelter in God.

O wrath, thou root of strife, there is never mercy in thee.

Thou takest sinful mortals in thy power, and causest them to dance like monkeys.

By association with thee man is debased : the myrmidons of Death inflict various punishments on him.

Nanak prayeth, O Destroyer of the sorrows of the poor, merciful God, preserve all creatures from wrath.

O thievish covetousness, thou playest many a prank with the great.

[1] Compare—

Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν—

. . . . . .

καί σ' οὔτ' ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδεὶς
οὔθ' ἁμερίων ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων.

Sophocles, *Ant.* 781.

[2] As having been burnt to ashes by Shiv, whom, when engaged in penance, he had troubled with lascivious thoughts. The words *avit chanchal* of the original may also mean unstable as mercury.

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Through thee the wandering mind greatly wavereth in every way and manner.

Thou hast no respect for friend, or lover, or relation, or parent.

What ought not to be done thou doest; what ought not to be eaten thou eatest; what ought not be to made, thou makest—such is thy reputation.

Take me, take me into Thy protection, O God! this is Nanak's prayer, O King of men.

O sinful pride, source of transmigration,

Thou abandonest friends and holdest fast unto enemies; thou spreadest many an illusion.

Through thee the soul groweth weary of transmigration, and suffereth much pain.

Through thee man roameth astray in the terrible wilderness, and contracteth very dire and incurable maladies.

The only physician is the supreme Brahm, the supreme Being, whom Nanak worshippeth.

The following prayer is repeated by many Sikhs while performing their morning ablutions:—

O Lord of the soul, Gobind, Ocean of mercy, Guru of the world;

O Destroyer of the world's grievances, full of compassion, dispel every sorrow.

O Thou, capable of affording shelter, merciful Lord of the poor, have mercy on us.

Nanak, when *God whether called* Ram, Damodar, or Madhwa is remembered, this perishable body obtaineth comfort.

God's power:—

The power with which God supported the firmament, and enclosed fire in timber;

The power with which He supported the moon, the sun, and the lunar mansions, and infused light and breath into the body;

The power with which He cherished the embryo in the mother's womb and protected it from the fire of its dwelling—

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With the same power, O Nanak, God restrained His seas and allowed not the world to be wasted by their waves.

By devotion apparent impossibilities may be accomplished. This couplet is recited by gyanis as an introduction to the reading of the Granth Sahib :—

By remembering God in the company of the saints,
O Nanak, and seeking His protection,
Mosquitoes can pierce rocks, ants cross mire,
Cripples traverse the ocean, and blind men see even in the darkness.

God is not in the guise of the Hindu deity Vishnu:—

God hath no shell, no quoit, no mace, nor is He of sable colour ; wonderful is His form ; He is unborn.
The Veds describe Him as indescribable.
He is the Most High, the Illimitable, the Indestructible ;
He dwelleth in the hearts of the saints ; Nanak, they who know Him are very fortunate.

When God is merciful, miraculous events occur:—

Nanak representeth, when God is merciful
A mountain becometh a blade of grass, and what is dry becometh green ;
They who are drowning swim, they who are empty are filled,
And millions of suns shine in the darkness.

Gatha [1]

1

Camphor, flowers, and perfumes become impure by touching man's body.
Nanak, the ignorant are proud of the fat, blood, foul odours, and bones of *which their bodies are composed.*

2

Were man to traverse with his eye the sky, the continents, the worlds,

[1] Gātha meant originally a Sanskrit verse. In later times Prākrit or any language not Sanskrit has been so called ; Guru Arjan's Gātha may perhaps be described as aphorisms.

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And its regions even to the smallest particle thereof,
O Nanak, nothing could be obtained without the saint.

3

Know that death is real, and everything else that appeareth is unreal:
God's praise, saith Nanak, which is obtained by association with the saints shall alone accompany us.

4

The mind wandereth to mammon, lovers, friends, and relations.
Nanak, the abode of happiness which consisteth in worshipping God is obtained by association with the saints.

5

The nim-tree by association with sandal becometh as sandal,
Nanak, while the bamboo, even though it dwelleth near, is not perfumed through its pride.

6

By repeating and reflecting on the discourse in which God's name is interwoven, pride is effaced.
Nanak, by letting fly the arrow of God's name the five enemies are destroyed.

The word of the saint is the path of peace ; it is obtained by greatly meritorious deeds.
Nanak, there is no transmigration for him who uttereth God's praises.

8

When leaves wither and fall, they return not again to the tree:
Nanak, without the Name there is suffering ; man's days and nights pass in transmigration.

9

The very fortunate who love the association of saints obtain God.
Nanak, he who repeateth God's name and praises returneth not to the ocean of the world.

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10

Discourses *on God* are profound and endless, and few are there who understand them.

They who understand them, Nanak, abandon worldly desires, and repeat God's name in the company of saints.

11

The saint's word is the prime spell; through it millions of sins are blotted out:

Nanak, by meditating on God's lotus feet whole families are saved.

12

Beautiful is that temple in which God's praises are sung.

Nanak, the utterance of God's name, which only the fortunate obtain, affordeth deliverance.

13

The true friends, the saints, find God the Friend who never vexeth man's heart.

Nanak hath made Him whose abode and greatness are immeasurable, the companion of his soul.

14

Dishonour is effaced by a good son
Who remembereth in his heart the Guru's spell,
And loveth, O Nanak, God the permanent,
Who taketh man across the world's ocean.

15

To forget God is death;
To meditate on His name is life.
Nanak, God is found by association with the saints,
Which is obtained by primal destiny.

16

As the spell of the snake-charmer draweth the fangs of the serpent,

So, Nanak, the saint who is found by good fortune removeth misery.

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17

God pervadeth every place and giveth shelter to all souls ;
Nanak, His love toucheth the heart when the Guru extendeth his favour and showeth himself.

18

When God's lotus feet cleave the heart,
All comfort is obtained.
Nanak, from the most ancient times the happy saints sing God's praises.

19

They who utter instructive words and walk with the saints shall be saved :
In the ocean of the world, Nanak, they shall not again obtain birth.

20

Men may study the Veds, the Purans, and the Shastars,
But it is the name of the one God that should be clasped to the heart.
He who claspeth it to his heart saveth whole families.
Nanak, very fortunate are the few who can thus save.

21

Nanak, the remembrance of God's name which saveth whole families,
Is obtained by associating with saints, whom only the very fortunate behold.

22

The saints remove all sin and implant all faith in the heart ;
Nanak, they on whose foreheads it is so written obtain association with them.

23

God was, is, and shall be ; it is He who destroyeth and createth all things.
Nanak, know for certain that holy men are the cause of God's love.

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24

Man loveth not the Word which conferreth happiness; he is attached to *fleeting things like* the safflower dye;

Nanak, he obtaineth not spiritual happiness even in a dream: disease, sorrow, and separation from God are his portion.

PUNHAS

The following quatrains are said to have been addressed by the Guru to Harihan, his wife's sister, who asked him to compose some devotional verses. In most of them her name is inserted. Others suppose that Harihan is a measure and means the same as Punha:—

1

The pen in the hand of the Inscrutable One writeth on the forehead.

He whose form is incomparable is concerned with all.

Thy praises, O God, cannot be expressed.

Nanak, on beholding Thee is fascinated and a sacrifice for a sight of Thee.

2

Seated in the company of the saints, I utter God's praises;

I dedicate to Him all my decorations, and give Him all my soul.

Thirsting that He will come, I have made my Spouse's couch.

Harihan, when destiny is recorded on the forehead, we meet the Friend.

3

O my companions, a woman may prepare everything—lamp-black for the eyes, necklaces, betel;

She may take the sixteen decorations and apply anjan to her eyes;

Yet it is only when the spouse visiteth her she obtaineth everything.

O Harihan, without the Spouse all decorations are vain.

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4

She in whose house He abideth is very fortunate ;
All decorations become her, and she is a happy wife,
I sleep now free of care since my heart's desires have been fulfilled.
Harihan, when God came to my house, I obtained everything.

5

My only hope was that my hop might be fulfilled ;
When I met the merciful true Guru, I obtained the Perfect God.
In my body were many demerits, so that I was overspread with them.
Harihan, when the true Guru is merciful, the mind obtaineth rest.

6

Saith Nanak, I have meditated on God who is endless, endless.
Difficult to cross is this world, but the true Guru hath caused me to cross it.
Transmigration is at an end when the true Guru is found.
Harihan, the nectar of God's name is obtained from the true Guru.

7

I am lucky ;[1] happiness abideth in my home ;
O my companions, God who is a jewel is in my breast ; on beholding Him my sorrow departeth.
I dwell with God who is the essence of all happiness,
And in whose hand, O Harihan, ever abide wealth, perfection, and the nine treasures.

8

He who goeth to enjoy another's wife shall be put to shame.
How long shall the sins of those who continually steal others' property be concealed ?

[1] Literally—There is the image of a lotus in my hand, an auspicious mark according to Hindu palmists.

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By repeating God's praises man becometh pure and saveth all his family.

Harihan, by also hearing the supreme God's praises and meditating on Him, man becometh pure.

9

The heavens shine above, the earth below appeareth beautiful;

In every direction shineth God's light; I long to behold His face.

I wander searching in every country to find the Dear One.

Harihan, if good fortune be recorded on the forehead, a sight of Him shall be obtained.

10

I have seen every place, but found none like unto thee;[1]

The Creator constructeth thee, O temple, therefore art thou beautiful.

Ramdaspur is thickly populated, unparalleled, and beyond praise.

Harihan, Nanak's impurities depart by bathing in the tank of Ram Das.

11

The chatrik in his heart desireth the friendly rain,

And longeth for that to which his soul is attached.

He wandereth lonely from forest to forest in quest of a drop of water.

Harihan, thus God's servant prayeth for the Name; Nanak is a sacrifice unto him.

12

The Friend's heart is beyond praise: His secrets cannot be known.

It is only he who possesseth unequalled virtues who can recognize the Real Thing.

When man's mind is absorbed in God there is excessive love.

Harihan, he who chasteneth the thief, his fickle mind, shall obtain the wealth of the True One.

[1] The Golden Temple at Amritsar.

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13

In a vision the Most High appeared to me, but I could not seize His skirt.

A beautiful Being He shone; on beholding Him my heart was beguiled.

I am searching for His tracks: say how shall I find them?

O my friend Harihan, show me by what efforts I may obtain the Beloved.

14

The eyes which see not the holy man are in evil case;

The ears which hear not his instruction ought to be stopped;

The tongue which uttereth not the Name ought to be cut in pieces—

Harihan, when man forgetteth God, he daily declineth.

15

The bumble-bee is very proud, but he is caught in the petals of the lotus;

His body is entangled therein and he loseth his senses; *but the sun alloweth his escape in the morning.*

Is there any such sun[1] as will open the hard knot *of ignorance* for me?

Nanak, the one Lord God who uniteth what is broken hath alone *power to do so.*

16

I run in every direction on account of my love for God.

How shall we destroy the five troublesome enemies *the deadly sins*?

Shoot them with the sharp arrow of meditation on God's name,

And, Harihan, thou shalt obtain the perfect Guru who is the destroyer of great sins.

17

The true Guru hath conferred gifts which are never exhausted.

[1] The Sanskrit *mitr* means the sun as well as a friend.

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God being pleased bestoweth the wealth of the ambrosial Name,

By eating and enjoying which all pious persons shall be saved.

Nanak, ever worship Him and thou shalt never die.

18

Wherever the saints go, the place is beautiful.

All happiness is obtained by meditating on God's name.

When God's creatures rejoice, the slanderer dieth in agony.

Nanak, the saints' hearts are pleased reciting the Name.

19

God is the Purifier of sinners; why not worship Him?

False and contemptible is love of the world; how long shall we suffer it?

By beholding a castle in the air how canst thou be happy?

Harihan, I am a sacrifice to those who know how to reach God's court.

20

The fool, whose body is filth and very malodorous,

Hath done very many bad things.

He wandereth in the darkness of pride and thinketh not of death.

Harihan, on beholding a castle in the air why suppose it to be real?

21

Who can preserve his life when it cometh to an end?

The physician may prescribe endless remedies, *but they are of no avail*;

Therefore, O ignorant man, remember the one God who will assist thee.

Harihan, without the Name the body is dirt, and everything is vain.

22

Drink the medicine of the unequalled and priceless Name:

The saints eat the ambrosia of God's name in company, and give it to all *to partake thereof*.

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They who are so destined obtain it.
Harihan, I am a sacrifice to those who enjoy God's love.

23

When the assembly of the physicians [1] is formed,
God is in the midst of them, and medicines are effectual.
Men's acts bad and good are disclosed,[2]
And Harihan, their troubles, diseases, and sins vanish.

Extra Sloks

Who are real lovers :—

They are the real lovers who know God and turn not away from Him ;

They who perform no service for Him are false, and slink away.

Devotion is sufficient without decorations :—

Without the Lord I will burn silks and satins in the flames ;

With Thee, O Lord, saith Nanak, I look beautiful even when rolling in the dust.

The contempt of the world is love of God :—

By the Guru's instruction the Name is worshipped and love for God and contempt of the world produced.

When man subdueth the five enemies the Maru Rag [3] is profitable.

The following was addressed to a covetous Brahman :—

If I have the one God, I have gained lakhs ; how many doors for thee to beg at ?

O Brahman, thy life hath passed in vain since thou hast forgotten Him who made thee.

The punishment of sinners :—

Sinners shall lament for the sins they commit :

1 The congregation of saints.
2 That is, their diseases are diagnosed.
3 The Māru rāg is sung in war.

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Nanak, as a churning-staff churneth milk, so shall Dharmraj churn them.

The pious render their lives profitable and are honoured after death :—

The pious who meditate on the Name gain the advantage of human lives—
Nanak, Dharmraj will tell them that they have made his court holy.

Evil advisers :—

Men sink into evil sloughs through the sweet words of evil advisers ;
Nanak, they whose good fortune is recorded on their foreheads escape *their influence.*

Baba Nanak divinely inspired :—

God gave Baba Nanak the Word as an inexhaustible wealth to use and spend ;
As long as God is merciful, so long shall that capital never diminish.

The Guru in his search for God would sell his body for wings :—

If I could find wings to purchase, I would take them for an equal weight *of my flesh* ;
I would attach them to my body, and search for and find the Friend.

To sit with God the King of kings is the Guru's highest honour :—

My Friend is the true monarch, the King of kings ;
To sit near Him, in whom all must have faith, is an honour.

END OF VOL. III

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THE SIKH RELIGION

ITS GURUS, SACRED WRITINGS AND AUTHORS

BY

MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE

ਫੂਟੇ ਆਂਡਾ ਭਰਮ ਕਾ, ਮਨਹਿ ਭਇਓ ਪਰਗਾਸ;
ਕਾਟੀ ਬੇੜੀ ਪਗਹ ਤੇ, ਗੁਰ ਕੀਨੀ ਬੰਦ ਖਲਾਸ.

The egg of superstition hath burst; the mind is illumined:
The Guru hath cut the fetters off the feet and freed the captive.

GURU ARJAN

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. IV

S. CHAND & CO.
DELHI — NEW DELHI — BOMBAY
JULLUNDUR—LUCKNOW

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Published by S. Chand & Co., Ram Nagar, New Delhi, (India) by arrangement with the Oxford University Press, Bombay.

© *Oxford University Press*
First Reprinted in India 1963

Price

	Rs.
Vol. I & II.	.. 25.00
III & IV	.. 25.00
V & VI	.. 25.00
Set Six Volumes.	.. 65.00

printed at Eurasia offset Printers New Delhi-1

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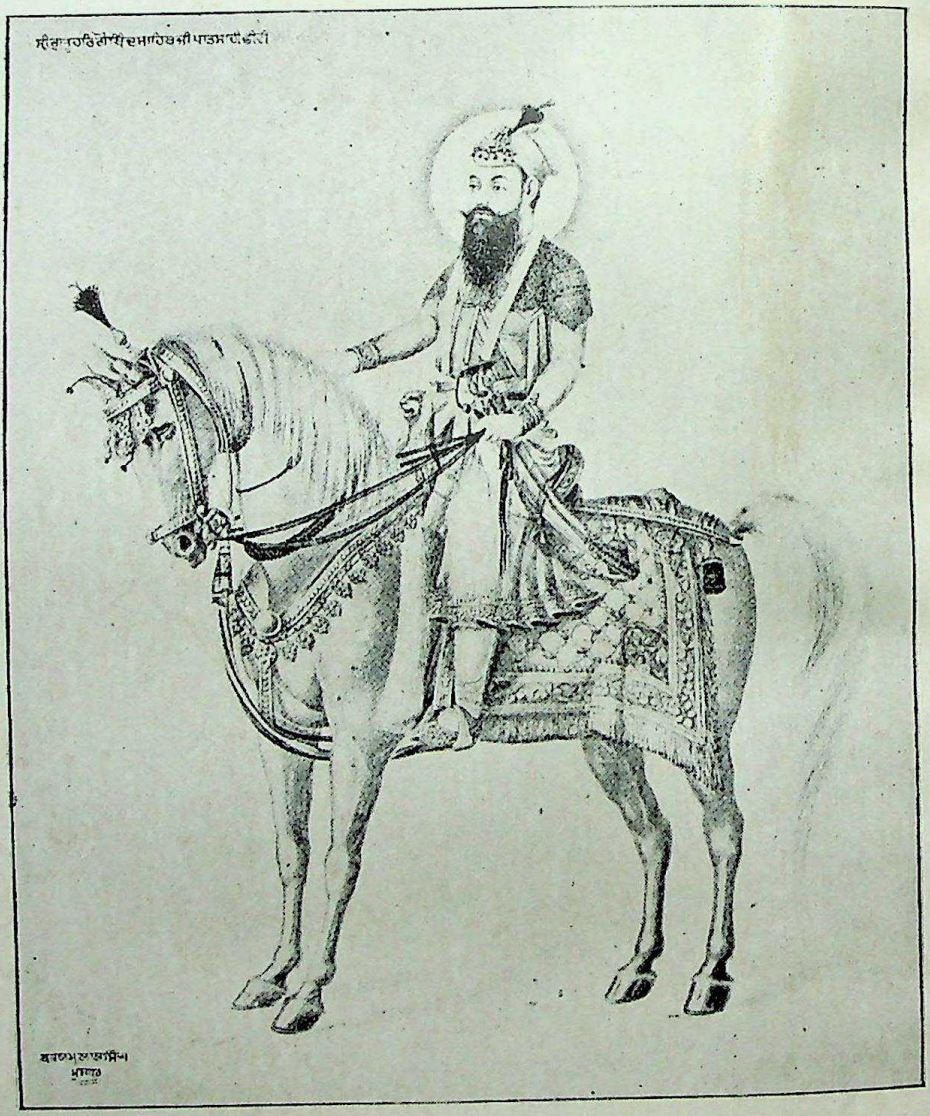

GURU HAR GOBIND

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LIFE OF GURU HAR GOBIND,[1] THE SIXTH GURU

CHAPTER I

Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avena
Carmen
. . . . . nunc horrentia Martis
Arma virosque[2] cano.

Lo! I the man whose muse whilom did mask,
As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
Am now enforced—a far unfitter task—
For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds.

SPENSER.

THE early life of Guru Har Gobind has already been given in the life of his father Guru Arjan. On

[1] Besides the life of the sixth Guru by Bhāi Santokh Singh, mentioned in the Introduction, there is another work called *Gur Bilās* on the same subject. The name of the author is not given. In the preface to it it is stated that Bhāi Mani Singh went to Nankāna. The rāgis were singing Gur Dās's compositions. When they came to the following—There were five cups, five priests, the great priest the sixth Guru sat on his throne—one Bhagat Singh, a devout Sikh of the locality, called upon Mani Singh to give an account of Guru Har Gobind, the sixth Guru. Mani Singh replied, 'I will relate to thee what Guru Gobind Singh told Bhāi Daya Singh, and what the latter communicated to me.' One Dharm Singh was present, and heard Mani Singh's narrative. He gave its details to the author of the *Gur Bilās*, whom he had previously baptized. The author of the work states that he completed it in Sambat 1775 (A.D. 1718). Sardār Kāhn Singh of Nābha, however, gives it as his opinion that the work was compiled by Bhāi Gurumukh Singh and Bhāi Darbāra Singh, a priest and a chorister respectively of the Sikh temple at Amritsar, and that they began their literary labour in the reign of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh and finished it in the reign of Mahārāja Sher Singh.

We are also indebted for several details of the life of Guru Har Gobind to a manuscript life of that Guru in the Panjābi language, and also to the Hindi work, *Itihās Guru Khālsa*, of Sādhu Gobind Singh of Banāras.

[2] Virgil had only one hero; we have several.

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ascertaining his father's death, he caused the Granth Sahib to be read, and employed Bhai Budha for the purpose. The musicians of the temple sang the Gurus' hymns to the accompaniment of their instruments. The singing and the reading of the Granth Sahib lasted for ten days.

When the final rites were ended, Bhai Budha clothed Guru Har Gobind in new raiment, and placed before him a seli—a woollen cord worn as a necklace or twisted round the head by the former Gurus—and a turban, as appurtenances of his calling. Guru Har Gobind ordered that the seli should be placed in the treasury, apparently because it was not suited to the altered political condition of the Sikhs. He then addressed Bhai Budha, 'My endeavours shall be to fulfil thy prophecy. My seli shall be a sword-belt, and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette.' He then sent for his arms, and arrayed himself in martial style so that, as the Sikh chronicler states, his splendour shone like the sun.

Guru Har Gobind then, according to the custom usual on such occasions, summoned all his Sikhs, and invited the principal inhabitants of Amritsar to a banquet. He caused a large quantity of sacred food to be made and brought into the temple for the entertainment of his guests. While Bhai Budha read the Granth Sahib in the middle of a well-ordered assembly, Gur Das stood and waved a gorgeous chauri over the sacred volume. When the reading was ended, all the assembly reverently bowed their heads. The singers again began to sing the Gurus' hymns. The Sadd was intoned and a solemn prayer offered. The Guru reaffirmed instructions for the guidance of future generations of Sikhs in the performance of obsequies:—

'When a Sikh dieth, let not the obsequies of Hindus be performed for him. Let sacred food be prepared and distributed, let the Granth Sahib be intoned and a solemn prayer offered, as I caused to be done on

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hearing of my father's death. That is the way to prepare for the deceased a passage to Sach Khand.'

Only one body of men among his followers were dissatisfied at his accession. The masands, who used to collect offerings and tithes from the Sikhs, had become very corrupt and dishonest, and they now trembled for their misdeeds. They represented to the Guru's mother, 'It is the reign of the Mughals. We have nobody of mature age to guide and protect us. The Guru is yet a boy. Chandu is still an enemy. The Guru girdeth on his arms, but for faqirs to lord it over men is a course that involveth peril. The preceding five Gurus never handled arms. If Jahangir hear of our Guru's doings he will be angry; and where shall we hide ourselves?' The Guru's mother replied, 'Have no anxiety. Guru Nanak's hand is on my son's head. The Guru ever liveth. Bhai Budha's words, that Har Gobind shall be a temporal as well as spiritual ruler and shall wield two swords, are about to be fulfilled.' Notwithstanding, however, the courageous face she showed the masands, she remonstrated with the young Guru. 'My son, we have no treasure, no state revenue, no landed property, no army. If thou walk in the way of thy father and grandfather, thou shalt be happy.' The Guru replied in the words of Guru Arjan:—

> The Lord who is the Searcher of all hearts
> Is my guardian.[1]

'Have no anxiety whatever for me, everything shall be according to the will of God.'

The Guru then issued an encyclical letter to the masands to the effect that he would be pleased with those who brought offerings of arms and horses instead of money. On Monday, the fifth day of the light half of Har, Sambat 1663, he laid the foundation of the Takht Akal Bunga. When it was built

[1] Bhano.

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of solid masonry, he took his seat on it. It is the corridor of the golden temple whereon the Akalis now sit and the arms of the Gurus are preserved.

Bhai Budha, too, on seeing the young Guru in military harness mildly remonstrated with him. The Guru replied, 'It is through thine intercession I obtained birth; and it is in fulfilment of thy blessing I wear two swords as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined—the caldron to supply the poor and needy and the scimitar to smite oppressors.'

Several warriors and wrestlers hearing of the Guru's fame came to him for service. He enrolled as his body-guard fifty-two heroes who burned for the fray. This formed the nucleus of his future army. Five hundred youths then came to him for enlistment from the Manjha (the country between the Ravi and the Bias), the Doab (the country between the Bias and the Satluj), and the Malwa[1] countries. These men told the Guru that they had no offerings to make him but their lives; for pay they only required instruction in his religion; and they professed themselves ready to die in his service. The Guru gave them each a horse and weapons of war, and gladly enlisted them in his army. He made Bidhi Chand, Pirana, Jetha, Paira, and Langaha, each a captain of a troop of one hundred horse.

After this several men out of employ and without a taste for manual labour flocked to the Guru's standard. People began to wonder how he could continue to maintain such an army. The Guru quoted from Guru Arjan :—

God putteth their food even before the insects which He created in rocks and stones;

[1] Mālwa comprises that portion of the Panjāb formed by the Patiāla, Nābha, Jīnd, and Farīdkot feudatory states, and the British districts of Firozpur and Ludhiāna.

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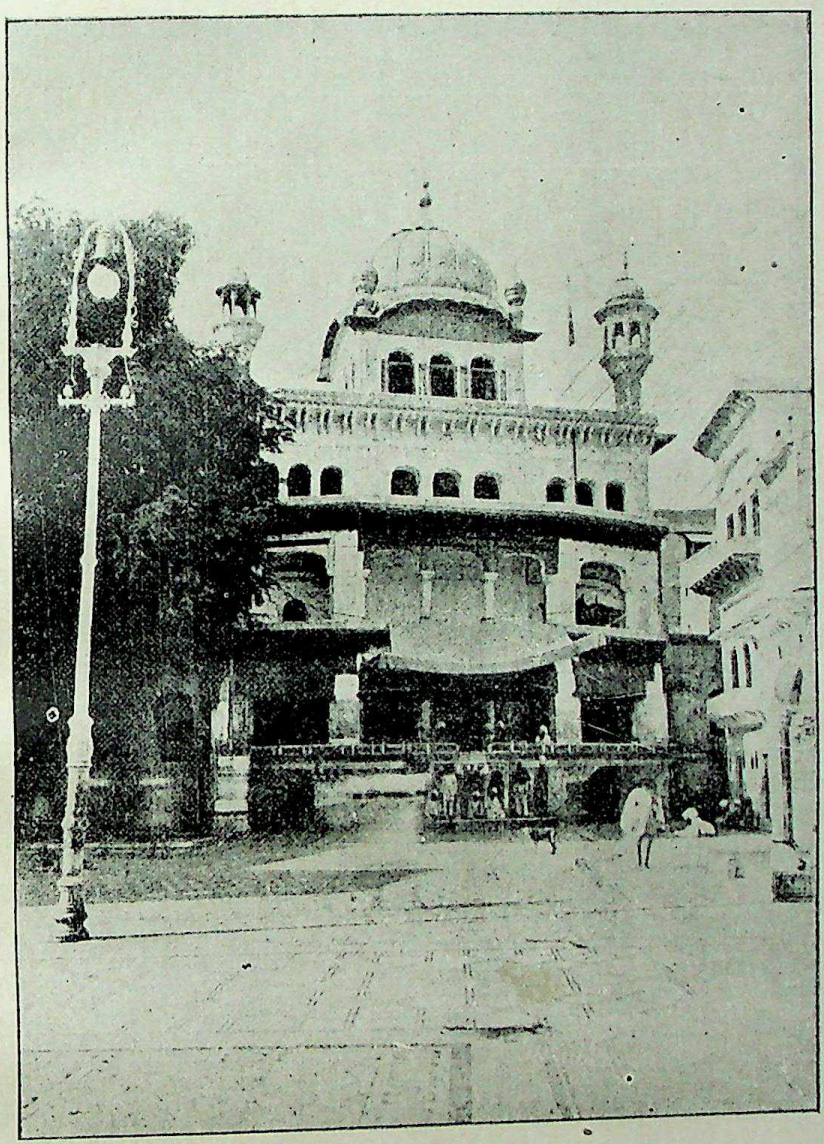

THE AKAL BUNGA

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He provideth every one with his daily food ; why, O man, art thou afraid ? [1]

The Guru by quoting such passages and by his own hopefulness and force of character removed men's fears. In a short time, besides such as required regular pay, hordes gathered round him, who were satisfied with two meals a day and a new uniform every half-year.

Guru Har Gobind appears to have been the first Guru who systematically turned his attention to the chase. He rose before day, bathed, dressed himself in full armour, and then went to the Har Mandar—God's temple—to worship. There he heard the Japji and the Asa ki War recited. He then preached to his Sikhs. After his sermon the Anand of Guru Amar Das and a concluding prayer were read. Upon this all repaired to breakfast which was distributed indiscriminately to the Guru's troops and followers as they sat in rows for the purpose. The Guru was in the habit of afterwards taking rest for about an hour and then preparing for the chase. Accompanied by an army of forest beaters, hounds, tame leopards, and hawks of every variety, he used to sally forth and traverse long distances.

Once a sadhu, or Hindu holy man, on seeing the Guru's proceedings expressed contempt for him as a destroyer of life. The Guru quoted in justification Guru Nanak's verses on the subject of flesh. Upon this the holy man repented of his censure.

Late in the afternoon the Guru used to sit on his throne, and give audience to his visitors and followers. Minstrels sang the Guru's hymns and at twilight the 'Sohila Har' was read. Then all stood up and with clasped hands, offered a prayer to the Almighty. At the conclusion of the service musical instruments of many sorts were played. The congregation then

[1] Gūjari.

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bowed to the Guru, and all adjourned for their evening repast. A sacred concert was afterwards held in which hymns were sung in the Kalian and Kanra measures. Next followed the minstrel Abdulla's martial songs to inspire the Sikhs with love of heroic deeds and dispel feelings unworthy of warriors.

The Sohila was then read, after which the Guru retired to his private apartment. Before going to sleep he used to place his head on his mother's feet in respectful salutation and receive her blessing and embrace.

The Guru was fond of reciting Guru Nanak's compositions to his Sikhs, particularly the following:—

Thou art the Creator, the Arranger,

Who having Thyself created *the world* recognized *it as good.*

Thou art Thyself the True Guru, Thyself the Worshipper, Thyself the Creator of the universe.

Thou art near, not distant.

They who know this under the Guru's instruction are perfect.

There is profit in associating with them day and night; this is the advantage of association with the Guru.

In every age, O God, Thy saints are good.

Their tongues are flavoured by singing Thy praises.

They utter Thy praises, disregard misery and poverty, and have no apprehension from others.

They remain awake and are never seen asleep.

By serving up truth they save their associates and families.

They have not the filth of sin; they are spotless; they abide in devotion and love.

Ye men of God, understand the true Guru's word.

This youth is but for a moment;[1] the body *groweth* old.

O mortal, thou shalt die to-day or to-morrow; repeat God's name and meditate on it in thy heart.

[1] *Sās.* Literally—for a breath.

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O mortal, eschew falsehood and flattery.[1]

Death flayeth and killeth the false one :[2]

The apostate suffereth for his falsehood and pride; he is tormented in both worlds.

Renounce slander and envy of others.

Man is ruined by perpetual reading, and to him peace cometh not.

In the company of the saints praise the Name, and the Supreme God will be your Helper.

Renounce the sins of lust and wrath;

Renounce works of pride and covetousness.

Enter the true Guru's protection, and you shall be saved; thus shall you cross the terrible ocean, my brethren.

In front is a noisome river and a poisonous whirlpool of fire.

There will be no one to assist, the soul must go alone.

The fiery flood formeth hissing waves: through perverseness man falleth and is burned therein.[3]

Chapter II

According to the Sikh chronicler the Guru rained instruction like clouds in Sawan, and the Sikhs flourished under it like thirsty rice-fields. All the Sikhs revived like vegetables in season, but Chandu's heart shrivelled up like the poisonous akk and the camel-thorn in the monsoons. Chandu's daughter was still unwedded. It is written in the 'Chanakya Niti':[4]—

Sleep cometh not at nights to three persons—

1 *Kabāra.* From this word comes the well-known *kabāri*, a man who sells to Anglo-Indians furniture purchased at auctions.

2 *Uchhāhāra.* Believed to be the Panjābi *ucherna.* Others suppose it to be *uchhalna*, to leap, and translate the line—Death will make a bound and destroy the false one.

3 Māru Solha.

4 Chanakya was a Brahman friend of the monarch Chandragupta. He wrote a work on polity and ethics, and has been called the Indian Machiavelli. His *Niti* was translated under the order of Guru Gobind Singh into elegant Hindi verse by Sainapati.

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A debtor, the father of a maid, and a man in fear of an enemy.

Chandu had to expiate the crime of having been instrumental in killing Guru Arjan; his daughter remained unwedded, and he feared the growing military power of Guru Har Gobind. Chandu's aspirations, however, like those of a poor man remained unfulfilled. One day he was vaunting in his wife's presence, that if she said but the word, he would send Guru Har Gobind to his father. She replied, 'My lord, a tree beareth fruit at the proper season; I fear that the thorns which we formerly planted shall now prick us. I hear that the young Guru hath vowed to avenge his father. May God preserve us! There is no reliance on Emperors. In a moment they become as if they had never known one. When we extended our enmity to Guru Arjan, what return did we obtain for it? Our daughter is still unwedded, and thou art in fear. Wherefore let us make peace with the Guru.'

Upon this Chandu wrote to the Guru, 'My daughter is virtuous. Make her thy slave. Thou art Guru, I am the Emperor's minister. A man's dignity increaseth by an alliance with the exalted. If thou listen to my words, it shall be greatly to thine advantage. At present thou understandest not, but thou shalt hereafter. On a former occasion thy father's Sikhs called me a dog. It did them no harm; it was thy father who suffered for it. I have now forgotten my former enmity; but if thou listen not to my words, I will serve thee as I did thy father.' The perusal of this letter brought all his father's sufferings and dishonour to the Guru's mind, and galled him to the heart. He wrote in reply, 'What the Sikhs said is true. Even still thou utterest harsh words. Thou shalt assuredly suffer for all thy misdeeds. The torture thou didst inflict on such a philanthropic and peaceful Guru as my father, must bring its vengeance in time.

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Thou shalt die trodden in the dust and dishonoured by shoe-beatings inflicted by pariahs. Guru Ram Das hath said :—

He who taketh reckoning from the Guru, shall lose everything in this world and the next.

He shall gnash his teeth, foam at the mouth, and perish talking wildly.

He shall ever strive for more wealth, and even his former wealth shall flee away.

What shall he earn, what shall he eat in whose heart is the pain of anxiety ?

He who beareth enmity to him who is without it, taketh all the sins of the world on his own head.

His mouth blistereth uttering the slander of his heart ; and he shall find no shelter in this world or the next.

If he obtain gold it shall turn into ashes ; but, if he again enter the Guru's protection, his previous sins shall be remitted.

The slave Nanak meditateth night and day on the Name ; by remembering God his enormities and offences have been erased.[1]

'I act according to my father's orders, and rely on his words which ever prove true. He hath said :—

Creatures and their designs are in God's power ; what He ordereth that must they do.

When God is pleased, there is no need to fear.

Sorrow shall never affect one by remembering Thee, O God.

The ministers of Death shall never approach the Guru's beloved Sikhs.

The Cause of causes is all-powerful ; there is none but Him.

Nanak hath entered God's asylum ; my mind is supported by the True One's strength.[2]

'And as to what thou hast written that a marriage alliance with thy family shall be greatly to my

[1] Gauri ki Wār I. [2] Bilāwal.

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dignity and advantage, my reply is in the words of Guru Arjan—

He who withdrawing his heart from religion turneth it to worldly affairs,
Shall be known as a sinner in both worlds.
He who is pleasing to God is acceptable.
God Himself knoweth His own power.
He whom He causeth to perform the good acts of true religion,
Shall not lose the viaticum of his faith, nor shall this world fail him.
One God shineth in all things without interruption.
Men remain at the different posts to which God appointed them.
O my inaccessible, inapprehensible, and true Lord,
Nanak speaketh as Thou causest him to speak.' [1]

Chandu's servant taking this reply to his master further inflamed his mind by expatiating on the Guru's state and wealth. 'His glory,' said the servant, 'is twice, nay four times greater than that of any previous Guru. His predecessors used to sit on couches; he sitteth upon a throne. He weareth arms, calleth himself the true king, taketh presents like an emperor, maintaineth an army of a thousand brave youths, and careth for nobody.'

Chandu found an opportunity of communicating this and the contents of the Guru's letter to the Emperor Jahangir. He added on his own account, 'Thy majesty summoned the present Guru's father, Arjan, to Lahore and entrusted him to me. The present Guru hath on account of his father's death vowed to take vengeance on thee. There is fear of an insurrection from his proceedings. If thou order me, I will watch his proceedings. Otherwise thou mayest summon him here, and admonish him. He hath grown too proud. Thrones are for emperors, not for beggars.'

[1] Sūhi.

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The Emperor sent Wazir Khan and Kind Beg to summon the Guru. Wazir Khan, who was really a Sikh, on noticing the Emperor's manner and countenance divined his object, and began to plead for Guru Har Gobind. He said, 'I everywhere hear his praises—that he is a worshipper of the one God; that, though young in years, he is old in wisdom, ability, and knowledge of men; and that he hath worthily undertaken the duties of his high and onerous station.' The Emperor concealed his disapproval of this speech, and merely ordered Wazir Khan and Kind Beg to go to Amritsar and invite Guru Har Gobind to visit him in Dihli.

Before his departure for Amritsar Wazir Khan made another representation to the Emperor—'I pray thy Majesty not to hold communication with any detractor of the Guru, and not to listen to any slander or calumny of him. The Guru hath no desire for empire. His wealth increaseth of itself by the power of his repetition of God's name. When he arriveth here, thou shalt be well pleased with him.'

When the Guru heard the Emperor's order from the lips of Wazir Khan, he said, 'The Emperor formerly summoned my father to Lahore, and fine service he performed for him! Six years have now elapsed since my father's death, and what hath the Emperor done to make reparation to my family?' How can the subjects of such a monarch be happy? Kind Beg replied, 'O Guru, the Emperor was powerless in the matter. It was really Guru Arjan himself who did this, for by his supernatural power he might have averted his fate. Thou art also to blame for not having caused Chandu to be punished. He hath now again reported to the Emperor that thou hast erected a throne for thyself, raised an army, and art preparing to contend with the imperial forces.' The Guru replied, 'It was not for my father to display miracles before the Emperor; it is the evil man

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himself who reapeth the reward of his evil deeds. I shall give a reply on the morrow to His Majesty's message.'

At the afternoon meeting of the Sikhs the question was discussed whether the Guru should go to meet the Emperor or not. Bhai Budha and Bhai Salo counselled the Guru to go. Other Sikhs, on the contrary, advised him to make some pretext and not put himself in the Emperor's power. The Guru in this difficulty went to consult his mother Ganga. When she heard of the Emperor's summons she remained silent. She sent for Bhai Salo, Bhai Jetha, and others to ask their advice, whereupon the following decision was arrived at—'The Emperor hath already caused us to apprehend harm from him. Guru Arjan went to him and never returned. We can now only regret that circumstance. Instead of the Guru let some trustworthy Sikhs wait on the Emperor. Should he desire to come here, we are all ready to resist him. The Sikhs are ready to sacrifice their lives to avenge Guru Arjan. We rejoice in our woodland life. The Emperor's army will find it difficult to traverse the distance between us. Emperors are like cobras. One can only abide near them in trepidation and uncertainty. If the Emperor be angry at this determination, then war is the only resource.' To this Mata Ganga added, 'The joy of my life was at an end when my husband separated from me. If my son now leave me, I cannot survive.'

The envoys invited Guru Har Gobind to make complaint to the Emperor against Chandu, and have his whole conduct thoroughly investigated. After consideration the Guru decided to appear before the Emperor. The envoys were very pleased. Wazir Khan reminded the Guru of the fact that his father Guru Arjan had cured him of dropsy and restored him to life. He professed to be the Guru's disciple, and to desire the destruction of his enemy.

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The Guru replied with the following slok of Guru Ram Das :—

God's saints worship God and magnify Him.
The saints ever sing God's praises ; God's name bestoweth happiness.
God ever bestoweth on His saints the greatness of the Name which ever increaseth.
God hath seated His saints firmly in their homes[1] and protecteth His own honour.
God will call for their accounts from the slanderers and severely punish them.
The slanderer shall obtain the fruit of what he meditateth in his heart.
What he doeth in secret, even underground, shall assuredly be laid bare.
The slave Nanak on seeing God's greatness is happy.[2]

The Guru continued, 'It is God alone who will call the slanderers to account. Ill shall they then fare. Meditate not or do evil to any one.' The Guru quoted from his father's hymn :—

Harbour not evil to another in thy heart,
And thou shalt not have trouble, my friend.[3]

The Guru then made preparations for his journey. He assigned the secular duties of the Har Mandar[4] to Bhai Budha, and its spiritual duties to Bhai Gur Das. The Guru's mother, seeing his resolve fixed, addressed him many words of affection, prayed for his safety, and repeated to him the following verses of her husband Guru Arjan :—

Continually meditate on God's name in thy heart,
And thy associates and companions shall be saved.
The Guru is ever with me :
I ever repeat His name and remember Him.

1 That is, they are no longer subject to transmigration.
2 Gauri ki Wār I. 3 Āsa.
4 This, also called the Darbār Sāhib, is known to Europeans as the Golden Temple in Amritsar.

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What He hath done is sweet to me.
Nanak craveth the boon of His name.[1]

The Guru set out for Dihli on Monday the second day of Magh 1669 (A. D. 1612). At the first halt on his journey, when parting with the Sikhs who had accompanied him thus far, he gave them the following injunctions :—' The Har Mandar is specially devoted to God's service, wherefore it should ever be respected. It should never be defiled with any impurity of the human body. No gambling, wine-drinking, light behaviour with women, or slander, should be allowed therein. No one should steal, utter a falsehood, smoke tobacco, or contrive litigation in its precincts. Sikhs, holy men, guests, strangers, the poor and the friendless should ever receive hospitality from Sikhs. My people should ever be humble, repeat God's name, promote their faith, meditate on the Guru's words, and keep all his commandments.' The Guru then continued his journey to Dihli with an escort of three hundred men.

When the Guru reached the Jamna river, he pitched his camp in a flower garden near Majnun's hillock, and dismissed the envoys Wazir Khan and Kind Beg to inform the Emperor of his arrival. Wazir Khan highly praised the Guru in the hope of obtaining a friendly reception for him at court. Crowds of Sikhs came forth from Dihli to see him. The Guru's arrival recalled Guru Arjan's death to their recollection and they began to mourn. The Guru consoled them by repeating to them his father's words :—

Fortunate are those saints of Thine, *O God*, in whose houses the wealth of Thy name *dwelleth*.
Their advent into the world is acceptable, and profitable are their acts.
O my God, I am a sacrifice to Thy saints.
I would make a chauri of my hair, wave it over them, and put the dust of their feet on my forehead.

[1] Āsa.

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Philanthropic men have come who are beyond birth and death ;

They give their lives, apply men to devotion, and cause them to meet God.

True their order ; true their empire ; with truth are they imbued.

True is their happiness, and true their praise ; they know God to whom they belong.

I would fan, draw water, and grind for God's servant.

Nanak's supplication to God is, that he may obtain a sight of His servant.[1]

The Guru satisfied all the doubts of his Sikhs. His instruction dispelled the fog of their ignorance, all light shone on them, and divine knowledge filled their hearts.

The Emperor received the Guru with great apparent respect. Seeing him very young and already installed as Guru, he put him the following question to test his knowledge of divinity :— 'What is the essential difference between the Hindus who worship Ram Narayan, Parbrahm, and Parameshar, and the Musalmans who pray to Allah, the bounteous Lord?' The Guru replied with the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

The Bounteous One is the Cause of causes ;
The Merciful One cherisheth all.
Allah is invisible and unequalled ;
He alone is God great and infinite.
I bow to the one God, the Lord of the earth :
The Creator pervadeth every place.
As Madho He is Lord and Life of the world,
The Destroyer of fear ; worship Him in thy heart.
Whether known as Rikhikesh, Gopal, Gobind,
Or Mukand,[2] Thou alone, *O God*, art the kind Master.
Thou art at once Pir, Prophet, and Shaikh ;
Master of hearts, Thou dispensest justice.

[1] Sūhi.
[2] The Hindi proper names in this hymn are all names of God.

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Thou art holier than the Quran and the other Muhammadan books.
Whether as Narayan, Narhar, or the Compassionate,
Thou pervadest every heart and art the heart's support.
As Wasdev Thou dwellest in every place.
Thy sport is not understood.
Thou art the Bestower of kindness and mercy.
Grant us devotion and worship of Thee, O Creator.
Saith Nanak, when the Guru hath removed superstition,
Allah and Parbrahm are the same.[1]

The Emperor then asked the Guru to explain the order of the world. The Guru replied, 'He who created it preserveth it and will destroy it. Endless animals visible and invisible, which sprang from the Creator, shall be again absorbed in Him. Through pride they all suffer. But when man meeteth the true Guru, and frequenteth the saints' society, his pride and arrogance are swept away, and he obtaineth salvation.'

Upon this the Emperor inquired how man could keep his mind pure from the contact of the world. The Guru replied with the following hymn of Guru Amar Das :—

When the heart is filthy, everything in man is filthy; the heart is not cleansed by cleansing the body.
The world is led astray by superstition, my brethren; only a few know it.
O my soul, repeat the one Name :
The true Guru hath given me this treasure.
Even when men learn the postures of the Sidhs and practise restraint of their senses,
Neither their mental filth nor the filth of their pride departeth.
There is no means of *purifying* the heart except by taking shelter in the true Guru.
By meeting the true Guru, my brethren, the heart is changed beyond expression.

[1] Rāmkali.

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Saith Nanak, if any one die on meeting the true Guru and be again reanimated by his teaching,

The filth of his selfishness shall depart and his heart become pure.[1]

The Emperor then asked, 'O Guru, tell me who are holier, the Hindus or the Muhammadans. The four elements are equally diffused in all animals from the worm to the elephant, how then is it that their lights and understandings are different?'

The Guru replied with the following hymn of Kabir :—

In the beginning God by His Omnipotence created light and *from it* all *the races* of men.

From the one light the whole world was created; then who is good and who is bad?

O my brethren, lose not yourselves in doubt.

Creation is in the Creator, and the Creator in the creation; He filleth every place.

Matter is one, but the Fashioner fashioned it in various ways.

There is no fault with the vessels of clay and no fault with the Potter.[2]

The one true God is in all; everything turneth out as He hath ordained.

He who obeyeth the will of God and recognizeth Him as one, is His servant.

God is invisible; He cannot be seen; the Guru hath given me sweet molasses[3] to eat.

Saith Kabir, my doubts are abandoned since I have seen the Spotless One everywhere.[4]

The Emperor was much interested in these hymns and with the Guru's general exposition of his doctrines, and before dismissing him desired to hear his ideas on the duties and attributes of

[1] Wadhans.

[2] God cannot be blamed for creating vessels of clay, that is, human beings, and human beings cannot be blamed for being created by Him.

[3] Good instruction.

[4] Prabhāti.

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a monarch. The Guru then said : ' A good monarch is ever philanthropic. He can never endure to see a man in misery without making great efforts with mind, body, and wealth to remove all his sufferings. If he see a man hungry or in need of a house to dwell in, he supplieth his necessities. He provideth poor persons with work—to repair a fallen well or bridge, to level an uneven road, or to plant trees on the roadside.' Upon this the Guru took his leave.

Chapter III

The Emperor having heard that the Guru loved the chase requested him to accompany him one day on a hunting excursion. When in the forest, a tiger issued forth and rushed at the Emperor. Elephants and horses took fright, and the beaters who accompanied the party loudly shouted in distress. Bullets and arrows were discharged, but went right and left of the tiger. The Emperor almost paralysed with fear called upon the Guru to save him. The Guru alighted from his horse, and taking his sword and shield ran between the Emperor and the tiger. As the tiger was going to spring, the Guru dealt him a blow with his sword, and he fell lifeless to the earth. The Emperor thanked his destiny that he was saved from the jaws of death by the Guru's hand.

When it was time for the Emperor to visit Agra, he invited the Guru to accompany him. The Guru, after repeated invitations, at last consented. As they were hunting on the way, the Emperor took the opportunity of telling him what people were saying against him—' O Guru, my ministers and staff tell me that, although thou oughtest in reality to have no connexion with worldly affairs, yet thou callest thyself the true king of the world, and thy Sikhs call me who am descended from emperors,

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who am the lord of many lands, and the cherisher of my subjects, a false king. Is all this true?' The Guru replied, 'I have never told any one to call me true king, but where there exists love between people, there is no need of formality, and a man is treated as he treateth others. I love my Sikhs in proportion to the love they bear me. In Guru Nanak's view God is the only Emperor. He hath said in the Japji :—

He is Emperor, King of kings; Nanak, all must remain subject to His will.'

The Emperor listened but was not convinced, and he and the Guru went off to their respective tents.

In the afternoon a young grass-cutter, hearing that the Guru had come, desired to see him. In reply to his inquiries some one, mistaking the Emperor for the Guru, said, 'There he is sitting under a tree.' The grass-cutter went to make his prostration. He had only half an ana[1] as an offering. He drew it forth, laid it before the Emperor, and thus addressed him, 'O true king, all earthly kings are false. Thy realm is permanent in every age. Protect me at my last hour, and extricate me from hell. I am a poor Sikh of thine; thy sovereignty is real and potent to protect.' The Emperor said to his courtiers, 'I cannot protect myself; how can I save this man in the way he desireth?' The Emperor quite understood that the Guru had had no opportunity of prompting the petitioner to call him true king. He then addressed the grass-cutter, 'I am a false king. There (pointing to the Guru) is the true king.' The grass-cutter took up his half ana, and ran with it to the Guru who received him affectionately, and gave him the following instruction :—'My brother, meditate on God, live honestly, covet not thy neighbour's wife or property, compassionate the suffering, obey the Guru's com-

[1] An *āna* is worth a penny of English money. There are sixteen ānas in a rupee, which is now worth one shilling and four pence.

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mandments, and thou shalt be happy in this world, and the next.'

When in due time the Emperor and the Guru arrived in Agra, the Guru was received with great rejoicings by the people. Chandu thought to himself, 'The Guru will take revenge on me when he findeth an opportunity. I shall only be safe if by some means I succeed in having him imprisoned, and I must apply all my ingenuity and efforts to that end.'

The Emperor had a very severe illness in Agra, and considered what would be an auspicious time for him to sit on his throne after his recovery. It is said that, though a Muhammadan, he consulted an astrologer on the subject—a fact not improbable, seeing that his mother had been a Hindu princess and he was married to a lady of the same religion. Chandu went secretly to the astrologer, and told him how the Guru's father had spurned his alliance, in consequence of which his daughter now sat neglected and despised at his door. On seeing her unwedded, he said he had no appetite by day and no sleep by night. Chandu accordingly gave a large bribe to the astrologer to contrive some plot by which Guru Har Gobind might be rendered powerless to do him injury.

When the astrologer next day appeared before the Emperor, he said, 'A calamity hath been hanging over thee for five and a half years, and thou art in danger for two and a half years more. Saturn is a very powerful god and still pursueth thee. He will show thee the might of his arm once again. Thou hast already bestowed thy weight in gold as alms, and offered endless sacrifices, but one thing yet remaineth to be done. It behoves thy majesty to send some holy man into the fort at Gualiar to do penance there, and pray for thy good health so that thou mayest escape from the evil influences of the planets. If this be not done, thy life shall be in serious danger.'

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The Emperor began to fear, and asked the advice of his ministers. They being instructed by Chandu supported the advice of the astrologer, and suggested that Guru Har Gobind, who was now in the Emperor's camp and in his power, should be sent into the fort in accordance with the astrologer's warning and advice. Their advice well suited the Emperor's inclination.

When the Emperor mentioned his decision to the Guru, the latter accepted it without hesitation. Having formed his determination, the Guru ordered that his troops and his camp should remain where they were. He next morning took his five Sikhs with him, and went to obey the order of the Emperor. At his departure his troops represented to him that he was leaving the wicked Chandu to revel in his villanies. The Guru replied, 'The time hath not yet come. God will accomplish everything when He pleaseth. Best is the fruit that slowly ripeneth.'[1]

[1] Cunningham in his *History of the Sikhs* states that Har Gobind became 'involved in difficulties with the Emperor about retaining for himself that money which he should have disbursed to his troops.' Cunningham's authority for this statement was Captain Troyer, the translator of the *Dabistān*: 'Har Gobind became involved in many difficulties; one of them was that he appropriated to himself the pay due to the soldiers in advance; he carried also the sword against his father; he kept besides many servants, and was addicted to hunting. Jahāngīr, on account of the money due to the army, and of the mulct imposed upon Arjan Mal, sent Har Gobind to the fort of Guāliar, &c.' As this is such a serious and wholly unwarranted calumny of the Guru, we feel constrained to quote the original Persian—

اورا دشخواری‌ها پیش آمد یکی از آن آنست که وضع سپاهیان پیش گرفت و برخلافِ پدر شمشیر بست و نوکران نگاه داشت و شکار کردن گرفت — حضرت جنت مکانی بنابر طلب باقیات مطالبه که بر آئینِ جریمه بر ارجن مل مقرر فرموده بودند هر گوبند را بگوالیار فرستاد ۰

Here there is not one word about money due to the army, about Har Gobind's criminal misappropriation, or about his having carried his sword against his father. The translation of the passage is this: 'He had many difficulties to contend with. One of them was, that he adopted the style of a soldier, wore a sword contrary to the custom of

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There was joy in the fort when it was known that the Guru was coming. It contained many rajas who had been deprived of their kingdoms and thrones by Jahangir, and who now emaciated, filthy, foully clad, and subservient to low warders, dragged out a miserable existence. They believed that they should be released by the Guru's intercession and then return to their states and their families. Hari Das the governor of the fort, too, was happy. He had long desired to see the Guru, but pressure of official duties had prevented him from absenting himself for the purpose. He now went forth to meet him, prostrated himself before him, and applied the dust of his feet to his head and body. The Guru's first act was to cause clean clothes and better food to be supplied to the imprisoned rajas, and to endeavour to make their prison a paradise in comparison with the hell it had previously been.[1]

Chandu wrote to Hari Das—' Thou and I are ser-

his father, maintained a retinue, and began to follow the chase. The Emperor in order to extort from him the balance of the fine which had been imposed on Arjan Mal, sent him to Guāliar, &c.'

We might suppose that Troyer had translated from a different text, and that the *Dabistān* has since his time been altered at somebody's instigation, if some of the blunders of Troyer's translation were not so very palpable. For instance, assigning to the expression *barkhilāf-i-pidar shamsher bast* the meaning that Har Gobind bore arms against his father, is not only opposed to the verbal and grammatical interpretation of the passage, but it is also opposed to the whole tenor of the accounts of both Arjan and Har Gobind given in the *Dabistān* itself. If the Persian writer had intended to convey the idea which Captain Troyer does, he would have written *ba mukābila-i-pidar shamsher bast*; but this, though grammatical, would not have been true, for Har Gobind was devotedly attached to his father, and even vowed deathless vengeance on his father's enemies. It is indeed hard that the fame of Har Gobind should have been tarnished by the blunders of a translator. Dr. Trumpp in his *Adi Granth* has, with his usual theological bias, repeated the strange calumny.

[1] The room in which the Guru was incarcerated was in a top story to the left as one enters the Guāliar fort by the Alamgīr gate. It is on the eastern verge of the plateau, overlooks the ancient town of Guāliar, and commands a wide and not unpleasant prospect.

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vants of the Emperor. I will assist thee in many ways, and grant thee a yearly income of five thousand rupees if thou find some means of disposing of the Guru who is now in thy power. It is because I depend on thee that I induced the Emperor to send him into the fort. Now that thou knowest my wishes, thou mayest act as it pleaseth thee, but, if thou do me the favour I desire, I shall never forget it. I depend altogether upon thee.' Hari Das on receiving this letter placed it before the Guru for his information.

The Guru took hardly any food,—his rations he distributed among the needy prisoners. The Sikhs who accompanied him represented 'Thou eatest nothing while we fill our bellies twice a day. We curse ourselves that thou remainest hungry while we eat to repletion. Kindly tell us why thou actest so.' The Guru replied, 'If thou bring me food obtained by labour I will eat it.' His Sikhs went next morning to a brazier's shop and there hammered copper all day long. With their earnings they purchased food for the Guru, which he ate as if it were ambrosia. The rajas prayed that the Guru might ever remain with them, and that the Emperor might order the governor to treat him well, and never impose any hardship on him.

Chandu again wrote to the governor, 'My friend Hari Das, I send thee a poisoned robe for the Guru. He who putteth it on shall die immediately. Tell him the Emperor sent it. If he weareth it not, then destroy him in any way practicable. Tell me what thou succeedest in doing, so that I may show my gratitude. There will not again be such an opportunity.' Hari Das, as before, placed this letter and the poisoned robe at the Guru's disposal. The Guru upon this repeated the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

The slanderer shall crumble down

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Like a wall of kallar : hear, ye brethren, thus shall he be known.

The slanderer is glad when he seeth a fault ; on seeing anything good he is filled with grief.

He meditateth evil all day long, but it befalleth not ; the evil-minded man dieth meditating evil.

The slanderer forgetteth God, and, when death approacheth, quarrelleth with God's saint.

The Lord Himself preserveth Nanak ; what can wretched man do ? [1]

The Guru's mother, finding that he did not return in due time, felt very anxious and sent Bhai Budha to bring him home. Bhai Budha on entering the Guru's chamber thus addressed him, ' What a fine return is thy confinement in this fort for having killed the tiger and saved the Emperor's life ! The eyes of thy mother and of thy Sikhs are all turned towards thee. Night and day they await thy coming ; thou mayest escape if thou desire. Thy Sikhs who traverse great distances and endure great hardships in order to behold thee, are grievously disappointed.' The Guru sent his mother and his Sikhs a letter of consolation, and expressed a hope that he should soon return to them. He said he was happy in the fort, where he could repeat God's name apart from the distraction of worldly people, who ever importuned him to gratify their petty desires. He added that his fellow prisoners were happy with him, and he with them. He directed Bhai Budha on his return journey to call at Dihli, see to the protection of his camp, and have his horses grazed where there was good pasturage.

Bhai Jetha went on a mission to Dihli to secure the Guru's release. He succeeded in soothing the Emperor, who had been troubled with fearful visions. The Guru remarked that Jetha appeared conceited after this performance. In order to humble him he

[1] Bilāwal.

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bade him take a vessel to the Jamna and fetch him water. When Jetha returned with the water, the Guru ordered him to take it back again, and throw it where he had taken it from. Jetha obeyed the order. The Guru then asked, 'When thou didst fill the vessel did the river appear less; and when thou didst put back the water did the river appear more?' Jetha replied, 'No, what is a vessel in comparison with a river?' The Guru then said, 'The Guru is like the ocean, and thou like the vessel didst display in the Emperor's case thy miraculous power. Such cleverness pleaseth me not.' Bhai Jetha changed the subject, 'O true king, all thy Sikhs are unhappy, and thy mother is sore distressed on account of thine absence. Though thou art angry with me, I have been only fulfilling a former commandment of thine to do good to others whenever possible, an expression which I now venture to recall to thy memory, and beg that thou mayest return to Amritsar to cheer thy mother and bless thy people.' The Guru replied by the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

Accept as good whatever is ;
Abandon thy pride ;
Day and night ever sing God's praises :
Make this thy whole aim.
Rejoice, O saint, and repeat God's name.
Reject artifice and too much cleverness ; repeat the Guru's holy spell.
Centre thy hopes in the one God alone ;
Repeat God's pure name ;
Bow to the Guru's feet,
And the Giver, the Bountiful,
Will take thee across the terrible ocean.
He in whose heart there is all treasure
Hath no end or limits.
He will preserve thee at last.
Nanak hath obtained this treasure

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Of God's pure name.
He who repeateth it shall obtain salvation.
Nanak, it shall be obtained by God's favour.[1]

When the Emperor had heard Wazir Khan's pleading on behalf of the Guru, whose sanctity was an object of general observation, he ordered that he should be presented to him. On hearing this the imprisoned rajas were much distressed. They apprehended that they were now going to lose him whose presence had cheered their sufferings, and that they should have no one to cherish them and render them spiritual consolation. The Guru solaced them, and promised that he would not leave them until they were released.

When Wazir Khan returned to Dihli, he reported the result of his mission to the Guru, and the Guru's desire that the rajas should be released. The Emperor replied, 'The kings imprisoned in Gualiar are hostages for millions of money. Moreover, if I release them, there is danger of their inciting rebellion in my empire.' On this some of the Emperor's ministers, who were either friends or relations of the imprisoned rajas, represented that it was unnecessary to detain them any longer. Their spirits were now so cowed that there was no danger of their again disturbing His Majesty's peace. The Emperor, after full reflection on this and Wazir Khan's arguments for the Guru's recall, replied, 'I will so far meet the Guru's wishes as not to further detain the rajas, and I will entrust them to him on condition that he be surety for their loyal behaviour.'

When Wazir Khan returned with this order to Gualiar, the Guru stood up, and taking Wazir Khan and Hari Das the governor with him, went and caused the fetters of the kings to be struck off. They addressed him, 'O true Guru, as thou hast cut these material fetters, so cut, we pray thee, our spiritual fetters

[1] Rāmkali.

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also.' They seized the hem of his garment and held it until he had promised them salvation. On his doing so they all repeated with one voice the verse of Guru Arjan :—

The Guru hath cut the fetters off the feet and freed the captive.[1]

From this circumstance the Guru is still remembered in Gualiar as Bandi Chhor Baba, the holy man who freed the prisoners.[2]

Hari Das, the governor of the Gualiar fort and prison, expressed his regret on parting from the Guru. The Guru replied in the words of Guru Arjan :—

Meditate in thy heart on the Guru's image ;
Obey the Guru's word and instruction.[3]

'That we have met in the flesh is a temporary matter, the result of destiny; but that we have met in the spirit is a matter to be treasured for ever. As Gur Das hath said, "I am a sacrifice to those Sikhs of the Guru who meet in the spirit." And again Guru Nanak :—

They who meet with their hearts really meet ; that is a real meeting.[4]

'While thou remainest in the Gualiar fort propagate the true faith, and, when thou thinkest of me, thou shalt behold me.'

Hari Das's eyes were filled with tears, but he was comforted on hearing the Guru's words of counsel and encouragement.

The Guru with his five Sikhs set out with Wazir Khan for Dihli. The Guru took shelter in his old

[1] Māru.

[2] In the fort a cenotaph called Bandīshar, probably a contraction of Bandi Chhor. is pointed out to visitors, at which both the Sikhs and the Muhammadans worship—the Muhammadans every Thursday evening, and the Sikhs occasionally. At this spot the Guru used to pray. It is near a tank in and around which masonry work was constructed in ancient times.

[3] Gaund.

[4] Tilang, Ashtapadi.

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quarters on Majnun's hillock. The Emperor invited him to his presence and thus addressed him—'I am very thankful to thee; thou hast rendered me great assistance. Thy prayers have removed the effects of the conjunction of planets unfavourable to me, and effectually cured my maladies.' The Guru replied, 'There was no conjunction of planets unfavourable to thee. That was only in the imagination of thy advisers. Guru Nanak's house is like a mirror. As a man presenteth himself to it so is he treated. What is there that cannot be found in the Guru's house? In it are the four great boons to mortals, but they can only be obtained by faith. He who hath devotion shall obtain the fruit thereof, as happened in the case of thine ancestors.'

The Emperor was struck with the beauty of a rosary the Guru carried. It was made from a yellow composition called kapur. The Emperor asked him for one of its beads. He would add it to his own rosary and preserve it in memory of the Guru. The Guru replied, that his father had a better rosary which he used to wear as a necklace, but it was now in Chandu's possession. The Emperor sent for Chandu and asked for the necklace. Chandu proceeded to his house to search for it. During his absence the Guru took occasion to bring the whole of Chandu's conduct to the Emperor's notice. Chandu, after a pretended search, represented that the rosary had been lost. The Emperor suspected that he had really misappropriated it and would not produce it, and, as there were many other grounds for his displeasure with Chandu, he became quite satisfied of his perfidy and wickedness.

The Emperor communicated to Guru Har Gobind the numerous complaints Chandu had made against him. The Emperor also pretended that Chandu had exceeded the orders he had received on the subject of Guru Arjan's treatment. 'He told me,' continued

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the Emperor, 'that thou saidst thou wouldst wreak vengeance on me. Therefore I sent Wazir Khan for thee, and now, on seeing thee and learning Chandu's real character, my doubts and apprehensions regarding thee are all removed. Chandu is thine enemy, and thou mayest have revenge on him.' The Guru replied that his father Guru Arjan did not wish to avenge himself on Chandu, for his principles were as stated in the following hymn of Guru Ram Das :—

The true Guru is generous and compassionate ; he feeleth compassion ever.

The true Guru's heart is free from enmity, and in everything he beholdeth the one God.

None who bear enmity to those who are without it shall abide.

The true Guru wisheth well to all ; how could any evil befall him ?

As men feel towards the true Guru, so shall they be rewarded.

Nanak, the Creator from whom nothing is concealed, knoweth everything.[1]

The Guru continued, 'O Emperor, if thou do justice, thou shalt be honoured in God's court, and if thou do injustice thou shalt have to account for it. Thou hast put a bell in front of thy gate, and, when anybody ringeth it, thou comest forth thyself and hearest his complaint. But even so, thou shalt only be acquitted of all blame in respect of my father, if thou do justice now. He bore enmity to no one, but was every one's friend and endeavoured to contribute to every one's happiness. God, who is the Bestower of the fruit of past acts, will fulfil His commandment to destroy the enemy. But, O Emperor, take my father's necklace from Chandu. It is the duty of a king to cherish his subjects, and that can only be done by punishing thieves and harmful men.' Upon

[1] Gauri ki Wār I.

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this the Emperor made over Chandu, as was the custom at that time, to the Guru for punishment.

On a signal from the Guru, Bhai Bidhi Chand and Bhai Jetha seized Chandu, led him outside the fort, took off his turban, tied his hands behind his back, and showered blows of slippers on his devoted head. While being thus castigated he was led through the streets of the city, a warning to all men. He was pelted with stones, mud, and filth, and several people spat on his face. He had said that he would attack the Guru like a mad dog, and his threat recoiled on himself. He would have died under the injuries he then received, only the Guru felt compassion and rescued him from the wrath of the people. The Guru caused his arms to be unbound, and put him into a house with a sentry over him, intending to take him alive to the scene of Guru Arjan's death in Lahore. The Emperor sent for Chandu's wife and son, and made them also over to the Guru, telling him to punish them as he pleased. The Guru, in reply, uttered the following verses of Guru Amar Das :—

Curses be on the head of the false one ; greatness to the true saint !

True is the Lord, true is His justice, ashes be on the head of the slanderer ! [1]

The most severe punishment that was inflicted on Chandu's wife and son was to cause them to behold Chandu's sufferings. The Sikhs bound him, and made him over to pariahs as if he were a dog. Dirt and filth continued to be poured on him, and he was reduced to a condition in which no one could recognize him. When his wife and son had seen his treatment, they were allowed to depart. Everybody congratulated the Guru on the mercy he had shown them.

[1] Bilāwal ki Wār.

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Chapter IV

The Guru desired to return to Amritsar, and duly informed the Emperor. The Emperor replied, 'I am not feeling well. My physicians tell me I must have change of air, and I shall thus regain my strength. I therefore intend to spend this summer in Kashmir. If thou desire to defer thy homeward journey until Thursday, the lucky thirteenth day of the half-lunar month, we will travel to Kashmir together, and I shall enjoy thy pleasant companionship.'

The Emperor and the Guru set out on the appointed day. Bhai Jetha, knowing the Guru's compassionate disposition, concealed from his sight Chandu, led along amid the scavengers and dogs. The Guru's tent, which was always pitched with the Emperor's, was magnificently appointed, and the Guru's youth and beauty excited universal admiration. One day the Empress Nur Jahan, beholding him, asked one of her handmaidens who that handsome young man was who ever accompanied the Emperor. The servant, who was well acquainted with the Guru's circumstances, detailed them to Her Majesty. The Empress longed to meet him, and on the following night made further inquiries regarding him of her husband. 'Hath that priest who accompanieth thee a wife?' The Emperor, in ignorance of the Guru's status, replied in the negative. The Empress said it was very strange that at his age, and possessing health and wealth, he should have sufficient continence to lead a single life.

Next morning, as the Guru's tent was on the bank of the Bias, and he was alone, the Empress, accompanied by her co-queens, nearly as fair as she, went with the Emperor's permission to visit the great Sikh priest. The Empress was struck with awe on beholding the Guru. He thus addressed her and her companions: 'O fair queens, great hath been your good fortune that you have obtained in your

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human birth high family and high position without any anxiety for your maintenance, and that, being so beautiful, you are an emperor's consorts. Wherefore, worship God who gave you these manifold favours. Be virtuous ever. A woman's happiness and salvation largely depend on her devotion to her husband. Fear God, preserve yourselves from sin and wickedness. Keep your hearts under restraint. However close may be the relationship of sons, wives, and husbands, at the last moment there shall be none to render assistance. It is only virtuous acts which uplift the soul to communion with God. The lower animals feel love and similar pleasures, but it is only human beings who are privileged to worship their Creator.' The queens pondered on this discourse, returned to the Emperor, and extolled the Guru's passionless and sinless nature.

When the Guru and the Emperor had crossed the river Bias, the Guru induced him to accompany him to Goindwal. There the Guru bathed in the Bawali, visited the upper room in which Guru Amar Das had lived, and held an affectionate interview with his sons. The Guru then said to the Emperor, 'I am now going to Amritsar, and thy Majesty may continue thy journey to Lahore.' The Emperor replied, 'May I too not behold thy sacred temple?' The Guru, seeing the Emperor's friendly curiosity, consented to conduct him to Amritsar. On the way they passed a night at Tarn Taran, whose history the Guru related to the Emperor.

The Emperor encamped at the village of Gumtala, near Amritsar, where now the district court is held, while the Guru with his followers went into the city. Bhai Jetha preceded the party to inform the Guru's mother and the Sikhs of his approach. All the inhabitants came forth to meet him. When the Guru arrived at the Takht Akal Bunga, Bhai Budha offered a thanksgiving for his return. The Guru, having performed all due worship and observances,

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prayed and circumambulated the temple. He then went to his private apartments, where his mother most affectionately greeted him after his long absence. The Emperor sent sacred food and offered to defray all the expenses of the completion of the temple. The Guru, however, wishing to retain for the Sikhs exclusive proprietary rights in it, replied, 'The place where the money of one person is spent becometh that person's property. This temple erected to God belongeth to God. All are equal sharers in it. It will be gradually completed. The Sikhs will do the work. Like Guru Nanak's religion, all are partners in it, and none are excluded.'

The Empress Nur Jahan, and her co-queens, went again to visit the Guru. They also went to see the temple, and ended by visiting the Guru's mother. She gave them religious instruction, and recited to them the hymn which Guru Nanak addressed to Nur Shah, the queen of Kamrup. The Guru's mother also recited to her visitors the following verses of Guru Nanak :—

She who is pleasing to her beloved adorneth his home,
While she who speaketh falsely is of no account ;
She who speaketh falsely is of no account ; her spouse will not even behold her.
Her spouse forgetteth the wicked wife ; false that she is, she passeth the night in separation.[1]

The Emperor said to the Guru, 'Thou art a very young man. Many very beautiful women come to see thee. It is hard to subdue youthful passions. How dost thou succeed in doing so ?' The Guru replied by a parable : 'There was once a very religious and chaste man who had conquered his passions. A lewd and adulterous king used to wait on him. The saint once asked him what desire he sought to gratify by his attention to him. The king replied, "I am a lustful man. I ever desire sexual pleasures

[1] Dhanāsari Chhant.

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and the gratification of all my desires." The saint replied, "Because of this enjoyment thou hast only eight days more of life which thou mayest enjoy as thou pleasest. On the ninth day thou shalt die." The king inquired what he could do to avert his fate. The saint replied, "Meditate on God's name." The king then abandoned worldly affairs, and so applied himself to devotion that all impure desires left his mind. On the ninth day he went to the saint and told him how he had spent his time since their last interview. The saint said that his life was saved by the power of his devotion, and inquired how he had abandoned sensuality. The king replied that it was through fear of impending death. Then the saint said, "That is an answer to the question thou didst propound. That is the way to avert thy fate. Thou thoughtest that thou shouldst die in eight days, so no evil desires entered thy mind, while, as for myself, I am not certain that death will not come and seize me at any moment. On this account my mind is unswayed by passion." O Emperor Jahangir, there is no reliance to be placed on death ; it cometh like a thief when we expect it not. If a man had information, he would not allow his house to be plundered. Guru Nanak hath said :—

My brethren, know that death *impendeth* over your heads :
Man is like a fish upon which the net falleth unawares.'[1]

After hearing this the Emperor remained a few days with the Guru, and then proceeded to Lahore.

The Emperor left Wazir Khan and Kind Beg at Amritsar with instructions to endeavour to induce the Guru to go to visit him at Lahore. When they succeeded in doing so, the Guru went to his mother to communicate his intention, and make his obeisance to her before his departure. Having made new arrangements for the performance of the duties of

[1] Sri Rāg, Ashtapadi.

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the temple and the kitchen, he mounted his horse, and set out with a small escort. He remained for a night at a village half-way, and next day pitched his tent in Muzang, a suburb of Lahore. The following morning he visited the birthplace of Guru Ram Das, the Bawali whose construction Guru Arjan had planned, and the place where he gave up his spirit. He caused a small temple to be erected there, and appointed Bhai Langaha to take charge of it. A large fair is held at the place yearly on the anniversary of Guru Arjan's death—the fourth day of the light half of Jeth (May-June).

When people remarked that Chandu, who had been brought from Amritsar with the Guru's party, justly suffered for his misdeeds, the Guru said that every man's acts clung to him. Chandu was reduced to a most deplorable condition. His eyes became blind from weeping, his body dried up, and only a skeleton remained of what was once the sleek and handsome minister of the Emperor. He was daily led through the city streets, when the children used to throw handfuls of dust on his head, and the women to utter every imprecation on him. Bhai Bidhi Chand and Bhai Jetha delivered Chandu over to scavengers, who led him round the streets to beg. He who used to take bribes of thousands of rupees was now glad to get kauris and the leavings of others for his support. For a sacrificial mark on his forehead he had now the marks of shoe-beatings, and for necklaces of pearls and diamonds he had old slippers suspended from his neck. After fifteen days of this treatment in Lahore death came to his relief. A grain-parcher, on seeing him, became so enraged that he struck him on the head with an iron ladle full of burning sand. On this Chandu fell with painful cries and swooned. The grain-parcher dealt him a similar blow as he lay unconscious on the ground. His skull was fractured, and his soul became the spoil of death's myrmidons. The

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scavengers threw his body into the river Ravi. When the Emperor heard of Chandu's death, he said that he richly deserved his fate. The Guru, however, prayed that as Chandu had suffered torment for his sins in this life, God would pardon him hereafter.

When Prithia's son Mihrban heard of Chandu's death he was greatly distressed. He said, 'Sulahi died when he set himself against the Guru. When my father, too, became the Guru's enemy he perished in his thoughtless career. And now Chandu is dead. It is not known what magic the Guru possesseth that no one may withstand him.' Mihrban exchanged turbans with Karm Chand, Chandu's son, in token of life-long friendship, and took counsel with him how to effect the Guru's ruin. They proceeded to Prince Khuram, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jahan, and poisoned his mind against the Guru.

When the Guru heard of Mihrban's arrival in Lahore, he sent Bhai Paira and Bhai Pirana to try to dissuade him from his hostile designs. They exhorted him, 'Abandon strife and come to terms with the Guru. Nothing is gained by dissension. What did thy father gain by his enmity with Guru Arjan ? who said :—

The advantage of union cannot be described, Nanak, it is beyond expression.[1]

Thy jealousy shall cause misery even to thyself.'

Mihrban replied, 'My father at his death enjoined me never to make friendship with the Guru. I cannot disregard my father's injunctions.' When the envoys represented the Guru's supernatural power, Mihrban replied, 'I am aware of that. Even with such power Guru Arjan abandoned Amritsar through fear of Sulahi, and was subsequently unable to avert his own death. The masands are now Har Gobind's friends solely because he hath bribed them. My

[1] Literally—beyond the beyond. Gūjari.

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father, it is true, failed, but he was a poor unsophisticated man, unable to cope with my clever uncle Arjan. Why did not Har Gobind work miracles against Chandu when he caused him to be sent to the fortress of Gualiar ?' Bhai Paira replied, 'Thou art still a child and knowest nothing. Great men have great endurance. They can endure the bad language of enemies as if it were a rain shower, and can withstand them like mountains.' On hearing this, Mihrban's anger blazed forth, and, seeing it, Bhai Paira and Bhai Pirana returned to the Guru.

The Guru, on hearing of the failure of their negotiations, said, 'I will go myself to Mihrban. He is my first cousin, and I will endeavour to conciliate him. Although he is at enmity with me, yet he cannot treat me with discourtesy.' Mihrban gave him a respectful reception, and seated him by his side. The Guru opened the conversation, 'Thy father and mine are in heaven. We are both brothers now, so we ought not to bear each other enmity from which happiness can never result.' The Guru then quoted the following slok of their common relation, Guru Ram Das :—

He in whose heart there is jealousy shall never prosper.
No one shall heed what he saith ; he is a fool ever crying in the wilderness.
He in whose heart there is calumny is known as a calumniator ; everything he hath done or doeth is in vain.
He ever causelessly slandereth others ; he cannot show his face to any one ; it hath become black.
In the Kal age the body is the field of works ; as man soweth so shall he reap.
Justice is not administered on false evidence ; when a man eateth poison he dieth.
My brethren, behold the justice of the true Creator—as any one acteth, so shall be his reward.

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The slave Nanak hath obtained all enlightenment and preached the words of God's court.[1]

The Guru continued, 'The Lord of the world, the Supreme Being will not be pleased to bestow happiness or prosperity on those who harbour evil in their hearts, while, on the contrary, the Creator will make him happy who is pleased with the happiness of others.' The Guru then quoted the following from Kabir :—

Indulge not in envy and bickering, O my soul.
Do good deeds and gain their reward.[2]

The Guru concluded his remonstrance, 'Friendship is ambrosia, dissension poison. Wherefore banish dissension, and thou shalt be happy. Kings and emperors bow before the Guru's throne. It is not proper for scions of his house to flatter or pay court to worldly people like Chandu's son ; nor does it beseem them to squander the wealth of the Sikhs in illicit gratuities.'

Mihrban, far from being convinced by all this good advice, only became more enraged. He vented his wrath on the Guru, and said, 'The enmity that hath subsisted between us I will never forget. Leave me.' The Guru addressed him for the last time, 'I desire that thou mayest live in peace, but who can set aside God's will ?' Saying this the Guru retired to his tent. He remained several months at Lahore, preaching to his disciples and leading them to the paths of religion and rectitude.

A masand named Sujan resided in Kabul. He had there amassed for the Guru great wealth from tithes and offerings, and considered how this wealth could reach the Guru, or be best applied to his advantage. He had heard that the Guru had a great love for horses. He therefore searched Kabul and Bukhara for a steed

[1] Gauri ki Wār I. [2] Āsa.

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worthy of his spiritual master. At last he found a horse of rare strain, beauty, and speed, which he purchased for a lakh of rupees as an offering likely to assist him in obtaining ultimate salvation and making the true king happy. Sujan covered the horse with dirty clothes, and took him with fifteen or twenty others which were going for sale to the Panjab. The object of these precautions was that the animal might not be specially remarked and coveted on the way by some Muhammadan official. In those days, whenever the Turks[1] saw a good horse, a good sword, or anything else desirable, they appropriated it for themselves with scant ceremony towards the owner. As the cavalcade was crossing the Indus at Atak, the eye of an official happened to fall on the Guru's horse, and he inquired whence it had come and whither it was going, remarking at the same time that it would make a suitable present for the Emperor. Sujan said that the other horses were for sale, but he was taking this particular one as an offering to the true king.

The official endeavoured to persuade Sujan to let him have the animal, but in vain. He thereupon wrote to the Emperor Jahangir that a Sikh was taking a horse of untold value to Guru Har Gobind, and advised him to take possession of the animal by every possible means, for he was worthy of a monarch. The Emperor, whose friendship for the Guru had never been real, replied by sending some troops to the official with an order that he must not allow the horse to cross the river. If the owner were very greedy, the price of the animal should be paid him, but if he refused to take it, force should be employed. Sujan refused to surrender the horse on any consideration. He maintained that the Guru had paid for him, and he was consequently his property. The Emperor's men told Sujan he might

1 The Mughal Emperors and their followers are always called Turks in Sikh compositions.

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give all the other horses to the Guru, but this particular one must be the Emperor's perquisite. Sujan continued his journey to the Guru and told him how he had been robbed of the horse procured with such difficulty and solicitude. The Guru recommended patience, and predicted that nobody but himself should ever ride the animal.

When the Emperor desired to mount, the animal shook its head, which was regarded as a bad omen. The Emperor then desisted, and ordered that he should be fed on rare mashes, but the next day the horse would neither eat nor drink. The Emperor's most accomplished veterinary surgeons declared that an evil eye had caused the malady. Wazir Khan, the Guru's friend, reminded the Emperor that the horse belonged to the Guru, and that property taken from others could not bring luck to its possessor. All known medicines were tried, but in vain. When the horse was on the point of death, Rustam Khan, the head Qazi, said, 'If the holy Quran were read for him he might recover.' Upon this the Emperor presented him to the Qazi with permission to exercise on him his spiritual power.

As the Qazi was leading him home, the animal neighed when passing the Guru's tent. This was interpreted as an appeal to the Guru to rescue him from the Qazi's hands. The Guru sent for the Qazi with the object of negotiating the purchase of the horse. It was agreed between them that the Guru should have the horse for ten thousand rupees. The Qazi signed an agreement to that effect, and it was further stipulated that the price should be paid at the time of the Diwali fair in Amritsar. The Guru took the animal to the stable, and by simply patting him on the neck restored him to his usual strength.

A Muhammadan saint, Mian Mir, originally named Muhammad Mir, born in Sistan in A.D. 1550, found his way like many other distinguished Muhammadans to the Panjab, and settled in a barren plain about

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five miles from Lahore. He gained a high reputation for sanctity and devotion. Jahangir in his autobiography wrote of him: 'Truly he is the beloved of God. In sanctity and purity of soul, he hath no equal in this age. This humble servant [namely the Emperor] used to go to the darwesh, who explained to him many minute points of theology. It was my desire to make him an offering of money; but as he was above worldly things, I dared not make the offer, and contented myself with the presentation of the skin of an antelope to serve as a mat for reading his prayers on.'

The Guru resolved to visit Mian Mir, and duly notified his intention. The saint went forth to meet him, entertained him in his house, and treated him in every way with the greatest respect. The Guru inquired to what degree of divine knowledge he had attained, if he had succeeded in keeping his mind under restraint and repressing his desires, and if he had yet felt the blissful inward satisfaction of having met God. Mian Mir courteously replied: 'He to whom thou showest favour hath found everything. Having abandoned all false worldly things I have found the true God, who is beyond conception and expression. Whoever hath seen Him hath abandoned pride and obtained peace. My mind is at rest and no longer tormented by desires. The pleasure of meeting God is incommunicable. In the words of Bhikan:—

Though one try to utter God's praises, they cannot be fully uttered;
They are like sweets to a dumb person.[1]

'The man who possesseth divine knowledge is happy at every time and in every place. The man who possesseth it not, is ever unhappy.' After further conversation on the same and kindred subjects the Guru returned to his camp. The nobles who

[1] Sorath.

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had heard the colloquy reported it to the Emperor, and expressed to him their surprise that an elderly saint like Mian Mir should treat a married Sikh Guru with such respect. The Emperor asked Mian Mir for an explanation. Mian Mir replied: 'The Guru is a sincere believer in God. His heart is pure and his words leave an impression on the mind. From those who hear him all doubts depart. On this account I have received him, and thought him worthy of respect and reverence.'

Chapter V

The Qazi, on seeing that the horse which was worth a lakh of rupees had recovered, and that the Guru daily rode him, felt that he had got the worst of the bargain, and began to clamour for his money without waiting for the Diwali fair. The Guru then reminded him of what had occurred: 'A Sikh paid a lakh of rupees for the horse, the Emperor seized and appropriated him. The animal was dying when you sold him to me. I will, however, pay you the ten thousand rupees at the appointed time.'

On another occasion, as the Guru was taking his siesta, the Qazi came to dun him. Bhai Budha, who was sitting at the Guru's door, said that that was not the time to approach the Guru, and suggested that the Qazi might return another day at an hour when it would be convenient for the Guru to receive him. The Qazi pressed Bhai Budha to awaken the Guru. He was not, he said, a courtier or royal favourite who might not be disturbed. Bhai Budha replied, 'What are wretched courtiers in comparison with our Guru? He is king of kings. Depart, come again. What time is this to come begging for money.' The Qazi replied, 'If I tell the Emperor, he will punish the Guru, and I shall then obtain the price of the horse.' This threat Bhai Budha promptly

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resented : 'Fool, put a guard on thy tongue. Thou knowest not God's will.'

The Guru, hearing an uproar, awoke and came forward, when the Qazi thus angrily addressed him : 'Thou pretendest ignorance. Thou neither payest me the promised money nor returnest me my horse, and yet thou sleepest without anxiety. Thou shalt see into what a pleasant sleep I will put thee. If thou study thine own interests, pay me for the horse, otherwise I will complain to the Emperor.' The Guru replied, 'Thou mayest tell the Emperor and act as it pleaseth thee.' After this the Qazi departed.

One morning the Guru called Bhai Budha, told him his business in Lahore was accomplished, and they must return home. Bhai Budha, having made all preparations, set out in advance. The Guru, with his army, then marched and overtook him.

There was in the house of the Qazi a daughter, named by the Sikhs Kaulan,[1] who was a disciple of Mian Mir. She, in addition to being very beautiful, was both amiable and virtuous. From her earliest years she had occupied her mind with praising God's name and remembering Him in the company of saints. Even when she attained puberty she declined her parents' suggestions to marry. When at home, she used to dwell in a lonely chamber. Whenever she went abroad, it was to behold her spiritual guide Mian Mir ; otherwise she never even put her foot outside her house. In Mian Mir's congregation, as she frequently heard, not only from Mian Mir himself but from other very holy men, various praises of Guru Har Gobind, so she also praised him in the midst of her own family. The Qazi, her father, was in the highest degree incensed with her ; in the first place, for refusing marriage, and secondly, for 'frequenting the society of faqirs. When, moreover, he

1 This was the lady's name after her conversion to the Sikh religion. Her original Muhammadan name is not known.

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heard from her lips praises of Guru Har Gobind, he became exceedingly wroth, and thus addressed her: 'O infidel, thou praisest an infidel and obeyest not the law of Muhammad, according to which it is forbidden under penalty of death to praise an unbelieving person.' Kaulan replied, 'Father dear, the law of Muhammad doth not apply to holy men or to me. It applies rather to those fools who neither know nor obey anything besides. Saints are God's servants. At the same time, He obeyeth them, and they may do what they please. They have no concern with the law of Muhammad.' On hearing this and similar replies from his daughter, the Qazi's heart burned with bigotry and indignation. On that very day he, in consultation with his brother Qazis, issued an order for the execution of his daughter for her sin of transgressing the Muhammadan law. Kaulan's mother, on hearing this decision, informed not only her daughter of it, but also Mian Mir. On this Mian Mir said to Kaulan: 'There appeareth no means of saving thee here. Thou shalt be innocently put to death, as Mansur was by these tyrants.[1] It is better, therefore, that thou at once go to Amritsar and seek there the protection of Guru Har Gobind. In this age there is none but him to save thy life.' Kaulan deemed her Pir's advice the best. She at once packed up her effects, and taking with her a fellow disciple, set out for Amritsar.[2]

Meantime the Qazi was not idle. He complained to the Emperor that the Guru had promised to pay him the price of the horse, but now put him off with excuses. 'He procrastinateth, and will not fulfil his promise. If thy Majesty send an officer to remon-

[1] Husain ibn Mansūr Sūfi was put to death at Baghdād, A. D. 923, after suffering grievous torture and mutilation. In a state of mystic ecstasy he had cried out, 'I am the Truth (God).' Being rebuked for this and told to say instead, 'He is the Truth,' he replied, 'Yes, He is all, but you say He is lost. Husain is lost; the drop hath disappeared, but the ocean remaineth as it was.'

[2] *Itihās Guru Khālsa.*

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strate with him, I shall consider I have the money in my pocket. Otherwise, he will always put me off as he doeth now.' The Emperor replied, 'When day breaketh, take one of my men to the Guru. I will send him word to pay thee all thy money, and I think he will not fail to do so.'

The Qazi, on visiting the site of the Guru's camp at Lahore, found that he had departed, so he prepared to follow him. He knew that the Guru must have gone to Amritsar, but he was not certain if he would remain there or seek concealment in the neighbouring wilderness, where he would have no fear of the Emperor, as no army could enter it to capture him. The Qazi decided that his case would be hopeless if he did not set out at once. He would return to Lahore and seek the Emperor's assistance, if the Guru failed to keep his promise or used violence towards him.

On his way the Qazi met the Guru hunting to the west of Amritsar. The Qazi respectfully saluted him. The Guru complimented him on the celerity with which he had pursued him. The Qazi replied civilly, but at the same time made it very clear that he desired to obtain his money without further delay. The Guru invited him to remain for the night, and in the morning he would give him a cheque on a Lahore banker.

Not long after the Qazi's arrival in Amritsar he heard that his daughter was there. He besought her to return to her religion and her home, but she, exceedingly afraid of being put to death, did not at all desire to accompany him. He then went to where his pony was tethered, mounted him, and made the best of his way to Lahore. The Guru did his utmost to detain him for another day, until it was convenient for him to pay the price of the horse.

The Qazi, on reaching home, found his wife in tears, and began in earnest to think of his own errors.

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He said to himself, 'My daughter would have remained at home had I treated her less cruelly.' His wife levelled at him her bitterest taunts, and increased his repentance and mortification. He decided to go next day to the Emperor, and make his complaint. When he arrived in court he took off his turban, dashed it on the ground, and made other signs of distress, but as he spoke in tears the Emperor could not quite follow his story. Moreover, the Emperor was in a bad humour at the time, having been irritated by some petitioner immediately before. He angrily replied to the Qazi's complaint: 'What disturbance is this that thou art causing? I understand thee not. Thou speakest like a lunatic. Appear not bare-headed in my presence. Thou wast a sensible man once, but now thou seemest to have lost thy reason.'

Wazir Khan then interposed and made an ingenious defence of the Guru. 'Sire, what shall I say about anybody? It is a bad world, and the Qazi now appeareth to be as bad as the rest. He made his daughter miserable and used to beat her daily. Being thus helpless, she left her home and went to Amritsar. Through fear of her father, she has remained there and desireth not to return. The Guru, who is ever merciful, receiveth all visitors and provideth for them, the Qazi's daughter among others. Mian Mir and other saints go to meet him, and treat him with respect. It is against such a man this fool maketh complaint. His case, moreover, is a very paltry one. Thou hast heard too much already. It is not proper to quarrel with the Guru. Some calamity may happen by interference.'

The Emperor then, addressing the Qazi, passed his final order: 'Art thou not ashamed of thyself? It became thee not to have acted as thou hast done. It is not proper for thee to quarrel with priests. Thou oughtest rather to do them reverence. In open court thou hast rent the veil of thy modesty,

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and rendered thyself despised of all men. Thy daughter was obliged to leave her home Be silent; say no more; thou hast received only thy deserts.'

The Qazi, complaining that the Emperor would not allow him to fully state his case, took up his turban and left the court. He then reflected: 'On every side I am in trouble. The very haughty Guru will keep this ten thousand rupees. He thinketh I am utterly resourceless; How shall I teach him a lesson? He will not pay me my money, and he hath all but killed me. Moreover, my daughter hath forsaken me and embraced another faith; I cannot remedy what is done, so I must either take revenge or kill myself. I trusted to the Emperor Jahangir, but far from assisting me, he hath brought counter charges against me. What hath God done with me? I am in a dire dilemma, and sped by troubles on every side. The whole family is mourning for my daughter, and yet she is so estranged from us, that we can never on any account see her more.'

Kaulan began her altered life under the protection of the Guru, the friend of her spiritual adviser Mian Mir. She found consolation in repeating the following hymn of the Guru's father, which she had learned by hearing it often recited by the Sikhs:—

O mother, I awake by association with the saints;
On seeing the love of the Beloved, I repeat His name which is a treasure.
Thirsting for a sight of Him, I long and look for Him;
I have forgotten my desire for other things.
I have found the Guru, the giver of composure and peace;
On beholding him, my mind is wrapped up in God.
On seeing God pleasure hath arisen in my heart; Nanak, dear *to me* is His ambrosial word.[1]

The Sikh chronicler states that Kaulan in a

[1] Kedāra.

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previous birth desired to obtain the true Guru's instruction and be happy.

The Guru had a separate building prepared for her residence, and bade her occupy her time as she pleased. On beholding her continual dependence on God, he was specially pleased with her, and took care of her in every way. Some time passed in this manner, until one day Kaulan, putting together all her jewels, placed them before the Guru. With clasped hands she thus addressed him, 'Friend of the poor, be good enough to apply the price of these jewels to some religious object, by which my name may be remembered for some time in the world.' The Guru accordingly, on the fifth day of the light half of the month of Magh, Sambat 1678 (A.D. 1621), caused a tank to be excavated in her name with the money. The tank is still famous as Kaulsar[1] (Kaulan's tank) in the city of Amritsar. The Guru also constructed another tank called Bibeksar, which was meant to commemorate his spiritual instruction delivered on the spot to his followers. There are now altogether five sacred tanks in the vicinity of the Sikh temple in Amritsar: Santokhsar, Amritsar, Ramsar, Kaulsar, and Bibeksar.

The Sikhs in Amritsar were all the time apprehensive that the Emperor would send an army to arrest the Guru on the Qazi's complaint. They were prepared, if necessary, for defence. The Emperor, however, thought no more of the Qazi or his grievances, and refused to embroil himself with the Guru. The masands formed the next party of whom the Guru had to take account. They went and complained to his mother against him: 'The Guru's proceedings please no one. The Qazi hath gone to complain to the Emperor. When the Emperor sendeth an army and maketh war on us, what shall we do? We have no kingdom and no large force to defend our-

[1] *Itihās Guru Khālsa.* Some Sikhs suppose this name was given the tank because the lotus (*kaul*) flourishes in it.

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selves. How can we cope with the Emperor? The Guru must abscond and leave his city. This place belonged to his father and grandfather. When it passeth out of his possession, where shall we abide?'

Mother Ganga replied, 'I cannot help it. The first five Gurus preached doctrines of peace; my son the sixth Guru weareth arms. It must sooner or later come to war with the Emperor. I have continued to admonish him, and tell him that such conduct becometh him not. He is, however, very resourceful, and, if it come to a conflict, he will know how to defend himself. You and I can do nothing. If you think the Guru will listen to you, then advise him. Go and do everything to avert war, and convey to the Guru my feelings on the subject.' As the masands were on the point of personally remonstrating with the Guru, a messenger arrived from Lahore with a letter from Wazir Khan informing him of the Emperor's decision on the Qazi's complaints. The Sikhs were delighted at the result. The difficulty with the Emperor Jahangir, they hoped, was at an end. The vaticinations of the masands were falsified, and the Guru and his party made up their minds to dwell for ever in Amritsar.[1]

Not long afterwards the Guru and his mother went to the shrine of Guru Nanak to see Sri Chand, Guru Nanak's son, who lived there. The Guru made an offering of a horse and one thousand rupees. The Guru's mother said to Sri Chand, 'Thou art now old, thou hast supernatural power, bless my son that he may have offspring.' Sri Chand replied, with a line of Guru Arjan:—

The vine of the race hath grown and shall last for many generations.[2]

1 The Sikh chroniclers state that this occurred in the time of Shāh Jahān, but this cannot be correct. Jahāngīr died in A.D. 1627, and Kaulan had taken up her residence in Amritsar at least seven years before that, for she was there when Bāba Atal Rāi was born.

2 Āsa.

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It will be remembered that after Guru Arjan had refused to marry Har Gobind to Chandu's daughter, the young Guru was offered two wives. One of them, Damodari, he had already married. When it was known that she had become pregnant, there were great rejoicings in both families. To the second lady, Nanaki, the daughter of Hari Chand, the Guru was not yet married, partly on account of her youth and partly on account of his absence in Dihli, Agra, Lahore, and other places. Hari Chand now wrote that the approaching Baisakhi would be a suitable time for the marriage. It was accordingly then celebrated with all due formalities and rejoicings.

There was a Sikh called or styled Almast, which means the enthusiast. In his wanderings he arrived at that part of the district of Pilibhit where there had been built a temple to commemorate Guru Nanak's visit. Guru Nanak, it is said, had left the mark of his five fingers on every leaf of a pipal tree there, and made sweet the bitter fruit of a soap-nut tree some forty miles to the east of it. Some Jogis, who had now taken possession, wanted to root up the Guru's pipal, name the temple after Gorakhnath, and abolish the name of Guru Nanak. Almast could not endure this. Considering the temple his own, he resided in it, and performed all the menial and religious duties connected with it. The Jogis sought to expel him, and thus stated their case, 'Gorakhnath performed penance here, hence the name Gorakh-mata. Thy Guru only stayed here as a traveller for four days. How can the temple be his?' Almast pointed to the marks of Guru Nanak's hand on every leaf of the pipal tree, and instanced the sweetness of the soap-nut. It would therefore not be proper for him to resign the place to the Jogis. He bluntly told them that Guru Har Gobind, who was now on Guru Nanak's throne, would soon come and humble their pride. The Jogis were so angry at this, that they set fire to the pipal and left

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not a trace of it. Almast told them that when the Guru came, he would restore the tree, and whoever committed a sin against Guru Nanak should perish root and branch.

Night and day Almast read the compositions of the Gurus. He used to pray, 'O searcher of hearts, true Guru, render us assistance.' Enduring hunger and thirst and the inclemency of all seasons, Almast waited until Guru Har Gobind should come to repair and take possession of Guru Nanak's temple.

The parents of Damodari, the Guru's wife, lived in the village of Dalla. Her eldest sister Ramo was married to Sain Das, who lived in Daroli in the present district of Firozpur. Sain Das had not been originally a Sikh, but, owing to the good example and advice of his father-in-law Narain Das, and the exhortations of his wife Ramo, who was a granddaughter of Bhai Paro, Guru Amar Das's faithful attendant, he became a convert to the teachings of Guru Arjan. Sain Das was ever praying that Guru Har Gobind would visit his village. He built a mansion to receive him, and vowed that no one should live in it until the Guru had hallowed it by his presence. Sain Das laid a beautiful bed with soft bedding, and over the pillow he put a canopy. He used every morning to lay flowers in the room and perfume it, and pray that the Guru would soon come to bless the place. His wife used often to press him to send for the Guru. On such occasions he would say, 'The Guru is omniscient and will come of his own accord. There is something wanting in our devotion, or we have committed some sin that his visit hath been so long delayed. We dare not write him a letter or send for him.' On account of the troubles in which Almast was involved, and the devotion of Sain Das, the Guru decided on visiting Daroli and Pilibhit, and taking with him a troop of his armed retainers. His mother and his wives were to accompany him as far as Daroli, and stay with Ramo until he

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joined them after bringing the Jogis of Pilibhit to reason.

Bhai Budha, and indeed all the Sikhs, on hearing of the Guru's resolve, were very much disheartened at the thought of being left in Amritsar without their leader. The Guru consoled them by saying that if they daily offered their adorations at the Har Mandar or Golden Temple, all their affairs should succeed. When the Guru found that his mother and his wives had arrived safely in Daroli, he completed his preparations for the journey to Pilibhit.

The Guru took his horses to Kartarpur, where he left them to be fed during his absence. There some Pathans of the village of Wadamir, ready equipped with swords and shields, offered themselves for service. With them was a tall and powerful youth of sixteen summers, who had large eyes, strong arms, thick neck, and sprouting beard. The Guru was impressed with his appearance, and inquired whose son he was. Ismail Khan, the head of the band of Pathans, replied, 'This youth was born in the village of Ghilzai Alim. His parents are dead. He is my nephew and liveth with me in Wadamir. I have brought him up. He is versed in both military and general knowledge, and his name is Painda Khan.' The Guru inquired if he would accept service or not, to which Ismail Khan made reply, 'Sir, we keep not shops or till land; military service is what we aspire to. If thou desire to employ him in that capacity, thou mayest do so.' The Guru gave him ten rupees as enlistment money, supplied him with dinner from his kitchen, and promised that on returning from his excursion he would retain him on his own personal staff. The Guru remained for some days in Kartarpur, and again had an interview with Painda Khan. He gave him a house and a female buffalo, and agreed to pay him five rupees a day as an officer of his army.

When the Guru arrived in Nanakmata, which is

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several miles north of the city of Pilibhit, the Jogis, seeing his retinue, thought that some raja had arrived. On hearing who it was, they hid themselves in huts made of leaves. Almast came forth from his retirement on hearing the neighing of the Guru's steed, uttered thanksgiving that his spiritual master had arrived, and seemed like a dead man restored to life.

Near the spot where the pipal had been, the Guru constructed a platform, and sitting on it repeated the Sodar. This being ended he sprinkled saffron on which he had breathed God's name, when lo, it is said, the pipal emerged from the ground as a serpent from its lair ! In proportion as the Guru sprinkled the saffron the pipal grew, and after one night appeared in full size in all its luxuriance.

Chapter VI

Next day, observing the Guru's glory and splendour, the Jogis ran to their priest with the same haste as cowards flee from the field of battle, and related to him all that had occurred since Guru Nanak had visited the place. The priest called to their recollection how Guru Nanak had vanquished the Sidhs who opposed him, and advised them to subdue their pride, conceit, and arrogance, bow before the Guru, and seek his protection. The Jogis became very angry at not receiving a promise of assistance or even encouragement. One of them said, 'Shall we who are Sidhs and Jogis, and live for endless years, bow before a child of yesterday, who, moreover, is not a celibate like ourselves ?' Another Jogi said, 'Guru Nanak is no more, let us take possession of our temple.' The Jogis consulted with one another, and came to the conclusion that until the Guru was in some way dishonoured, he would never leave them alone. They then in a body

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went to the Guru in all the bravery of the habiliments of their order—ochre-coloured robes, rings in their ears, selis on their necks, wallets on their shoulders, and crutches in their hands—and represented to him, 'Thou art a married man; we are well-known holy ascetics. From of old this place, bearing the name of Gorakhnath, hath notoriously been ours. Wherefore leave it, and go and abide wherever it pleaseth thee!' The Guru replied, 'Whom do you call a holy ascetic? I apply the name only to him who hath renounced pride and who hath the love of God in his heart. It is he, and not a man who weareth an ascetic's garb, who shall obtain salvation.'

The Jogis, in order to terrify the Guru, then began to make a show of their pretended powers, and cries of 'Strike the Guru! strike the Guru!' arose from the whole band. The Sikhs began to grow apprehensive. The Guru pacified them, and said no harm should come to them. The Jogis exerted all their powers, but could produce no effect on the Guru. Weary and abashed, they returned to their priest, who told them that, on account of their pride, they had forfeited such reputation as they already possessed. Since that date the place has borne undisturbed the name Nanakmata, and remained in the possession of Udasi Sikhs.

The Guru remained some time in that neighbourhood. He occupied himself with the chase, with preaching to his Sikhs, and with the organization of a methodical Sikh service for them under the guidance of Almast.

The Guru on his return journey proceeded to Daroli, where his mother and wives were anxiously awaiting him. They went forth to meet him, and great joy reigned in the village on his arrival.

Sain Das said to the Guru, 'Almast is a very fortunate man, for whose sake thou didst undertake such a long journey, and whose devotion hath

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rendered thee so subservient to him. When did he become a Sikh?' The Guru replied, 'He was originally a goat-herd on the banks of the Ravi, and was known as "The simpleton". He had long cherished a desire to see Guru Nanak, and, on accidentally doing so, love and devotion sprang up in his heart. He milked one of his goats, and offered the milk to the Guru. The only recompense he asked was to be allowed to gaze on the holy man. The Guru requested him to ask for some further favour. He replied as before, that his only desire was to behold the Guru. Then Guru Nanak said, "Twice three are six. Thou hast thrice desired to behold the Guru, and now thou shalt live to behold the sixth Guru in succession to me."' Sain Das on hearing this narrative congratulated Bhai Almast, and applied to his case the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

O God, by Thy favour I have dispelled my doubts ;
I have reflected in my mind that by Thy favour everything is mine.
By service to Thee millions of sins are erased ; by a sight of Thee sorrow departeth.
By repeating Thy name I have obtained great happiness, and banished all my anxieties and maladies.
In the company of the holy man I have forgotten lust, wrath, avarice, falsehood, and slander.
I have cut off the shackles of mammon ; Nanak, God, the Ocean of mercy, hath Himself saved me.[1]

It was now time for Ramo, Sain Das's wife, to hold a spiritual colloquy with the Guru—'Friend of the poor, true Guru, my prayer is that I may worship my husband with my body, and discharge all the duties of conjugal chastity, that the love of God may abide in my heart, and that I may ever remember His name, so that at the last He may assist me, and that I may have no fear of death,

[1] Devgandhāri.

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or hell, or further transmigration.' The Guru replied, 'God at all times assisteth those whose hearts are pure. With a pure mind meditate on His name, and accept His will. Then shalt thou be happy and all fear forsake thee.'

The time of Damodari's lying-in was approaching, and her mother-in-law Ganga continued to pray for her safe delivery of a son. Damodari ever meditated on God and repeated Guru Nanak's hymns and those of her husband's father the late Guru. On a Wednesday night when the moon was full, in the month of Kartik, Sambat 1670 (A. D. 1613), she gave birth to a son, who was afterwards named Gurditta, and who bore a remarkable likeness to Guru Nanak. When morning dawned, the Guru went to see his child, and then distributed alms to all applicants. Instead of worldly songs of rejoicings the compositions of the Gurus were sung on the auspicious occasion. The hymn composed by Guru Arjan on the birth of Har Gobind received special prominence.

During the Guru's long absence from Amritsar, prayers were offered there for his speedy return, and a letter was sent reminding him of his duty to return quickly to his Sikhs and the temple of his forefathers. He told his mother of the communication he had received, and she highly commended his resolution to attend to it. The Sikhs who accompanied him also pressed him not to delay. On his arrival in Amritsar the following, among other hymns of the fifth Guru, was sung with rapture :—

O Guru, may I behold Thee and live,
Then shall my fortune be completed, O God ![1]
Hear this supplication, O my God ;
Grant me Thy name and make me Thy servant.
O God, the Giver, protect me in Thine asylum.

[1] Also translated—
O God, may Thy full favour be extended to me,
That through the Guru I may behold Thee and live !

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By the Guru's favour some rare person knoweth Thee.
O God, my Friend, hear my supplication,
That Thy lotus feet may dwell in my heart.
Nanak uttereth this one prayer—
That he may not forget Thee, Thou Lord of perfect excellences ![1]

The Guru having taken up his residence at home used to preach to his congregation and occasionally go on shooting excursions. When not occupied with preaching or prayer, he generally sat in the open air and received his Sikhs. The places where he used to sit are now called Pipali, Lohgarh, and Chaurasti Atari. During the Guru's absence Bhai Budha organized a nightly sacred concert to be sung round the tank of Amritsar. The Guru, on hearing of it, said, 'This choir shall for ever abide, and I shall be always with it.'

Painda Khan arrived in Amritsar with the army and the horses the Guru had left in Kartarpur. Painda Khan's ordinary gymnastic practice was to tie two large earthen vessels filled with sand to his brawny arms, and thus encumbered swing clubs weighing one hundred and sixty pounds each round his head. The Guru was pleased with him, and used to make him presents of valuable clothes, horses of Iraq, clarified butter, sugar, and all such food as was calculated to promote strength.

Two men, called Niwala and Nihalu, went to the Guru, and asked how they could be saved. The following was the Guru's reply: 'As there is fire in all timber, but without attrition it lighteth not or dispelleth cold; and as butter is contained in milk but cannot be extracted without churning; so there is divine knowledge which yieldeth the essence of happiness in the hymns of the true Guru. In perusing them there is great merit, but divine knowledge is not to be obtained unless man meditate

[1] Sūhi.

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on them, implant them in his heart, and act according to them in all his affairs. It is then he shall obtain bliss and a knowledge of God, and dispel for ever the pain of transmigration.'

The Guru thus addressed Krishan and Pammu who also had sought his advice: 'Even if an ignorant man read the Guru's hymns, all his sins shall be remitted. When man putteth forward the feet of desire, he shall easily obtain divine knowledge by practice, and be strengthened in the service of the saints. But the sinners who read to receive honour from men, are worthy of expulsion from all societies. Though they cause themselves to be addressed by every one as gyanis, yet they have no faith or divine knowledge. Such people are proud, and associate not with the holy. They give themselves all praise in the hope of receiving money, but they never obtain divine knowledge. How can they who possess such pride enter God's court ?'

There was an ancient Jogi in Garhshankar in the Jalandhar district, who gave out that Shiv had promised that whoever beheld him should secure emancipation. Many persons went to see the Jogi on that account Tilak alone of his village refused. The Jogi became curious to know the cause, and decided that he would go to see him. Tilak at the interview put a screen between himself and the Jogi, so that the latter might not afterwards say that Tilak had seen him and thus obtained emancipation. Tilak told him that all his own devotion was centred in the Guru, and he would resort to no one else for his salvation. The Jogi on hearing accounts of the Guru's teachings conceived a desire to visit him, and begged Tilak to introduce him. Tilak consented, and both proceeded to Amritsar for the purpose.

The Jogi opened the conversation by saying to the Guru, 'If Guru Nanak had divine power, why hast thou, who sayest thou art the sixth Guru, not preserved his original body ?' By this the Jogi

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desired to know why Guru Nanak had not survived, and why it was necessary for him to appoint successors. The Guru replied, 'The soul putteth on a body like clothes which when old fall into tatters. Kings and rich men take off their old clothes and put on new ones. Poor people patch and stitch their torn clothes, so that they may last a little longer; but, when a man hath new clothes, why should he patch and wear the old ones?'[1] The Guru in support of this argument quoted the following verses of his father :—

He who remembereth not *God, leadeth* the life of a snake ;[2]
So liveth the infidel who forgetteth the Name.
He who liveth remembering God even for one moment,
Shall last for hundreds of thousands and millions of days, yea, for ever.[3]

The Jogi on hearing this began to feel humble. He became profuse in his thanks both to the Guru and Tilak who had led him to Amritsar. He then begged the Guru to make him like Tilak, a believer in one God, and grant him the gift of faith. The Guru replied, 'God is in the power of love, but love is not that which can be bought. It is the gift of God, and is bestowed on him to whom He showeth mercy. If thou have faith, thou shalt obtain what thou prayest for from Guru Nanak's house. The store of love and devotion, a little of which had been granted to the avatars, jogis, rikhis, and munis, was entrusted in full by the Creator to Guru Nanak. He hath generously distributed it with open hands and from him no account shall be taken. As hath been said :—

He to whom God gave a drop of nectar became immovable and immortal ;

1 The Guru compares the Gurus to rich men who change their clothes, the Jogis to poor men who patch them.

2 He may live long like the snake, but he possesses no knowledge of God.

3 Gauri Ashtapadi.

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He entrusted a store of devotion to Guru Nanak, and then took no account from him.[1]

The Guru on hearing of the pride of a certain reputed holy man, said, 'God is not pleased with pride or insolence. See how humble Guru Nanak was, and what lessons of humility and devotion he gave to his Sikhs. Shaikh Farid did painful penance for twelve years in the forest living on tubers and roots, but on his return home his mother found he had not completely renounced pride. He was accordingly remanded to the forest where he renewed his penance for twelve years more, this time with body reversed in a well. Not satisfied with that, he went with a wooden cake tied over his stomach for a third term of twelve years in search of saints. In his wanderings he met a holy man whom he served. It was only then that he became emancipated from evil passions.'

One Sewa Das, a Brahman, who resided at Srinagar in Kashmir, and who had been converted by the Guru, became such an anchoret that he retained no love for his relations. When reproached for this by his mother Bhagbhari, he defended himself by repeating the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

Relations abandon one when alive ;
Can any one when dead be benefited by them ?
He for whom it is so predestined remembereth God in his soul and body.
Mammon is of no avail—
His thirst shall never depart
Who hath partaken of the poison of deception
Without God's name how shall one cross over
The dangerous ocean of the world full of appalling woe ?
By meeting the company of saints, and worshipping God's name,
O Nanak, man's father's and mother's families shall be saved.[2]

[1] Guru Arjan, Sorath. [2] Gauri.

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Bhagbhari made a beautiful robe to give to the Guru when he visited her village. She did not know when that time would arrive, but she kept the robe for him, saying that as he was a searcher of hearts, and would consequently be attracted by her devotion, he would certainly visit her before she died. The Guru accordingly determined to proceed to Kashmir to meet her.

On proceeding as far as Chaparnala near Sialkot, the Guru inquired of a Brahman, whom he casually met, where he could find water to drink and bathe in. The Brahman carelessly replied, that the soil was stony and water was very scant. Upon this the Guru drove a spear into the ground, and it is said, a spring of pure water issued forth. The Guru's Sikhs constructed a tank at the spring. The Brahman was quite put to shame by the power of the Guru, confessed that he had been drowning in the pride of caste, and asked pardon for not having recognized the Guru's greatness. The Guru replied, 'The sins of him who repenteth shall be pardoned.' The tank was called Gurusar, or the Guru's tank.

The Guru continued his journey into the mountains of Kashmir, where he received offerings of delicious apples, and admired the beautiful scenery and the temperate climate of the country. There he met Kattu Shah, a converted Muhammadan and faithful Sikh who had visited him at Amritsar. The Guru passed a night in his house. Thence he proceeded to Srinagar, where he found Sewa Das waiting for him and meditating on God. On hearing the neighing of the Guru's horses, Sewa Das came forth and found the Guru already at his door. The Guru was received with great demonstrations of respect and affection. Sewa Das's mother said she worshipped the very ground on which the Guru trod, and repeated for him the following hymn of Guru Arjan:—

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May I remember the Guru at every breath !
The Guru is my soul, the true Guru is my capital—
May I live continually beholding the Guru !
May I drink *the water in which* I have washed his feet !
May I ever bathe in the dust of the Guru's feet !
May I thus wash away the filth of pride attached to preceding births !
May I fan that Guru
Who hath put forth his hand and saved me from the great fire !
May I draw water for the house of that Guru
From whom I learned the way of finding the Unknowable !
May I continually grind corn for the house of that Guru
By whose favour mine enemies have all become friends !
The Guru who gave me life
Hath purchased me and made me his slave.
May I ever and ever make obeisance to that Guru
Who caused me to love him !
Saith Nanak, my Guru is all powerful ;
He hath removed my troubles and anxieties, my fears, doubts, and sufferings.[1]

The Guru requested Sewa Das's mother to bring the dress she had made for him. He put it on, and she blessed her fate that she had been so honoured. She began to praise the Guru for his condescension and repeated to him the following hymn of Rav Das :—

Who but Thee, my Jewel, could do such a thing ?
Cherisher of the poor, Lord of the earth, Thou hast put over my head the umbrella of *spiritual sovereignty*.[2]

Saying this she drank some of the water in which the Guru had washed his feet. Her son also partook of the same beverage, and the remainder she sprinkled over her house. She cooked with her own hands for the Guru as long as he remained her guest.

The Guru was visited by crowds of Kashmiris,

[1] Gauri Ashtapadi. [2] Māru.

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men and women, both from Srinagar and the surrounding villages, and many embraced Sikhism. The Guru satisfied their spiritual necessities by preaching to them the cardinal virtues, and their temporal necessities by feeding them from his ever open kitchen. A very remarkable circumstance is said to have occurred during the Guru's stay in Srinagar. A company of Sikhs was coming from a distant village with offerings of honey for the Guru. On the way they stayed with Kattu Shah, who pressed them to let him have some of the offering. They refused, saying that they could not offer to the Guru Kattu Shah's leavings. When the Sikhs reached the Guru, the honey was found rotten and full of worms. The Guru said, 'This is the result of not having given to my Sikh in whom is the spirit of the Guru.' He ordered them to return and satisfy Kattu Shah. Upon this, it is said, the honey became fresh and sweet as before. The Sikhs remarked on the disinterestedness of the Guru, who preferred one of his Sikhs to himself. On this occasion the following hymns of the fourth Guru were sung :—

No one knoweth the secret of the true Guru's mind or what shall please him.

The true Guru pervadeth the hearts of his Sikhs ; he is pleased with him who loveth them.

As the true Guru telleth them, so they act and pray ; the work of the Guru's Sikhs findeth acceptance.

No Sikh shall approach him who desireth to have anything done by Sikhs without the true Guru's order.

A Sikh will work for him who heartily worketh for the true Guru.

A Sikh would never approach him who cometh and goeth to men for deception.

Nanak proclaimeth God's decree, that the creature who doeth anything without propitiating the true Guru shall suffer great misery.[1]

1 Gauri ki War 1.

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When God's saints are praised, it is God's glory.
God is only pleased with His own praises when His saint is congratulated.[1]

The Guru is a Sikh, and the Sikh is a Guru; they are both one, but it is the Guru who giveth instruction.
He putteth the spell of God's name in the heart, O Nanak, *and then God* is easily obtained.

While the Guru was in Srinagar, Bhagbhari fixing her thoughts on him blended her spirit with her Creator. He built a temple before his departure, and charged Sewa Das to remain and preach the true faith. The Guru returned to the Panjab by Baramula on the river Jihlam. The next day he visited the spot where the renowned Rikhi Kashyap had dwelt, and where Vishnu was said to have assumed the incarnation of a dwarf. Thence the Guru proceeded to Gujrat in the Panjab. The people of that city were so satisfied with their own priest Shah Daula [2] that they only laughed at the Guru's dress, appearance, and retinue.

Shah Daula went to visit the Guru and expressed his deep regret for the offensive remarks made by his fellow-citizens. He insisted on the Guru staying a night with him. The Guru was pleased with his affection and devotion and said, 'Gujrat is a city of mockers. Shah Daula is God's faqir.' Shah Daula's spiritual position was strengthened and enhanced by the Guru's visit, instruction and patronage.[3]

The Guru thence proceeded to Wazirabad and thence to Hafizabad, both in the present district of Gujranwala. In Hafizabad he was hospitably received

[1] Sorath ki Wār.
[2] Shāh Daula was believed to have attained such illumination of mind that he could discover hidden treasure. His successors at Gujrāt now produce a class of men with small heads who are let out to beg. For an account of Shāh Daula see the *Khulāsat-ul-Tawarīkh*.
[3] Pandit Tāra Singh's *Gur Tirath Sangrah*.

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by a Sikh called Karm Chand. The Guru read the Japji to him and explained its meaning, objects, and advantages. Karm Chand learning from the Guru the esoteric meaning of the hymns of the Granth Sahib obtained salvation during life. The Guru thence proceeded to a village called Muttu Bhai, sixteen miles south of Hafizabad, to whose inhabitants he communicated the principles of his religion. There he remained for some time.

In the town of Mandiali, about five miles from Lahore, there dwelt a Sikh called Dwara. His wife Bhagan was a woman of great natural endowments. They had an only daughter, modest and pious, known among the Sikhs as Marwahi; but also called Mahadevi. In proportion as she had been dear to her parents in her infancy, so distressed did she render them now by her enforced celibacy. Dwara had a Sikh friend who advised him to wed his daughter to the Guru, of whom he uttered high praises as an inducement to the alliance. Dwara accordingly dispatched marriage presents which reached the Guru in Muttu Bhai. The Guru graciously accepted them and dispatched his own return presents by Dwara's agents. The marriage was afterwards duly solemnized in Mandiali with great pomp and ceremony.

Chapter VII

Bhai Langaha arrived from Lahore with information for the Guru—'My lord, thy father and grandfather constructed a temple and other sacred buildings in Lahore. Religious services are duly performed there, and travelling strangers are received and treated with hospitality. The Qazi of Lahore is now jealous of thy fame. When he findeth opportunity he maketh representations to the Emperor that our sacred buildings should be dismantled and mosques built on their site. Thy friend Wazir Khan,

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however, is still alive and impedeth the Qazi's designs.' The Guru replied, 'The dharmsal is God's place. The fool who wisheth its end shall be quickly uprooted. The Guru's dharmsal shall be ever permanent, God hath rendered its foundation immovable. Relying on Him continue to dispense the Guru's hospitality.' Bhai Langaha then returned to Lahore, and the Guru at the same time prepared to leave Mandiali.

Thence the Guru proceeded to Talwandi, by this time called Nankana, the birthplace of Guru Nanak, and visited the scenes of his miracles there. The Nimani fair, called by the Hindus the Nirjala Ikadashi, held on the 11th day of the light half of the month of Jeth, was at its height at the time. The Sikhs still observe this fair in commemoration of the Guru's visit. Thence the Guru proceeded to Madar, where Guru Arjan was said to have left his shoes after having touched the Sikh Kidara with them for tubercles on the neck.

The Guru next went to Manga in the Lahore district to see the tree under which Guru Nanak had sat. Thence he proceeded to Amritsar where as usual great rejoicings were held on his return.

His wife Damodari presented the Guru with another child, this time a daughter. Among the Sikhs a name is given to a new-born child by a process of divination. The Granth Sahib is opened and the initial letter of the first word of the last hymn on the right page becomes the initial of the child's name. The Guru's daughter was thus named Viro.

Painda Khan, who had been recruited at Kartarpur, was continually pampered to increase his strength. He could raise the trunk of a tree weighing ten *mans*[1] and lift two young buffaloes. He could without the aid of rope or bridle arrest a horse running at full speed. No wrestler would engage with him.

[1] About 800 pounds avoirdupois.

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In Har, Sambat 1674, Marwahi gave birth to a son whom the Guru called Suraj Mal. Nanaki, the Guru's second wife, represented to the Guru that she had no offspring. The Guru asked her to have patience and promised that a son of hers should one day sit on the Guru's throne. On Monday the 16th day of Maghar, Sambat 1675 (A.D. 1618), she gave birth to her first son who was called Ani Rai.

One Rama of Batala on seeing the child Gurditta the Guru's eldest born in his father's lap, was pleased and thought what an excellent husband the boy would make for his daughter. He was, however, disheartened by the thought that he himself was only a poor man, and the Guru before whom emperors and kings bowed was great and famous. What alliance could there be between an elephant and an ant, an eagle and a sparrow? Having, however, thought of the Guru's other humble alliances after the rejection of a minister's daughter, Rama decided on offering his daughter as a future wife for the Guru's son Gurditta. The Guru consulted his mother, who gave it as her advice that the daughter of such an excellent Sikh ought not to be rejected. The Guru then consented to the union. The ardas (supplication) was read, and Rama's marriage presents duly placed before Gurditta.

One of the main occupations of elderly Oriental ladies is to contrive matrimonial alliances for their young relations. In process of time, as Viro the Guru's daughter by Damodari was growing up, the Guru's mother suggested to him that he ought to search for a spouse for her. The Guru replied that God would settle all such things. At the same time he did not forget his mother's suggestion. At his levée one morning he saw a man in dirty clothes standing with his son at a distance. The Guru noticed something noble concealed under the man's otherwise unpromising exterior, and beckoned him to approach. The Guru inquired his residence and

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status. He replied that his name was Dharma and his son was called Sadhu. They were residents of the village of Malha, and had little in the way of worldly wealth. Dharma politely added that his son was the gift of the Guru and consequently the Guru's servant. They had both come to pay him their respects and solicit his blessing. The Guru seated Sadhu near him and without further consideration sent to his private apartments for marriage presents. He put them in God's name into the boy's lap. Dharma was surprised and confused at this unexpected accession of honour, and said to the Guru, 'Honour of the unhonoured, where is a drop of water and where is the ocean ? Where is the ant and where is the elephant ? I am a poor creature and thou art the king of kings.' The Guru replied, 'In the Guru's house this hath ever been the rule, that he whom nobody knoweth becometh conspicuous. Have no anxiety, remain humble as before, and everything shall prosper.' The Guru's mother had not been consulted as to the status of the proposed bridegroom, and when told what the Guru had done, did not fail to give emphatic expression to her adverse opinion. 'What hast thou seen in him ? I hear he is a very poor man.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, God will act for the best. The bridegroom is good and of good family. Father and son are Sikhs, and as for wealth there is no deficiency in the Guru's storehouse.'

On Wednesday at the full moon in the month of Kartik, Sambat 1677, Nanaki gave birth to another son. The midwife praised his qualities, and the Guru's mother was delighted. When all the ceremonies attendant on childbirth were completed, the child was called Atal Rai. The Guru on seeing him uttered this prophecy : 'He shall be absorbed in fixed (atal) contemplation, be a benefactor to mankind, restore life to the dead, crown his life

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with glory, and after death attain the highest position in God's court.'

A Sikh named Mihra resided at Bakala, a town near the river Bias. He built a mansion for the accommodation of the Guru, and went to Amritsar with the object of inviting him. The Guru gave him no definite promise, but said he would come at some time. Mihra then went to wait on the Guru's mother, expecting a more satisfactory answer from her, and hoping she would prevail on the Guru to accept his invitation. It was the time of the wedding of her grandson Gurditta to Natti, also called Nihalo, daughter of Rama, and she was in a favourable mood to listen to a request. She at once consented to go to Bakala, told Mihra to proceed thither, and she would soon follow with her son the Guru. The Guru, on consideration, thought it proper to yield to his mother and accept the invitation. He was in due course received by Mihra and the other inhabitants of the village with great respect and rejoicing.

After three days Ganga the Guru's mother informed him that as she had now seen her daughters-in-law, and her grandchildren, it was time for her to depart. She said that she had no further desires on earth to gratify, and would go to dwell at her husband's feet. She gave orders that as Guru Arjan's body was thrown into the Ravi near Lahore, so should hers be thrown into the Bias. Then collecting her thoughts, repeating the Japji, the Sukhmani, and the Anand, and concentrating her attention on Guru Nanak, she went to her final repose on the 1st day of Jeth, Sambat 1678 (A.D. 1621). Four Sikhs took her body into the Bias until the water reached their necks, and there allowed it to be borne on the stream.

When the Guru after his mother's death was preparing to return to Amritsar, Mihra pressed him to remain in Bakala and there celebrate the cere-

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monies of the tenth day after his mother's death, that is, put on a turban and affix a patch to his forehead according to ancient customs. The Guru replied, 'The patch of Gurudom shall be applied here to the forehead of the ninth Guru. Thou shalt survive till then, and thy desire to behold his installation shall be gratified.'

The Guru went to Amritsar without waiting for the ceremonies of the tenth day. When his wives and other relations heard of his mother's death, they were naturally much grieved for the loss of such a capable and affectionate lady. They said, 'We had no anxiety as long as she presided over us. Who will now give us counsel and consolation?' The Guru by way of solacing his people recited the Alahanian or Lamentations of Guru Nanak.

Bhai Budha who had gone to Amritsar to condole with the Guru on his mother's death, took an opportunity of making a personal representation to him, 'Thy mother hath gone to heaven. I see thee girding on thine arms and preparing for battle. My body hath grown old. I am no longer strong for combat, and must return to my forest home as before.' The Guru replied, 'I am but fulfilling thy prophecy that I should wear two swords, and twist the necks of the Mughals. Thou mayest go to live where and how thou pleasest.'

The Guru practised all martial exercises and collected arms of every description. He hunted, witnessed exhibitions of strength by Painda Khan, and occasionally visited Kaulan to afford her spiritual consolation.

Another son, who was named Teg Bahadur, was born to Nanaki on the fifth day of the dark half of Baisakh, Sambat 1679 (A.D. 1622). It was prophesied at his birth, that he should restrain his mind, subdue his passions, and beget a powerful arms-bearing and warrior son, who would promote religion, convert jackals into tigers, and sparrows into hawks.

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There was a Sikh called Gurumukh who was married to a devoted wife. They were happy in every respect except that they had no children. They requested the Sikhs to pray for them, that their desires might be fulfilled. They were advised to serve Sikhs in every way, and they did so. The result was that they had a son in due course. When he was ten years of age, his parents died within a short interval of each other. The son was brought up without a trade or profession of any sort, and had to sell his household property to maintain himself. Nobody would pay what was due to him; and if he owed anything, he had to pay twice or thrice more than was just, or, in default, pledge his house and movables. At last it came to pass that he found himself without house, or home, or property of any description except one solitary kauri. He took this humble coin to the market-place, but no one would give him food for it. His stomach was collapsing with hunger, and he began to weep and wail, 'I was my parents' darling, but they gave me no education. How shall I earn my living?' While thus complaining a company of Sikhs singing hymns was passing by. One of them asked him why he was thus standing all forlorn. Having told his story, he was urged to join the party and proceed to Amritsar to seek the Guru's protection. He would obtain maintenance from the Guru's kitchen, for did not Guru Arjan say:—

My brethren, eat food to satiety,
And meditate on the ambrosial Name in your hearts.[1]

Apart from maintenance the youth would obtain spiritual advantage by visiting the Guru. He accordingly joined the Sikhs, and did menial service for them on the road. When not so occupied he was committing the Guru's hymns to memory. So absorbed was he in his devotions, that he forgot on

[1] Bilāwal.

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one occasion to proceed with his party. He was found wandering by a Pathan trooper and impressed to carry his luggage. It was then the era of Musalman domination, and no one had the courage to set him free. He was lamenting his fate in having parted from the Sikhs, and being thus delayed in seeing the Guru, when he accidentally met a masand. Having saluted him he placed his kauri before him, and begged him to offer it to the Guru and supplicate him to grant an interview to a Sikh in distress. The masand took the kauri, blessed the son of Gurumukh, and proceeded on his way.

The youth and the Pathan went on until they were wearied from the heat and the journey. The Pathan espied a clump of trees and an adjacent well where he stopped to take rest and quench his thirst. As he stood on the edge of the well the masonry gave way, and he was launched into the water with tons of masonry on his head. This was understood to be a punishment from heaven for his tyranny in impressing a devout Sikh, and causing him to undergo excessive hardship. Gurumukh's son began to consider what he was to do with the Pathan's luggage. He did not know his name or address. He therefore decided that the things were a windfall for himself. He opened the bundle and found some clothes, jewels, and one thousand gold muhars. He tied them all up again, and, taking them with him on the Pathan's horse, set out for Amritsar. When darkness was coming on he sought a night's lodging, and was conducted to the house of a Hindu. The Hindu happened to have gone abroad, leaving his wife at home. The visitor handed her a rupee and requested her to bake him two cakes. She took the money, observed his bundle, and at once made up her mind if possible to relieve him of whatever he was carrying. She laid him on a bed in the deudhi, or outer reception-room, had his horse tied up, and began to prepare his dinner. She made him a savoury

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dish, in which she mixed a potent narcotic and placed it before him. He took a morsel of the food, and repeating 'Wahguru', put it into his mouth. As the bard said in one of his verses in praise of Guru Amar Das :—

The poison was changed into nectar when he uttered the True Guru's name.

The hostess called out to her guest every half-hour, and was astonished at hearing him speak in the ordinary manner. Before composing himself to sleep he repeated the Sohila with great devotion.

Foiled in this attempt, the hostess thought of another plan whereby she might rob her guest. She persuaded him, on the pretext of safety, to go and sleep near his horse and leave his saddle-bags and bundle with her. She represented that if anything were stolen from him she would get a bad name; hence her thoughtfulness for him and herself. When she found the Sikh's property in her possession, she hastened to a burglar who was a lover of hers, and requested him to come and kill the man who was sleeping in her reception-room. She said, 'He is my enemy, and it is proper to kill him; I will never forget the favour, and I will besides substantially reward thee.' Having received a promise from the burglar, she returned home and went to sleep. By accident her husband returned home that very night. On entering the deudhi, and seeing a stranger, he inquired who he was and his business. Gurumukh's son informed him. The owner of the house, who was a kind and considerate man, took him within, the better to show his hospitality, and went himself to sleep in the deudhi. At the end of the night the burglar came and killed the master of the house, believing him to be the strange guest, and then absconded. In the morning it was ascertained that it was the newly arrived husband who had been killed, and not the wayfaring Sikh. The victim's wife began to weep

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and mourn, her husband was gone, and she found herself in the painful position of an Indian widow.

Meantime the guest awoke, and heartily thanking the Guru for his escape took up his saddle-bags and bundle, mounted his horse, and lost no time in departing. On his escape he devoutly repeated the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

No hot wind toucheth him who is under the protection of the Supreme God.

Round about me is God's circle, so no trouble can afflict me, my brethren.

I have met the perfect true Guru who hath reconciled me *with God.*

He gave me God's name as my medicine ; I have fixed mine attention on the one God.

That Preserver hath preserved me, and cured all my maladies.

Saith Nanak, mercy hath been extended to me, and God hath become my helper.[1]

In the Guru's court it was usual for the masands to bring the offerings of the Sikhs and hand them to an officer called Ardasia or chamberlain. He used to call out the giver's name and the nature of the offering and present it to the Guru. When it came to the presentation of Gurumukh's son's kauri, the Guru said, 'He hath sent this kauri with faith, and hath received much more than a thousandfold from God. He is now on his way hither.' While the Guru was speaking, and the masand who had brought the kauri was wondering how the Pathan could have parted with his impressed carrier, the Sikh arrived and addressed the Guru, 'O true king, this horse, these arms, clothing, and gold coins are all thine. It is thou who hast freed me from the tyranny of the Pathan, the poison of the evil woman, and the sword of the robber; and now thou hast granted me a sight of thee, and the privilege of bathing in thine ambrosial tank.'

[1] Bilāwal.

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The Guru replied, 'Thou hast with faith offered a kauri in return for which Guru Nanak hath granted thee a treasure. The horse, arms, and money are all thine.' The Guru told the youth to trade with the property, do an honest business, give a tithe of his profits to the Sikh cause, and continue his religious duties as before. On the evil woman who caused her husband's death, a poet composed the following :—

As accursed is the wealth hoarded by a miser without generosity,

As accursed is a learned man's pride which benefiteth not the world,

As accursed is beauty without wisdom, and accursed the wisdom which praiseth not God,

As accursed is the tongue without God's name, as accursed is the hand which serveth not *His saints*,

As accursed are the ears which hear not God's name, as accursed is the king whose minister is evil,

As accursed is life without association with saints, so is woman's life accursed without a husband.

And on the Sikh who offered a kauri Bhai Gur Das composed the following :—

When man goeth one step towards the protection of the Guru's feet, the Guru advanceth a million steps to meet him.

The true Guru ever remembereth him with love, who even once remembereth a particle of the Guru's teaching.

The Guru shall bestow all wealth on him who offereth even one kauri with faith, devotion, and love.

The true Guru is an ocean of compassion ; unfathomable is the knowledge of his greatness ; I bow, I bow, I bow to the Guru whose glory is indescribable.[1]

[1] Gur Das's *Kabit*.

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Chapter VIII

Sudden intelligence arrived that the Emperor Jahangir had died in Kashmir, whereupon his son Shah Jahan immediately assumed regal power. The Guru knowing the future addressed Strife, as an evil agency. 'Go where thy companions falsehood, worldly love, and pride, have their dwellings, and be happy with them. Thou shalt have enough blood there to fill the skull thou carriest.'

When Damodari's daughter was to be married to the son of Dharma, she wished to invite all her relations on the occasion, but the Guru would not agree, because he had a presentiment of hostilities on the part of the new Emperor. He knew that Mihrban (Prithia's son) and Karm Chand (son of Chandu) had poisoned Shah Jahan's mind against him. The Sikhs were all distressed at this, and said to him,' If thou invite not thy relations at such a time, how shall they be known as thy relations ? ' The Sikhs not knowing the Guru's real motive considered that he was too much occupied with Muhammadans and military exercises. It is true that he excessively pampered Painda Khan in every way, and used frequently to present him with offerings made by the Sikhs. This caused great heart-burning to others. It was decided that a deputation consisting of Bhais Tilak, Tirath, Niwala, Krishan, Tulsi, Takhtu, and others should wait on Bhai Gur Das, now an old man, possessing much influence with the Guru, and endeavour to persuade him to remonstrate with the Guru on his general conduct. On this occasion Bhai Gur Das composed the following :—

People say the former Gurus used to sit in the temple ; the present Guru remaineth not in any one place.

The former Emperors used to visit the former Gurus ; the present Guru was sent into the fortress by the Emperor.

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In former times the Guru's darbar could not contain the sect; the present Guru leadeth a roving life and feareth nobody.

The former Gurus sitting on their thrones used to console the Sikhs; the present Guru keepeth dogs and hunteth.

The former Gurus used to compose hymns, listen to them, and sing them; the present Guru composeth not hymns, or listeneth to them, or singeth them.

He keepeth not his Sikh followers with him, but taketh enemies of his faith and wicked persons as his guides and familiars.

I say, the truth within him cannot possibly be concealed; the true Sikhs like the bumble-bees are enamoured of his lotus feet.

He supporteth a burden intolerable to others and asserteth not himself.[1]

Bhai Gur Das told the Sikhs that, though the Guru was blameless, yet in order to silence his detractors it was advisable to send for Bhai Budha to apprise the Guru of the scandal that had arisen. The Sikhs accordingly went to Bhai Budha in the forest and represented to him the state of affairs. They found him already prepared to set out for Amritsar. The Guru treated him with marked respect and seated him near him. He said 'Bhai Budha, thy body is old, but thy love is ever young. Why hast thou undertaken such a journey in this hot month of Jeth? Tell me thine object.' Bhai Budha replied, 'Thou art like the Ganges, like the sun, and like the fire. The Ganges swalloweth corpses and bones of the countless dead, and yet remaineth pure; the sun draweth towards it noxious vapours, and yet remaineth pure; fire burneth and consumeth the dead, and yet remaineth pure. Thou art like all three. The Sikhs seeing thy love for sport and military exercises fear for thee. Wherefore abandon them.' The Guru laughed and replied, 'I have done

[1] Wār XXVI.

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nothing improper; I am only obeying thine orders with my life, and improving the condition of my Sikhs.' Upon this Bhai Budha returned to his forest dwelling.

The Guru once in a vision beheld his father Guru Arjan surrounded by his saints. He thought that Guru Arjan thus addressed him—'As Guru Nanak on receiving God's order resigned the supply office in Sultanpur, travelled in foreign countries, and preached the true Name, so the saints who are annoyed by the unjust acts of the Turks, pray thee to gird on thine arms, and make use of them to good effect against thine enemies, that the Sikhs may abide in peace.' Guru Har Gobind replied, 'The words of the saints are immutable. What they propose God accomplisheth. I shall be engaged in many battles in which enemies and oppressors shall perish.' The Guru on awaking took his bow and quiver, girded on his two swords, his daggers and other arms, and distributed horses, uniforms, armour, shields, and guns among his soldiers.

A company of Sikhs came from the West to behold the Guru, and present him with offerings. As they were hungry and weary, the Guru desired to give them their dinner. The Guru's servants represented that dinner had already been served, the fires were extinguished, the cooks had all dispersed, and even if they could be found, it would be very late to retire for rest after a second dinner had been prepared. The Guru then bethought him of a room full of sweets collected for the marriage of his daughter, and ordered that they should be given to his visitors. The key of the room was with Damodari, the Guru's wife, but she refused to give it up or bestow the sweets on any one till the bridegroom's party had partaken of them. The Guru sent to her several times, but she obstinately adhered to her determination. The Guru then gave vent to his sentiments—'My Sikhs are dearer to me than

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life. Were they the first to taste the sweets, all obstacles to the marriage should be removed, but now the Muhammadans shall come and possess themse ves of them. My Sikhs are like a garden. If its trees remain green they yield flowers, leaves, and wood for all purposes. Wherefore we should ever take care to foster Sikhs, and promote their comfort. From the days of Guru Nanak down to my father the fifth Guru, it hath ever been the practice to entertain five Sikhs, whenever anything of importance was to be done, and all efforts should thus prove successful. When wandering Sikhs come to my house and go away disappointed, it is but a just requital that the sweets should fall to the Muhammadans, and the marriage be interrupted.' The bystanders began to tremble, but none of them durst beg the Guru to recall his curse. Fortunately, however, at that time a Sikh came with five *mans* of sweets as a contribution to the marriage feast. The Guru distributed the offering among the Sikhs who had come from the West, and thus succeeded in discharging the duties of hospitality.

The Emperor Shah Jahan went hunting from Lahore in the direction of Amritsar. The Guru at the same time was similarly occupied. Both hunting parties unconsciously approached each other, but without meeting. The Emperor had a white hawk which had been sent him as a rare present from the King of Iran. As the Emperor was on the point of returning to Lahore, a Brahmani duck rose, and he with his own hand let fly the hawk in pursuit. The hawk which had been over pampered refused to strike, but began to play with the bird. The Emperor felt tired and did not wait to capture it, but hasted on his way to Lahore. He sent his huntsmen with some troops to search, and concluded that they would bring him back his treasure. They went wherever they saw the duck rising before the hawk. The bird and the hawk eventually fled in the direction of the

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Guru's party. The Sikhs at once let fly a hawk of their own which seized the duck. The Emperor's hawk then joined in the seizure, and the Sikhs caught them both. They were pleased to behold such a beautiful hawk, and congratulated themselves on the acquisition. They decided that they would keep it for themselves since it had sought their protection.

When the royal huntsman and his troopers arrived and saw the hawk, they told the Sikhs that it was theirs, and asked that it should be given them. The Sikhs refused to admit the ownership of men who were strangers to them, and said that, as they had caught the bird with difficulty in the forest, and it had no owner, they claimed it as their prize. The huntsman replied, 'Shah Jahan whose glory is great, is king of the whole world. The kings of all lands bow before him, and fear him. He hath left nowhere a rebel, and hath subjected all men to his authority. Know you him not? We are his servants. The hawk alighted here before our arrival. You have caught him, and made him your own. Give him up quickly, displease us not, or the Emperor will be angry.' The Sikhs rejoined, 'We will not give up the hawk through fear of the Emperor. Go and make a complaint to him whose power you so vaunt.'

The head huntsman renewed the remonstrance. 'Fear you not the Emperor? Since you are within his cable-tow, why desire to behold a real exhibition? You speak like intoxicated persons, and know not what you say. Even kings who have thousands of fighting men stand with clasped hands before the Emperor, and fear him in their hearts. If you give not up the hawk, how shall you escape? Whither will you flee? When the Emperor's army cometh and falleth on you with violence, who will fight on your side? Then you and the hawk will be captured and taken away. Ponder on my words.'

The Sikhs angrily retorted, 'Coward, why quarrel thus? Go off with thine arms in safety. Why pro-

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voke chastisement for thine insolence? We shall see if the hawk belongeth to the Emperor or to us. Go before him and complain, and do what he will tell thee. Stand not quarrelling here. If thou desire to retain thy self-respect, abandon the hawk and go. Otherwise thou shalt leave thine arms behind thee, and suffer the disgrace thereof.' As the altercation waxed hotter and more angry language was exchanged, the Sikh warriors called to arms, and inflicted severe chastisement on the Muhammadans. They who survived hastened their steps to Lahore to report to the Emperor the seizure of the hawk and the violence of the Sikhs. Other enemies of the Guru thought it a good opportunity to revive the charges against him, and to remind the Emperor of his alleged misdeeds. 'The Guru,' they said, 'hath now crowned the measure of his iniquity by misappropriating the Emperor's favourite hawk, and his Sikhs have slain several of the bodyguard.' The Emperor was taunted with apathy and advised to arrest the Guru at once, lest he should seize some fort, rise in rebellion and defy constituted authority.

The Emperor sent for Mukhlis Khan, one of his trusty general officers, seated him near him, gave him a dress of honour of great value and a swift and powerful charger with golden trappings, and ordered him to organize a military expedition to punish the Sikhs. Mukhlis Khan already commanded an army of seven thousand men, and he was empowered to take with him any further forces he might require. He was to bring the leader of the Sikhs and the hawk by any means he thought expedient to the Emperor; and he should then be promoted to even a higher position than he had previously occupied. Mukhlis Khan told the Emperor that it was a very easy matter. At the very moment of his arrival in Amritsar he would arrest the Guru, and bring him before his Majesty without having to resort to force of arms.

The Sikhs of Lahore hearing of the contemplated

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military expedition against the Guru sent a swift messenger to apprise him of it. The messenger reached Amritsar in the evening. There was a place called Lohgarh, or the iron (strong) fortress, outside the city. It was really a platform raised to resemble a species of tower, where the Guru used often to hold his court in the afternoon. He had a high wall built round it, prepared it in other ways for defence, and posted within the enclosure a small detachment of twenty-five men in anticipation of attack. He took out all his weapons, cleaned and sharpened his swords, and distributed them among his troops. Meantime, there were great rejoicings in the Guru's palace on account of his daughter's approaching marriage, and women sang the marriage songs composed by the Gurus.

His S.khs told the Guru that a big gun was necessary for the defence of Lohgarh. The Guru replied, 'There is a hollow tree lying there which will serve as a cannon.' It is said that from the hollow tree thus converted into a weapon of artillery the Sikhs subsequently discharged stones in such a manner as to dismay their adversaries and seriously thin their ranks.

The Sikhs and their officers made preparations, and were soon ready for the fray. The Guru addressed his commander-in-chief Bhanu: 'It is not good to have the fighting near our homes, let the battle be fought outside our city. In the first place, the enemy may enter our houses and plunder our property, and secondly, we may kill our own brave men in the darkness. It is better, too, that our families be removed for safety outside the city. They must only take with them the first articles on which they can lay their hands.'

Bhai Niwala, who appears to have been an elderly man, went into the Guru's private apartments and brought forth his wives and children. For the approaching marriage everything that was necessary had been stored up, but there was no time now to

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make a nice selection, and many valuables must be left behind. The twenty-five brave Sikhs on duty in Lohgarh restrained the imperial host, but were unable to cause much destruction among them owing to the darkness of the night. The defenders of the fort said, that in the morning they would show their strength to the Turks, that they would fight their way to Lahore, capture and bring back the Emperor, and thus prove to the world that they really were the Guru's soldiers. Meanwhile the Guru's wives and children were all removed to a house near Ramsar. The Guru went to the temple and there fervently prayed for victory. He repeated on the occasion these lines of Guru Arjan :—

Wicked men and enemies are all destroyed by Thee, O Lord, and Thy glory is manifested.

Thou didst immediately destroy those who annoyed Thy saints.[1]

Several other verses of the Guru's father recurred to his memory at the time :—

God the Destroyer of fear removeth pride.[2]

They who harbour it shall drop and fall on the ground *like leaves*.[3]

It was discovered at Ramsar that the Guru's daughter Viro, whose marriage had been thus rudely interrupted, was missing. At this her mother began to weep and wail. Singha and Babak were sent to search for her. It appears that when the Guru's family were leaving their abode, the girl was accidentally left in the upper story of the house. The Guru gave Singha and Babak his rosary to satisfy her that they had been really commissioned to search for her, and that no treachery was contemplated.

The Sikh detachment in Lohgarh, though coura-

[1] Dhanāsari [2] Māru Solha. [3] Gauri ki Wār I.

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geous to the last degree, were too few to cope with the Muhammadan host, and after destroying hundreds of the enemy fell martyrs to the Guru's cause. The Muhammadans proceeded to the Guru's palace in search of him, and on finding it empty became furious. They took possession of the house in which the sweets had been stored for the marriage feast, and gorged themselves to repletion. Viro remained silent in the upper story, and would not through fear open the door even when invited to do so by Singha and Babak. When, however, her father's rosary was shown her by the light of a lamp, she became satisfied that no deceit was intended. She then descended, and Singha put her on horseback in front of him. The horse, which used to be kept at Ramsar, knew his way through the city, and so Singha gave him free rein that he might make his way in the dark. Mukhlis Khan, who was standing on the brink of the holy tank, on hearing a horse pass, challenged the rider. Babak, who was walking by the horse, replied in Mukhlis Khan's Turkish dialect, 'We belong to you. We have grown weary of searching for you, but did not know where to find you. If you have seen the Guru anywhere pray tell us, and if not, then be on the alert.' They were on the point of passing on when their movements were heard by one of the Muhammadan soldiers, who shouted aloud, 'The Guru's family is escaping, seize them.' Upon this a Pathan soldier put his lance in rest for attack. Babak, noticing his action, discharged his musket, and the soldier fell like a plantain tree before a gale of wind. The Guru, hearing the report, sent Bidhi Chand and Painda Khan to assist Viro's rescuers; and they all made their way in safety to him and received countless congratulations.

Three hours of night now remained. The Guru, feeling that his family would not be safe in Amritsar after daybreak, decided on at once sending them to Goindwal. It happened, too, that the coming day

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was the one fixed for Viro's marriage. He ordered that his family and all the non-combatants of the city should halt at Jhabal, a town about seven miles to the south-west of Amritsar. They would spend the day there, and he would join them in the evening, when they would celebrate the marriage without interruption, and thence proceed to Goindwal. This was all arranged, and the Guru dispatched a guard of soldiers for the protection of his people. He took the precaution of sending two soldiers to stop the bridegroom's procession, lest it might fall into the hands of the enemy.

The enemy, wearied by the forced march of the previous day and their sleepless bivouac, and surfeited by the Guru's sweets, were sleeping on beds they had seized from the citizens. When they lay down they thought that the Guru had either been killed in the fight or had absconded. They were awakened by an unmistakable sound of muskets. Then began the conflict, the clashing of swords, and the hissing of bullets. Brave men fell and died, blood flowed in profusion, corpses were piled on one another, the wounded uttered piercing cries ; heads, bodies, arms, and legs were separated, and horses without riders careered round the city.

Mukhlis Khan, on seeing his soldiers giving way, thus addressed them, ' Are you not ashamed to run away before a few Sikhs ? Charge, and either capture or kill the Guru.' The Turks, supposing that Bhai Bhanu, the Guru's commander-in-chief, was the Guru himself, advanced against him. They were further incited to the combat by the shouts of Shams Khan, an officer of the imperial guard, and rushed on with drawn swords. Bhai Bhanu, too, cheered on his men, ' Advance, O Sikhs ; fight, and fear not. The Guru our preserver is with us. If your heads fly off, let them fly, but never allow yourselves to be called cowards. Charge in a body, strike and rout the enemy.' On hearing these words of their chief,

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the Sikhs set their teeth and charged, crying, ' Smite ! smite ! ' and challenging the enemy. Such was their onslaught that Shams Khan and his troops fled precipitately. Mukhlis Khan sent Anwar Khan to Shams Khan's assistance. Anwar Khan addressed him, ' O Shams Khan, thou hast disgraced the names of Mughal and Pathan. Think of thine ancestry, stand and fight the enemy, and lose not heart. Even if thou save thyself for a moment by flight, that shall not long avail thee, for Mukhlis Khan will afterwards put thee to death, and thou shalt then burn in hell-fire.'

Hearing Anwar Khan's reproaches, Shams Khan returned and roared defiance at his opponents. This produced some confusion in the Sikh ranks. On observing this, Bhai Bhanu rushed with great velocity to the protection of his troops, and caused them to fire a volley which killed Shams Khan's horse. Bhai Bhanu then dismounted, and he and Shams Khan engaged in single combat. Bhai Bhanu said to him, ' I will not suffer thee to escape now.' Shams Khan replied, ' Defend thyself, I am going to strike.' Bhai Bhanu received the sword on his shield, and then putting forward all his force, beheaded his adversary with one blow. The Muhammadans, seeing their commander slain, rushed in a body on Bhai Bhanu, and assailed him on all sides. He, however, lost not heart, but cut down the enemy as if they were radishes. Observing him springing and roaring like a tiger, all feared to approach him. At last he received two bullets which passed through and through his body. With Wahguru on his lips the brave commander of the Guru's army went to his repose at Guru Nanak's feet.

When Mukhlis Khan heard of Shams Khan's death he dispatched a thousand horse under the command of Saiyid Muhammad Ali to the part of the field in which he had been slain. Muhammad Ali's troops fought with great determination, and

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inflicted appalling loss on the Sikhs. Heads and legs flew off until heaps were formed on the plains. Kites uttered shrieks of joy, and the demonesses attendant on the goddess of war belched on receiving such a surfeit of flesh and gore. The marksmen Bhai Tota, Nihalu, Tiloka, Ananta, and Nivala, killed many Musalmans. Singha, too, did good service in encouraging the Guru's men, 'Fight now; remember, my friends, this opportunity will not come again.' A Muhammadan trooper in the Guru's army represented to him that his men were too few to cope with the thousands of brave troops against him. The Guru replied that he was not responsible for the war; they who sought it should perish therein. His helper was God. In the words of the Sukhmani :—

If God infuse power into a little ant,
It can reduce to ashes armies of hundreds of thousands and millions of men.
He is the Preserver of all creatures.

Singha continued valorous to the last. He advanced with five hundred warriors, fought like a tiger, and put the Muhammadan hosts to flight, as if they were so many jackals. Muhammad Ali, seeing his army fleeing, pressed to the van and endeavoured to rally them. He fired at Singha and wounded both him and his horse. His adversary, seeing that Singha was not yet dead, fired again but missed him. Singha recovered consciousness, drew forth an arrow as he lay on the ground, and taking steady aim drove it through Muhammad Ali's chest. The imperial army, on seeing him fall, fought with desperation to avenge him. Bhai Tota and Bhai Tiloka, who were so eager for the combat that they pushed others aside to reach the front, both fell mortally wounded. In the *melee* that ensued the Sikhs and the Turkish army became blended like two torrents. The soldiers of both armies wrestled

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with one another. The Muhammadans rushed on shouting 'Ya Ali! Ya Ali!' The brave Singha in the conflict died a hero's death.

When the news of Singha's death reached the Guru he dispatched the powerful Painda Khan against the Muhammadans. Painda Khan advanced with his troops like a hawk moving amongst quails. The Guru himself, too, went into the thick of the fight, and adjusting his arrows to his bow discharged them hissing like snakes, and killed countless Muhammadans. These fell to the earth as if they were drunkards intoxicated with wine or bhang. When Mukhlis Khan heard that the Guru had personally taken the field, and was destroying his army, he ordered all his troops to charge, and not allow the Sikh priest to escape, as they had done on the previous night. 'God', the Muhammadan chief said, 'hath now given the Guru into our hands; we will send him to the Emperor and receive rewards and honours for his capture.'

Upon this the Imperial army in a body plied their arrows, swords, and muskets, and rushed like clouds in the month of Sawan to the capture or destruction of the Guru, but the Guru's arrows dispersed them like a westerly wind. When struck by him they lay on the ground like men in the deep sleep of indigestion induced by a surfeit of sweets. Those still able to fight advanced gnashing their teeth with rage, but on meeting the Guru wrung their hands in sorrow. The Guru in order to draw them on used sometimes to retire a little. The Turks would then advance and receive their death at his hands. Bhai Jaita and Takhtu thinking that the Guru's retreat was due to weariness, prayed him to take a brief respite, and they would in the meantime hold the enemy in check. The Guru replied, 'No; I have retreated that they may advance and be all destroyed in a body.'

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Chapter IX

Bidhi Chand and Painda Khan had been committing great havoc among the Muhammadan army. They and Bhai Jati Mal—son of the hero Singha—Bhais Nanda, Piraga, Bhima, and Bhikhan mounted on their chargers, ran to the Guru's assistance, and destroyed detachment upon detachment of the enemy. Bhai Nanda drew his sword, and cut off the heads of several Muhammadans. The conflict was so obstinate that the martial weapons on both sides were broken, and the combatants had then to fight with their fists. While they were thus contending, Muhammadans in their dismay and confusion fired both on the Guru's troops and on their own. The Guru's brave soldiers, Amira, Jaita, Tota, Krishan Das, Gulala, Gopala, Nihala, Diala, Takhtu, Mahita, Paira, Tiloka, Jati Mal, Piraga, Jetha, Bidhi, Chand, Babak, and Painda Khan cheerfully resolved to spurn life and devote themselves soul and body to the Guru's assistance.

The Sikhs surrounded Ali Beg, Bahadur Khan, Saiyid Didar Ali, Mihr Ali, Ismail Khan, and others, who had acquired throughout India great fame in many a field. The brave youths Bidhi Chand and Painda Khan, lifting their lances, soon made their enemies' horses riderless. The Guru himself so fought that no one whom he struck asked again for water. The Musalmans advanced against him with drawn swords. The four Sikhs Tota, Tiloka, Ananta, and Nihala hastened to his support. These four faithful and devoted Sikhs, having killed Bahadur Khan and the whole of his detachment, received the edge of the sword on their own necks, and went to heaven as a reward for their devotion. Seeing them fall Bhai Mohan, Bhai Bidhi Chand, Gopal Das, Jaita, Piraga, Paira, Damodar, Bhag Mal, Painda Khan, Jati Mal, Chandar Bhan, Chhajju, Gajju, Hira,

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Moharu, Sujan, and other magnanimous Sikhs who had devoted their lives and property to the Guru, challenged, defied, and closed with the enemy.

Mukhlis Khan then addressed his chosen warriors Karim Beg, Rahim Beg, Ali Beg, Jang Beg, Salamat Khan, and others: 'My brethren, why have you lost courage? You enjoy revenue-free lands given you by the Emperor, and are called Sardars. Show your gratitude, earn fame and receive further rewards of bravery. The Guru hath no army, no soldiers, his Sikhs are common people. Charge, capture them, take them to the Emperor, and you shall receive rewards.' Saiyid Ali replied, 'O my lord, thou speakest justly, but the Guru's arrows are like black snakes. If one of them strike a man, he requireth nothing more. Painda Khan is a powerful and brave warrior. Thou sayest that the Guru's army is worthless; open thine eyes and see. We brought seven thousand men against him, how many of them now remain? The Guru is a lamp around which his enemies fly like moths and are reduced to ashes.'

Mukhlis Khan finding himself defeated sent an envoy to propose terms of peace. The envoy addressed the Guru as follows:—'O true Guru, fighting becometh thee not. Consider if thou hast any kingdom to enable thee to fight. The Emperor hath hundreds of thousands of men, many fortresses, and endless resources. If thou come to terms, thou shalt abide in thy city. Thou art already in possession of revenue-free villages, and hast up to the present lost nothing. All rajas, nawabs, and rulers, are subject to the Emperor. He is the lord of Balkh, Bukhara, Kabul, Balochistan, Hindustan and other countries. What power hast thou to contend with him? If thou suffer a reverse, on whom wilt thou rely for assistance? Whither wilt thou flee for safety? If thou hearken to my words, then will we make peace. Be satisfied with the Guruship. What wilt thou gain by a prolongation of hostilities?'

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The Guru replied, 'The Emperor is without the fear of God in his heart. Why should we go to make peace with him? Our reliance is on Wahguru, the King of kings, whose creature this Emperor is. If his descendants persist in quarrelling with the Guru, they shall forfeit their empire. Let the Emperor protect his throne. The army of which he is so proud shall perish like the seven thousand you have brought against me. If you retire now, you may survive, but if you persist in fighting, not one of you shall escape.'

Mukhlis Khan on receiving this message considered how he could show his face to the Emperor if his troops retired without victory. On the other hand, were they to renew the combat, they would have no chance of escape; but at all events it was better to die fighting with the foe than to live by ignominious flight. He therefore, after a short respite, ordered the renewal of hostilities. When the Guru's men heard the Musalmans' call to arms, they represented to their spiritual and temporal master, 'O true king, only one hundred of us armed men are ready for the combat. All the rest are sleeping after the toil of battle. Mukhlis Khan's troops who fled from the field have now rallied and sounded the call to arms.' The Guru replied, 'We shall send them straight to death. Allow them not to escape.' Bidhi Chand applauded the Guru's determination.

Upon this the Guru's men called to arms, and lighting the fuses of their matchlocks advanced to repel the enemy. Every Musalman who advanced was slain. The Guru, who fought with conspicuous bravery and success, was a host in himself. He discharged in quick succession barbed and crescent-shaped arrows, which hissed as they left his bow-string, and killed men and horses of the opposing ranks. His handful of men blessed and praised his valour. Saiyid Sultan Beg, seeing his own army fast perishing, decided to make a united and

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determined rush on the Guru, as the only means of obtaining victory. The advice was accepted and the Musalmans charged. Bidhi Chand, Painda Khan, and Jati Mal hastened to oppose the onset of the enemy, and dealt them wholesale destruction. Sultan Beg aimed a lance at Bidhi Chand, whose horse providentially turned aside and thus saved his master. Upon this Sultan Beg retreated to escape a return stroke. Bidhi Chand called out to him, 'Stand, why fleest thou ?' Sultan Beg received his adversary's sword on his shield, and escaped for the moment. Bidhi Chand's sword could not reach him as he fled, but a swift arrow overtook him. It pierced Sultan Beg's body, and he fell lifeless from his horse.

Painda Khan was equally successful in the combat. He made Didar Ali, the last survivor of Mukhlis Khan's personal staff, bite the earth. Mukhlis Khan, now left alone, thought nothing remained for him but to engage the Guru himself. He said, 'Let thee and me now decide the quarrel by single combat, and none else approach.' In order to please him the Guru warned his own men to stand aside. He then discharged an arrow which killed Mukhlis Khan's horse. Mukhlis Khan then said, 'Thou art on horseback and I am now on foot. Moreover, I want to fight with sword and shield, but thou art discharging arrows. It is not a fair fight.' Upon this the Guru dismounted and said, 'Show thy utmost skill and strike the first blow.' The Khan aimed a blow, which the Guru avoided by a swift side movement. The next blow fell on the Guru's shield. The Guru then said, 'Thou hast made two strokes which I have parried. Now it is my turn.' The Guru then lifting his powerful arm dealt Mukhlis Khan a blow which cleft his head in twain.

Painda Khan, Bidhi Chand, and Jati Mal killed the Musalmans who held their ground, but the great majority of them fled without venturing to look

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behind. After nine hours of fighting the Guru's victory was complete. All his surviving Sikhs exchanged congratulations, and the drums of victory joyously sounded.

The Guru went to inspect the field of battle, and then visited Lohgarh. On seeing his faithful friends Mohan and Gopala groaning in death's agonies, he wiped their mouths and said, 'O Mohan and Gopala, whatever you ask me I will grant you. You have given your lives for my sake. There is nothing I would not give you.' They replied, 'We feared that at our last moment we should not behold thee; but thou, being a searcher of hearts and omniscient, hast come to gratify us. We have now no further desire.' The Guru again pressed them to ask for a favour. They replied, 'Grant us that in whatever shape thou mayest be, we may ever abide with thee. Grant us also that all who die fighting on thy behalf may receive salvation.' Then the Guru: 'I congratulate you on your disinterestedness. Both prayers shall be granted. You are happy in your death.' Then fixing their thoughts on God they separated their eternal souls from their temporary bodies.

The Guru had all the remaining corpses collected, washed, clothed with shrouds, and placed on funeral piles. He then with his own hands set fire to the wood. The battle extended to a distance of over four miles to the south of Amritsar, and there a dharmsal called the Sangrana or Battle was erected to commemorate the Guru's victory. The battle was fought in Sambat 1685 (A.D. 1628). A fair is held on the spot every year at the time of the full moon in the month of Baisakh.

When the Guru had completed the last rites of his brave soldiers, he made preparations to go to his family in Jhabal. On arriving at Jhabal he had time to again turn his attention to his daughter's marriage. He sent masands in advance to meet the bridegroom's

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procession. Dharma, the bridegroom's father, contrary to custom, humbled himself before the Guru, and prepared and dressed his son Sadhu for the ceremony. A Muhammadan soldier who happened to be in Jhabal at the time heard rejoicings, saw fireworks, and inquired the cause. He learned that it was on account of the marriage of the Guru's daughter, and that the Guru had just arrived after destroying the imperial army. It at once occurred to the soldier, that if he killed the Guru, he should receive a large reward from the Emperor. The soldier thought that as the Guru was then without suspicion of harm and unguarded, his death might be easily effected. Even if the project did not succeed, he thought he would at any rate frighten him, and the marriage festivities might be interrupted. He took up his matchlock, lit a fuse, and aimed at the Guru. The musket burst, and killed the soldier instead of his intended victim. His death was attributed to God's special intervention, and the marriage was duly celebrated. Sadhu the bridegroom was inspired to compose the following hymn on the occasion :—

I was reading the lesson[1] of sin ;
I was sitting at the shop of falsehood and deception,
When the true Guru cut off my evil thoughts,
And took and drew me out of hell.
I am a sacrifice, my life is a sacrifice to the Guru.
I was sullen, and blind, and saw not ;
I was drowning in mammon.
I praise the true Guru
Who showed me light.
The slave Sadhu hath seen the Guru,
Washed his feet and drunk the nectareous water therefrom.
The perfect Guru hath given me to drink the nectar of the Name.

[1] Literally—tablet.

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Before parting with his daughter the Guru gave her the following advice, 'How can I describe the worth and dignity of a husband? Service to him is the most important duty a wife can discharge. Greatly honour his elders, and heartily serve thy mother-in-law.' Viro then went to take leave of her mother, who addressed her, 'If thou desire to be happy, thou must ever serve thy husband. Ever consider the honour of thy family. Associate not with the evil. Rise early to perform thine ablutions, and read the Guru's hymns. Let no complaint against thee reach me. In this way shalt thou enjoy all happiness. Hearken my beloved daughter. In a short time I will send for thee. Guru Nanak hath been our protector, otherwise thy marriage would not have been celebrated.' Her mother then embraced her and showed great concern at her departure. The Guru returned to his private apartments and said, 'Daughters are other persons' property. Why feel their loss?' He again embraced his daughter and consoled her. Upon this Baba Gurditta came with great love in his heart, and he, too, embraced his sister.

The Guru having no further business in Jhabal went with his family to visit Tarn Taran. On the way the Guru's wives discussed the war and its causes 'Were our mother-in-law Ganga now alive, she would read the Guru a lesson. However, perhaps it is all for the best, for such a large army of the enemy hath been destroyed, and God hath preserved most of the Sikhs.' The Guru after admiring the tank and blessing the memory of Guru Arjan proceeded to Goindwal.

The Emperor was dismayed on hearing of the defeat of his troops by what he called an army of faqirs. It must have been, he thought, the result of charms, spells, and incantations. The Muhammadan survivors of the war then related its details in their own way. 'Although the Sikhs were of

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all castes and trades, they proved brave in battle, and the imperial army was not to blame for its defeat.' When the Emperor heard of Mukhlis Khan's death, he flared up like a fire on which clarified butter has been thrown for sacrifice. He called a council of his chiefs, at which it was decided that the Guru should be captured or killed in the attempt, lest he should seize the reins of empire.

Wazir Khan, ever mindful of the Guru's welfare, thus defended him, ' Sire, the Guru is not a rebel, and hath no design on thine empire. He hath ever been the support of the state. Had he minded to raise a rebellion, he would have followed up his victory, seized some fortress, and taken possession of a portion of thy Majesty's dominion, or plundered one of thy treasuries. But he centreth not his thoughts in worldly wealth. Is it not a miracle that with not fully seven hundred men he destroyed an army of seven thousand ? ' These and many other arguments urged by Wazir Khan were supported by other friends of the Guru at court. Their arguments convinced the Emperor, and he decided that it was not good to engage in further warfare with priests and faqirs, and that it would be well to forget the past.

The Guru having met his own relations and those of his predecessors at Goindwal, and visited all its sacred spots, took his departure for Kartarpur, accompanied by his trusty warriors Bidhi Chand, Jati Mal, Painda Khan, and others. He heard that Kaulan was ill, and went to render her necessary service. She could only address him in very feeble accents. He represented that she was fortunate in having left the society of bigots, in having been instructed in the Sikh faith, and in thus having been placed on the road to deliverance. He counselled her to reflect on God who was within her, and whom death could not approach. He told her that she had only twenty-four hours to live, and during that time

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she must meditate on her Creator. He also promised to come to her at her departure.

Next day a Sikh came to tell the Guru of a tiger in the neighbourhood which had killed the villagers' cattle. The Guru ordered his horse and girded on his arms. Taking Bidhi Chand, Painda Khan, and others, he proceeded to the tiger's lair. It was in a dense forest where other game too were in abundance. The Guru dismounted with the intention of meeting the tiger on foot with sword and shield. As the animal sprang up, his men called out to the Guru to use his gun, and not allow the beast to approach too close. The Guru, protecting his head with his shield awaited the tiger's assault, and dealt him a blow with his sword on the flank that cut him in twain. The Sikhs were astonished at the Guru's courage and strength, and sang congratulations.

On returning home the Guru proceeded to Kaulan's apartments and addressed her consolatory words. 'Be ready, prepare thyself, thine hour hath come. Dismiss all consideration for thy body and fix thine attention on God, who is unborn and imperishable. The world is unreal and only shineth with His light. The soul is pure, real, conscious, and happy. As long as man is proud of his body he is subject to birth and death, but when he hath obtained divine knowledge and passed beyond the bounds of love and hate, then he obtaineth deliverance.' When Kaulan, after meditating on the Guru's instruction, again opened her eyes, she addressed her last words to the Guru, 'I thank thee! I thank thee! O patron of the homeless, that I found shelter in thee. Thou didst in a moment confer on me the position which Jogis for years vainly strive to attain. Thou didst dispel the ignorance which hung over my millions of births like an inveterate disease.' She then fixed her attention on God, repeated 'Wahguru', and heaving her last breath departed to the heaven of her aspirations. The Guru ordered her maids and

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manservant to prepare her for the last rites. Her maids bathed her and clothed her in a shroud and costly shawl. While the minstrel sang the Guru's hymns, her body was removed to the garden attached to her dwelling and there cremated. The Sohila was read and prayers offered for the repose of her soul.

Chapter X

While the Guru remained in Kartarpur, many men came to enlist under his banner. They said that no one else had power to contend with the Emperor or to kill such brave Muhammadans as had fallen in battle in Amritsar. The Guru was the bright gem of the world. So afraid was the Emperor of him, that he did not venture to send another army to avenge the recent defeat. The Guru set himself to replace the men who had fallen, and also to increase his army. He continued to instruct his soldiers in the science of warfare, and train them to archery and the use of fire-arms.

Painda Khan soon became a source of concern to the Guru. He began to boast, 'It is absurd for the Guru to enlist so many men. If I am allowed, I will show the Muhammadans what I can do. Having eaten the Guru's salt and been his servant, it is I who conquered the countless hosts opposed to him at Amritsar. With my arrow I skewered them like trussed fowl. Had I not been there, no one would have had the courage to oppose them. The Guru's Sikhs would have all fled.' When the Guru heard this he said Painda Khan was not a trustworthy servant, and that his boasting would end badly. Notwithstanding this, the Guru provided him with a wife of good family in the village of Chhotamir, gave him a house to live in, and supplied him with funds to commence housekeeping. After his marriage Painda Khan used to sleep at night in his own house and wait on the Guru by day, but

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after a little time the Guru, desiring to have some respite from Painda Khan's boasting, ordered him to remain at home, and only visit him occasionally.

Meantime offerings of money, horses, arms, and ammunition continued to be made to the Guru, and the spirit of his troops rose as they devoted themselves to exercises. They used to boast that if the Guru but gave them the order, they would in a day capture Dihli and Lahore. They vowed that if ever again there was fighting they would make short work of the enemy.

While the Guru was in that neighbourhood he killed many beasts of prey and protected useful animals. There was such public tranquillity that travellers could pass through the forests without apprehension. Thieves, burglars, and highway robbers concealed themselves as effectually as owls and bats do at sunrise. It appeared as if the Sat, or golden age of the world, had returned to the Doab. Songs of joy and happiness resounded in every village.

One day the Guru took Painda Khan and other Sikhs into the forest with him. There enjoying the beautiful prospect, inhaling the odour of sweet smelling flowers, and listening to the singing of birds, the Guru in an exaltation of spirit recited the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

Tell me where there is any one in whom God is not.

The Creator who is full of mercy *conferreth* all happiness : ever meditate on that God.

Sing the praises of that God on whose thread creatures are strung.

Remember that God who gave thee everything ; to whom else shouldst thou go ?

Profitable is the service of my God ; from it thou shalt obtain the fruit thy heart desireth.

Saith Nanak, take the gain and profit of service, and thou shalt go home happy.[1]

[1] Sārang.

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An ex-officer of the Emperor's army came to seek the Guru's assistance. The officer had been charged with cowardice and dismissed with a reprimand. At the moment of his visit the Guru was absorbed in divine contemplation. The officer was kept waiting and manifested his displeasure. The Guru observing his insolent manner said, 'It is more glorious to contend with warriors than with faqirs. By annoying men engaged in God's service thou shalt lose thy happiness in this world and the next.' Hearing this the officer fell at the Guru's feet, and begged pardon for his impatience and rudeness. The Guru pardoned him and instructed him to serve saints, worship God, practise forbearance, and repeat the true Name, and he should soon be reinstated in his original position. On this occasion the Guru repeated the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

Sit quietly in your homes, O dear saints of God ;
The True Guru hath arranged your affairs.
The Creator hath smitten the wicked and the evil,
And preserved the honour of His saints.
He hath subjected to me all kings and emperors,
Since I have quaffed the great nectareous juice of the Name.
Fearlessly worship God
Whom the company of saints have granted you.
Nanak hath sought the asylum of the Searcher of hearts,
And taken the Lord God's shelter.[1]

The officer acted on the Guru's advice, and in a few days the Emperor was moved to send for him and restore him to the rank from which he had been removed in disgrace.

The rains had set in, and the very hot season was now over. The clouds wandering in the heavens showered moisture which comforted the body, as the words of philanthropic men who wander over the earth comfort the soul. Vivid lightning played among the parti-coloured clouds, gentle zephyrs

[1] Gauri.

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diffused coolness, the earth saturated with water was covered with a carpet of verdure. Streams flowed in every direction, and tanks were filled to the brim. The greenness and the cleanliness of the trees afforded pleasure to the eye. The cuckoos called, frogs croaked, peacocks danced. The rainbow—Indar's bow without a string—reflected its beauty in the heavens, streams overflowed their banks, and the play of their waves and ripples excited gladness and exhilaration. The Guru praised the scene, and said that the months of Sawan and Bhadon gave renewed life unto mortals.

It now became a question where the Guru was going to pass the rainy season, and on this subject he showed himself willing to accept the advice and suggestions of his Sikhs. One man said that there was a very beautiful place called Bagha on the elevated right bank of the river Bias. The river flowed pleasantly at its base, and contributed to the coolness of the climate. There was no mire in which the feet of men and beasts of burden would sink, and there was excellent shooting for an enthusiastic sportsman like the Guru. A second Sikh chimed in that the Guru ought certainly to see the place. A third recommended a thinly populated village called Ruhela, whither the Guru might proceed in order to confer salvation on its inhabitants. Ruhela was also on the right bank of the Bias. The Guru yielded to the last advice, and decided to go and spend the rainy season in or near Ruhela.

The Guru thought it safe to dismiss his son Gurditta, and thus addressed him: 'We are at enmity with the Muhammadans. It is certain that they will attack us once more. Thou art still a child and not fit for arms or the fatigue of war. Moreover, thou hast for some time been separated from thy relations who are awaiting thee. Wherefore go to Goindwal, and remain with thy mother and thy friends.' The Guru, when setting out for the Bias,

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prepared himself and his troops for the contingency of war. When Painda Khan heard this he expressed a desire to accompany him. The Guru remembering his boasting, and also feeling that God would give him victory without Painda Khan's assistance, put him off with this reply, 'Thou hast been recently married, and it is well for thee to abide at home, and cherish thy young wife. I am not going far—only to the bank of the Bias. When I need thee, I will send for thee.' Painda Khan urged, 'The Emperor is at enmity with thee. Should an army suddenly come and thou be attacked before I can arrive, men will curse me for not rendering thee timely assistance.' The Guru replied, 'I am leaving thee behind of my own free will. During my absence share thy food with others, touch not another's wife or property, turn not thy back on the enemy, ever remember God, and cheerfully accept His will.' Painda Khan then went home.

The Guru set out from Kartarpur for the Bias. On arriving on the left bank of the river, which is low, he found boats ready to take him and his troops across to the right bank, which is lofty. The river separates the country which is called the Manjha on the north-west from the Doab on the south-east. On crossing he pitched his camp on the tumulus of an ancient village. He observed that the dwellings were only in one direction, and the rest of the land quite unoccupied. Accordingly he decided that this would be a very suitable site whereon to found a city. He was received in a friendly manner by the people, who congratulated themselves that without any exertion on their part the Guru had come to visit them. The landlord and chaudhri was Bhagwan Das, a Khatri of the Gherar tribe. In Sikh histories he is generally called by his tribal name.

Gherar's person is minutely described. He had a fat paunch, a short neck as if his body was swallowing it, a large mouth, thick lips, and small eyes.

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Although his hair and beard had grown grey and he walked with the support of a stick, yet he was strong of body. The fastenings of his coat were generally undone, and he wore his turban and loin-cloth loose. He was clever at litigation, as became a Panjabi bania. Pride took up its abode in his heart, and he considered no one equal to himself. He fancied he was of the Guru's caste, and harboured a rivalry with him which was fatal to friendship. Gherar was not long in hearing of the Guru's arrival. He was also informed that the Guru was a very powerful man, and had no fear of the Emperor, whose army he had recently destroyed. Gherar began to consider what the Guru's object could be. He went to him with pride in his heart, and did not salute him, but abruptly asked why he had left his home in the rainy season. The Guru replied, that on seeing this lofty place with the great river flowing beneath, he thought he would tarry there some days for the sake of sport.

Gherar feeling angry ironically replied, 'Fine sport thou meanest! How thou hast prejudiced thine affairs! Thou hast made the Emperor thy deadly enemy, then how canst thou hope for peace? Having ruined thy home thou hast fled hither from Amritsar. When a wise man erreth, he ought to take warning and amend his ways. The Gurus who preceded thee never used violence. The Emperor and his subjects used all to visit them and bow before them. Thou hast struck out a new path.'

The Guru replied, 'I have only injured myself. Why take it to heart? Why should the troubles I have had fall on the heads of such people as thou? The affairs of the Guru's house shall ultimately be adjusted and the Turks deprived of empire?' Hearing this Gherar arose and hastened home.

The Guru made such an impression on the people by his teachings that they invited him to stay with

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them, and they would give him and his followers all the unoccupied land in the neighbourhood. Gherar, who was a bigoted Hindu, and, as we have seen, prejudiced against the Guru even long before his arrival, used all his efforts to induce his people to withdraw their offer to the Guru and expel him from the land.[1]

Gherar, who was unpopular for his oppression of the poor, was unable to persuade his people to act hostilely to the Guru, and was obliged for the time to curb his wrath. One day, however, as the Guru was denouncing Hindu superstitions Gherar rose from the assembly and communicated to the Brahmans of the village the Guru's words, to which he made additions and comments of his own. He said that the Guru was reviling the Veds and Shastars, and that he ought to be banished from among them. He then began to utter vile abuse of the Guru, at which the Sikhs naturally took offence. There immediately arose a conflict between the Sikhs and the Hindus, in which Gherar was killed and thrown into the river. His people remembered his many acts of tyranny and regretted not his death. They were glad of the Guru's instruction and protection, and became daily more anxious that he should continue to abide among them.

The Guru, having thus secured the goodwill of the people, communicated to Bidhi Chand his intention of founding a city on the spot. Bidhi Chand replied in courtier phrase, that all places belonged to the world's Guru, and that the lands and people with whom he was pleased were very fortunate. The Guru ordered that the city should be laid out

[1] Sādhu Gobind Singh states in his *Itihās Guru Khālsa* that there had been previously on the land a town belonging to Chandu, which with the rest of his property was confiscated by the Emperor's order. It remained uninhabited for some time, and was afterwards conferred by Sanad on the Guru. Gherar sought to dispossess him and appropriate the land. This led to a conflict, in which Gherar and his retainers were killed.

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on the morrow, that an enclosing wall should first of all be built, and the whole work completed without delay.

Before the Sikhs took breakfast the next morning they repeated the following prayer: 'Holy Guru Nanak, holy Guru Angad, holy Guru Amar Das, who grantest desires, holy Guru Ram Das, who art the source of happiness, holy Guru Arjan, who fulfillest hopes, the holy Guru Har Gobind by your favour and by divine impulse desireth to found a city here. Be ever with him and assist him. Bestowers of happiness, by your favour all things prove successful. Ever vindicate the cause of your servants.' Upon this all bowed their heads and ate the sacred food prepared for the occasion. After breakfast they beat the war drum and shouted in a body, 'Hail to the Guru!'

The Guru cut the first sod himself and summoned masons and labourers from neighbouring villages. He was now surrounded with a larger and more devoted body of followers than ever. He found leisure to devote to the superintendence and completion of the city he had projected. It was subsequently called Sri Har Gobindpur in honour of the Guru.

Ratan Chand, son of Gherar, vowed that he would avenge his father's death or meet him by drowning himself. 'I will trample the Guru's dead body under my feet or secure him in fetters in a jail, or I will throw him into the river as his Sikhs did my father. I am on the best of terms with Abdulla Khan, the subadar of Jalandhar, to whom I shall go and complain. There too resideth Karm Chand, son of Chandu, who oweth the Guru a debt of revenge. We shall all three take counsel how we can arrest the Guru's career.' Ratan Chand hastened to Karm Chand, and urged him to join him against the common oppressor. The present Guru had never met Shah Jahan. Nay more, there was special enmity

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between them, for the Guru had destroyed his army. If therefore the sons of the murdered parents were to combine, it was thought they would succeed in compassing the Guru's ruin.

Karm Chand, Chandu's son, when consulted replied, 'How shall we capture or kill the Guru? He is a great warrior, and hath moreover an army with him. The Emperor knowing this hath stifled his wrath. It would not be possible for us to kill the Guru openly. We must seize him by some skilful ambush. I will not wear a turban on my head till I have killed or at least captured him. Then shall I enjoy life, whereas I am now passing my time as a dead man. If the gods assist us, we shall succeed. I will join in any expenditure that may be necessary. If it come to representations to the Emperor, I have great interest with him. Thou and I have both the same cause, namely, to avenge our murdered fathers. I at first, as fire, desired to destroy the Guru, but I could not do so alone. Now thou, like wind, hast met me. Fire and wind combined will produce a conflagration in which the Guru shall certainly perish. Thou hast come to me, as I anticipated when I heard of thy father's death. Exert thyself and the desires of our hearts shall be fulfilled.'

They both next morning proceeded to the subadar of Jalandhar. Ratan Chand, taking off his turban and throwing it on the floor before the subadar, poured forth his grievances and his wrath. He pointed out that if swift action were taken, the Guru might be at once secured. If they delayed till he had constructed his projected fort, his capture would be impossible. Ratan Chand further represented how pleased the Emperor would be were the Guru put into his hands, and what high promotion the subadar would receive. The subadar and his advisers were convinced by Ratan Chand's arguments, and an immediate expedition was planned

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and organized against the Guru. The belief was that the principal part of the Guru's army had been slain at Amritsar, and that he was now comparatively defenceless. It was also supposed that the few men the Guru had now with him were a worthless rabble, since they had been enlisted from the dregs of the people. It was said that they consisted only of strolling singers, barbers, washermen, cobblers, and such like, who would disperse the moment they found themselves confronted with regular troops. As to their numbers they resembled a small amount of salt in a large amount of flour, and were unnoticeable and negligeable.

When the Guru heard of Ratan Chand's indictment and the preparations for an expedition to Sri Har Gobindpur, he simply said, 'What pleaseth God is the best.' The subadar's army is said to have amounted to ten thousand men, and to have descended on the Guru like a swollen tropical river making its way to the sea. Abdulla Khan disposed his forces into divisions. Bairam Khan received command of one thousand men; Muhammad Khan a tried warrior in many a field, a similar number; Balwand Khan too received a divisional command. A division was entrusted to Ali Bakhsh, a renowned marksman. Imam Bakhsh was made commander of the fifth division. These five generals with their troops advanced and took the field. To each of his two sons, Nabi Bakhsh and Karim Bakhsh, who rode on chargers with gold embroidered saddles, the subadar gave the command of two thousand men. He retained one thousand horse as his own bodyguard.

When the Guru marshalled his army Bhai Jattu, an excellent marksman, appeared in the van with matchlock in hand. The Guru gave him command of two thousand horse. A troop of one hundred was given Bhai Kalyana. The Guru, seeing Bhai Nano well equipped and mounted, gave him also

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a troop of one hundred horse. To Bhai Piraga, already tried in warfare, five hundred men were entrusted with orders to resist the first onslaught of the Muhammadans. A troop of four hundred horse was placed under the command of Bhai Mathura. Bhai Jagannath, popularly known as Jagana, a powerful and trained soldier, also received command of a similar force. Troops of horse mustering one hundred each were placed at the disposal of Bhai Shaktu and Bhai Paras Ram, both accomplished archers. Jati Mal, Bhai Molak and other officers were told off to support Bhai Bidhi Chand. Thus the Guru divided his army into eight troops or companies.

It was as if the Guru were founding another city, and desired to give a feast on its inauguration. The Muhammadan army came as if they were Brahmans who desired to eat to repletion. The feast provided for them was shields for plates, swords for pumpkins, bullets for sweets, daggers for jalebis, arrows for gul-i-bihisht,[1] and other weapons for other dainties. Before coming to blows Abdulla Khan sent an envoy to endeavour to come to terms with the Guru, and induce him to abandon the city he was building. The Guru replied, 'You rely on the Emperor alone; I rely on the Immortal God. The great Guru hath granted me temporal as well as spiritual authority, and made me a lord of war as well as of hospitality; but war I desire not, and shall not assume the aggressive. Unless you attack me I shall bear you no enmity. I covet no one's property. If you quarrel with me I shall send you where I sent Mukhlis Khan. Should you fight with me, it can only lead to your own destruction. If you go home I will not pursue you. But you have only two means of safety, either make peace with me or flee. Should you fight, victory shall never be yours.'

This answer was not conciliatory, and both sides

[1] *Jalebis* and *gul-i-bihisht* are Indian sweetmeats.

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made preparations for the conflict. The Guru from the top of his rampart observed the enemy approach, and addressed his army. 'Brother Sikhs, this contest is not for empire, for wealth, or for land. It is in reality a war for our religion. Wherefore turn not your backs on the foe, but confront them and destroy them. Let each commander keep watch over his men. Kill not those who flee or surrender. Lose not your courage, but fight to the death.' Every species of weapon then known to Asiatic warfare was brought into play. It is said that the Guru's braves danced like peacocks, and the cowards among the enemy hid themselves like snakes on the approach of winter. As the battle advanced such was the *mêlée* that it was difficult to distinguish friend from foe.

Chapter XI

As Muhammad Khan led the van, he was challenged by Bhai Jattu whose horse he at once killed with an arrow. Then simultaneously Jattu discharged his musket at Muhammad Khan, and Muhammad Khan another arrow at Jattu. Bullet and arrow both took effect, and the two heroes fell mortally wounded. When Muhammad Khan fell, his division fled. To take his place Abdulla Khan ordered Bairam Khan to advance with his men and not retreat, so that it might never be said they had run away as cowards from the Sikhs. Bairam Khan with his thousand men crying 'Strike! strike!' advanced and was received by Bhai Mathura who had been ordered by the Guru to resist his attack. Mathura seeing the superior force directed against him said to his soldiers, 'My brethren, every one must die. Generations have died, and are dying. Others die in vain, but if you die, your death shall be profitable, since you give up your lives as an offering to the Guru, and shall join the court of

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heaven; but if, on the other hand, you vanquish your enemies, then empire shall be yours, and you shall enjoy uninterrupted happiness and repose. In either alternative great shall be your gain.'

The Sikhs fought with desperation and drove the enemy before them. Mathura disabled Bairam Khan's horse with a bullet. Bairam Khan's troop was then surrounded by the Sikhs and fought heroically. Seeing this, Mathura in a rage dismounted and rushed on Bairam Khan. Both heroes, brought by their impetuosity to close quarters, could not use their missiles, and engaged each other in a wrestling contest. Mathura got the better of the struggle, and throwing his adversary, snatched his sword from his scabbard and cut off his head. Bairam Khan's army witnessing this, became enraged, surrounded Bhai Mathura, and cut him to pieces.

The Chief on seeing Bairam Khan slain ordered Balwand Khan to advance. Ali Bakhsh proceeded to support him. The Guru sent Kalyana to oppose them. Balwand Khan fought with great bravery and with his lance dispatched several Sikhs. Kalyana seeing this took steady aim with his matchlock, and shot him through the heart. Seeing him lying on the field Ali Bakhsh called on his troops to avenge him. They surrounded Kalyana, but he kept them at bay with flights of arrows. When his quiver was empty he resorted to his sword. He was, however, no match for the numbers opposed to him, and gloriously fell with many wounds. His courage never failed him to the last, and he died repeating 'Wahguru!'

Ali Bakhsh again directed his troops against the Guru. Seeing this Bhai Nano opposed the onslaught. The Guru, patting him on the back, placed two hundred more men at his disposal. Thus Bhai Nano had three hundred in all at his command. They fought with great determination and inflicted great

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loss on the enemy. Ali Bakhsh took up his matchlock and fired at Nano but missed him. Nano then discharged an arrow at Ali Bakhsh, which went through his body. Seeing him fall the Muhammadan army began to flee. It was, however, rallied by Sardar Imam Bakhsh, who now came up with his division. Meanwhile Nano continued to slay the Muhammadans. Imam Bakhsh hastened to stop his career. Nano on seeing him fixed his thoughts on the Guru, and drawing his two-edged sword struck off his left hand. Imam Bakhsh without faltering used his remaining arm on Nano and killed him, upon which Nano's troops retreated.

The Guru extolled Nano's bravery, and asked if there was any Sikh who could now sustain the fight. Bhai Piraga came forward and said, 'My Lord, by thy favour I will destroy the army of the enemy.' Bhai Jagana, Krishan, and other faithful officers with their troops went to Piraga's support. When Bhai Jagana and other distinguished Sikhs were slain, Bidhi Chand came forward and asked the Guru's permission to join the combat and support Bhai Piraga. This being granted, Bidhi Chand and the Sikhs fought with their usual valour, the result of which was that the Muhammadan army became demoralized, turned, and fled. Abdulla Khan, the Muhammadan chief, came on the scene with a stick in his hand to strike and restrain the fugitives. He then appealed to Karm Chand and Ratan Chand to enter the combat, show their bravery, and not allow it to be said that ten thousand imperial troops were killed in vain. The Chief also ordered his eldest son Nabi Bakhsh to advance with the troops under his command.

When the Guru heard of this he was very pleased and thought the time had arrived for himself to enter the battle. It is said that when he twanged his bow his enemies trembled, and that when the neighing of his horse was heard as he entered the

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battle-field, there was widespread consternation in the Muhammadan ranks.

When the Guru showed himself fully accoutred to his troops, he called on them to slay Abdulla Khan and thus put an end to the combat. Karm Chand, Chandu's son, said that he would now avenge his father's death by killing Bidhi Chand and capturing the Guru. Bidhi Chand replied, 'Take care! I will send thee to thy father.' Karm Chand discharged showers of arrows. One of them struck Bidhi Chand and lodged in his body. Bidhi Chand drew it out and hurled it back on Karm Chand. It missed him, but struck his horse, causing the animal to reel and fall. Bidhi Chand then bound Karm Chand, dragged him before the Guru, and addressed him, 'Thou didst owe one debt to the Guru, in that thy father killed his, and now thou owest him another for having made war on him.' Bidhi Chand offered to put him to death if the Guru allowed him. The Guru seeing him in that miserable plight took compassion on him, and ordered his release, saying it was not proper to kill a defenceless prisoner.

When Karm Chand, thus released, found his way to the Chief he gave him the following version of the incident. 'I went to the Guru to reconnoitre his army. He arrested and tortured me, but I escaped by stratagem and force of arms, and have brought thee this information. The Guru hath a very small army; make a rush and we shall capture him with all his property.' The Chief accordingly ordered his troops to charge, upon which there arose a sanguinary engagement on both sides. Nabi Bakhsh led one wing of the Muhammadan army, and his father the other. Karim Bakhsh, the Chief's second son, on seeing his father personally engaged, hastened to his assistance. Their army, however, was destroyed like dry grass by a forest fire, principally owing to the exertions and bravery of Bhai Shaktu.

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Nabi Bakhsh discharged an arrow at Paras Ram, one of the Sikh leaders, and severely wounded him. The Sikhs with Shaktu at their head gathered round and rescued him. After recovering consciousness he rushed with his sword on Nabi Bakhsh, and cut off his head with one blow. The Muhammadans on this attacked Paras Ram and Shaktu, and killed them both. The Chief wept aloud at the loss of his son, and expressed a pious wish that he himself had been slain instead. Karim Bakhsh, the Chief's second son, went to console his father, saying he would avenge his brother, and either kill the Guru or be killed himself—a resolution which the chief applauded. As the youth advanced he descried the Guru. He asked those who had no fear in their hearts or those who had no loved ones, to accompany him to seize and kill the Guru. They who chose might retire from the conflict. The Chief hearing his words and fearing he was too sanguine of success, warned him not to advance, but hold his ground where he was, for the Guru was not merely the bravest of the Sikhs, but a veritable messenger of death. The rash youth heeded not his father's counsel.

The Guru on seeing Karim Bakhsh at a distance called out to Bhai Bidhi Chand, 'Lo! the Chief's young son hath come to avenge his brother. The slanderers have incensed his mind. Now exert thy strength and engage him. He hath come to assault thee, but do thou assault him.' Bidhi Chand shouting defiance advanced. The Chief sent Ratan Chand and Karm Chand to his son's assistance. Then arose a desperate effort to capture the Guru. They cried out that the Guru had no army, that he should become their easy prey, and that they should receive suitable rewards from the Emperor. Such was the fury of the imperial troops that some of the Sikhs were on the point of giving way when they were kept in position by Bidhi Chand. Karim Bakhsh couching his lance directed it at Bidhi Chand,

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but it only lighted on his saddle-bow. Bidhi Chand and Karim Bakhsh now rushed at each other with drawn swords. Karim Bakhsh dealt a blow at Bidhi Chand from which he was again providentially saved. It then for a time became a play of fence, when sword clashed against sword, until with one swashing blow Karim Bakhsh shattered Bidhi Chand's weapon in twain. Bidhi Chand turned his horse and ran for another sword. On his return with a better tempered blade he dealt Karim Bakhsh a blow which terminated the combat.

The sons of Chandu and Gherar, on seeing this, fled from the field, but were afraid to show their faces to the Chief, and so remained at a distance. Several followed their example, and were pursued by Bidhi Chand and other Sikhs at the head of their troops. The runaways told the Chief of his second son's death, and the intelligence made him for a time unconscious. On being partially restored he began to mourn, 'Alas! fool that I was not to consider that I was powerless against him about whom the Emperor was silent even after the loss of his army. Both my sons are dead, yet I behold the light of day. A curse on me and my life! I have been untrue to my Emperor and also to my relations, who warned me not to contend with the Guru. He hath killed five of my bravest officers and my two darling boys. My progeny is at an end, and there will be none to preserve my name in the world.'

The Chief endeavoured to rally Ratan Chand and Karm Chand:—'About two hours of day still remain. Advance and fight, and perhaps the Guru may come into our possession. Your boasts have all been in vain. Like jackals you are only fit to bark. There is even yet time to restore the fortune of war. Let me behold your manliness. Either conquer or die.' The Chief then gave the order for a general advance.

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The Guru, seeing the onslaught of the Muhammadans specially directed against himself, addressed his troops, 'My brethren, the Turks are advancing; I will now myself fight and destroy those enemies who have without cause brought an army of thousands against God's servant.' Both armies then again hotly engaged. The Turks came as it were to offer themselves as sacrifice to the Guru. Abdulla Khan, maddened by the death of his sons, discharged flights of arrows, and heeded not whether he aimed at friend or foe. This was the most desperate portion of the conflict. None retreated, none sued for quarter.

Under the favouring glance of the Guru the Sikhs who had formerly been weak as hares now became strong as lions. No matter what their birth or previous calling, they all proved themselves gallant heroes in the field. Abdulla Khan resolved to conquer or die. He could not show himself again to the Emperor if his ten thousand troops were vanquished in vain. There would be no place in which to hide himself, and the earth would not open to receive him. It therefore would be better for him to receive death at the hands of the Guru. The Guru seeing Karm Chand and Ratan Chand in front addressed them, 'What think you on? Now avenge your fathers. Retreat not like cowards. Be brave and stand before me; otherwise go where your fathers have gone.'

The Guru let fly an arrow which disabled Ratan Chand's horse. Then Karm Chand advanced, drew his bow-string to his ear, and shot the Guru's horse, the famous charger sent from Kabul which the Guru had obtained with such difficulty. The Guru drew forth the arrow and pierced Karm Chand's horse with it. Ratan Chand and Karm Chand had now to fight on the ground. Joined by their Chief they discharged flights of arrows at the Guru, who saved himself by his dexterity. The arrows fell like

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showers of flowers around him, and it seemed as if the three men had been worshipping him and begging of him the gift of salvation. The Guru was left alone to contend against all three, as Bidhi Chand and his other heroes were engaged fighting in a distant part of the field. His enemies were very pleased to see the Guru alone and unhorsed, at the approach of evening too. He, however, felt that victory was ever on the side of religion, 'God succoureth His servants,' he thought, 'and the proud and the wicked shall be vanquished.'

The Guru on being closely assailed by Karm Chand struck him with his shield and made him stagger and fall. Ratan Chand seeing this ran to his aid The Guru drew forth his pistol and shot him. Then fearing that his enemy might still escape, he discharged an arrow, which completed his discomfiture. Abdulla Khan now lost all command over himself, and struck out with his sword right and left, before and behind, above and below. The Guru at first received all his blows on his strong shield. Then gathering his strength he drew his falchion on the Chief, and severed his head from his body. By this time Karm Chand had recovered consciousness and rushed at the Guru saying, 'Whither goest thou after killing all my friends? Deem not that by killing Ratan Chand the victory is thine.'

There ensued for a time a sword-play between the Guru and Karm Chand, until the sword of the latter was broken. The Guru as a holy man desiring to take no mean advantage of his adversary, put his own sword into his scabbard, and engaged with him in a wrestling combat. They were locked in one another's arms, as if, after all the fighting, they had become fast friends. At last the Guru, seizing Karm Chand by both arms, swung him round as Krishan did his uncle Kans, and killed him by dashing his head on the ground. It had now become

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dark. The Chief and all his sardars were slain, his army had fled, the battle was ended, and victory remained with the Guru. Bidhi Chand lit a torch and passed through files of dead bodies in his search for his master, who was only found with delay and difficulty.

The Guru went to his tent and Bidhi Chand sought out the wounded and attended to them. The next day was occupied with the disposal of the slain. The Chief, his two sons, and his five generals were all put into one grave. The bodies of the fallen Sikhs were brought to the Guru and their names announced. The Guru blessed them one by one, and caused them to be thrown into the river Bias. The bodies of the fallen Muhammadans shared the same fate. A platform was erected near the place where they were buried. In after days the Guru used occasionally to go and sit on it, and point out to Bidhi Chand and his other officers the advantages of a just cause, by means of which they had destroyed their proud enemies, and saved their own brave and loyal co-religionists.

The Guru then delivered a funeral oration, in the course of which he said, 'Death is very potent and capable of altering human affairs in a moment. It maketh those who are laughing weep, and those who are weeping laugh.' He then recited the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

This perishable world was made like a house of sand ;
It is quickly destroyed like paper moistened with water,
O man,[1] behold and consider the True One in thy heart.
Sidhs, Strivers, householders, and Jogis have departed abandoning their houses and homes.
The world is like a nightly dream.
What we see shall all perish ; why attach thyself to it, O fool ?

[1] *Mansha* is here used for man. The word generally means desire, but it is used by the tenth Guru in the sense of conscience.

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Where are thy brothers and friends? Open thine eyes and look.

One goeth, another shall go—each in his turn.

They who serve the perfect true Guru shall have a fixed place at God's door.

The man Nanak is God's slave, preserve his honour, O God.[1]

And also the following:—

O man, why art thou puffed up with pride?

Within thee are bad odour, impurity, and uncleanness; what is visible is ashes.

O mortal, remember Him who made *all things*, and who supporteth life and soul.

The ignorant fool who forsaketh Him and attacheth himself to other gods, shall be born again after death.

I am blind, dumb, crippled, devoid of understanding; O God, the Preserver, preserve me.

God is omnipotent to act and cause others to act; Nanak, what a wretched creature is man![2]

'His evil fate urged Abdulla Khan so that without cause or provocation he marched against us with ten thousand men. Besides his two sons he hath lost his state, authority, and prosperity, and become himself the prey of death. It hath so disposed of him that no trace of him remaineth. There is no reliance to be placed on life. We know not when the last hour shall come The only gain is worship, and repetition of God's name.' Hymns were then recited and prayers offered for the repose of the souls of all who had fallen in the battle.

Chapter XII

To the masands was entrusted the construction of the city of Sri Har Gobindpur. The surrounding walls were to have five gates; streets and market-places were to be laid out; and houses constructed

[1] Bilāwal. [2] Devgandhāri.

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for those who thronged to offer homage to the Guru. Gherar's son having been killed, all his relations fled, and the Guru remained in peaceable possession. He projected the construction of a Sikh temple, but it occurred to him that his Muhammadan troops and labourers would also require a temple for their worship. He therefore constructed with thoughtful impartiality both a temple and a mosque. He purchased horses for his men to replace those which had been killed in action. His soldiers now considered where they should find a horse worthy of being ridden by the Guru himself. Inquiries were made even in distant countries, but no horse could be found to take the place of the Guru's famous steed, killed by an arrow from Karm Chand's bow.

While the minds of the Sikhs were thus exercised a rich contractor called Subhaga came from the west of the Panjab with an offering of five horses. The Guru selected the best among them for his own use. He gave the second to his son Gurditta, the third to Bhai Bidhi Chand, the fourth he sent to Painda Khan, and the fifth he kept in his stable to be subsequently disposed of as might be deemed expedient or necessary.

One day as the Guru sat in the midst of his Sikhs he said, 'According to the rules of our religion the repetition of the Gurus' hymns with due understanding and with a pure heart is God's real worship.' The Sikhs represented that they all read the Gurus' hymns daily. The Guru replied, 'He who can repeat the Japji and understand the divine knowledge contained therein, shall have his desires fulfilled, and obtain deliverance hereafter.' A Sikh named Gopal undertook the task. The Guru having caused his feet to be bathed, seated him on a lofty throne in front of him. Gopal then began to repeat the Japji. When he had nearly finished, the Guru began to consider what present he should make him. The wealth of the

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world would be insignificant for a man of perfect piety. The Guru seriously intended to offer him the Guruship, and sent for five paise and a coco-nut to perform the ceremony of his appointment. When Gopal came to the line, 'God dwelleth in Sach Khand,' in the thirty-seventh pauri of the great Sikh morning religious service, the Guru moved his feet to stand up and do obeisance to the reader as Guru. At that moment Gopal's thoughts turned away from God, and he said to himself, 'Will the Guru reward me with his spare horse or not?' The Guru read his thoughts, disclosed them to him, and informed him that but for his mental wanderings he should receive the Guruship. The Guru gave him the fifth horse as his reward, but he lost the Guruship, which would be superior to the wealth of the world. So difficult is it to pray with attention.

The party of Sikhs who had come with Subhaga received the Guru's permission to visit the shrines and places sacred to the Gurus. They proceeded to Goindwal, and bathed in its Bawali. Thence they visited Khadur and Tarn Taran. From there they proceeded to the Guru's forest to see Bhai Budha. They found Gur Das with him. Subhaga and his party told them who they were, and related all the incidents connected with the Guru's occupation of land on the margin of the Bias and the subsequent battle with the Muhammadans. As Subhaga and his party were departing for Amritsar, Bhai Budha and Bhai Gur Das accompanied them. Subhaga and his friends after visiting Amritsar and beholding God's temple returned to their own country. Bhai Budha, Bhai Gur Das, and three other Sikhs named Jiwa, Ajitta, and Jodha, who joined them in Amritsar, all proceeded to see the Guru at Sri Har Gobindpur. When Bhai Budha had inspected the Guru's city he said that as he was now old, it was necessary for him to retire from the

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active service of religion and return to his village Ramdas. He requested the Guru's permission to do so, and at the same time prayed him to appoint a successor who would manage the villages granted to Bibi Bhani by the Emperor Akbar. His heart was sad at parting from the Guru, and he begged him to show himself to him whenever he invoked him. Bhai Gur Das remained with the Guru in Sri Har Gobindpur.

A man called Khwaja had accompanied the Guru as groom from Kashmir, and was very attentive and faithful in the discharge of his duties. The Guru once seeing him, while running by his horse's side, perspiring profusely, invited him to ask a favour. Khwaja only requested that he might ever have the privilege to behold him. The Guru gave him the true Name, and made him happy. His understanding then became enlightened, the veil of falsehood dropped from his eyes, and he saw God, first in the world and then in himself, but informed no one of his spiritual happiness.

One Jani a Saiyid—or reputed descendant of the prophet Muhammad—chanced to turn his attention to religion and became a faqir. He resided among faqirs in the hope of meeting some religious men who would give him spiritual consolation. In his wanderings he met some very eloquent men, but none of heroic devotion. Having heard of Khwaja's spiritual attainments he went to him for information, 'O Khwaja, how hast thou escaped from the snares of the evil one? When I try to fix my mind on God, I am beset with lust, wrath, avarice, worldly love, and pride. How shall I free myself from these deadly sins?' Khwaja replied, 'The true Guru hath banished my evil thoughts, and made me happy. Go thou and stand at his door. The Guru hath said :—

If thou efface thyself and serve the Guru, thou shalt obtain some honour.

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'As the gold of the mine when twelve times annealed becometh fine gold, so the mind becometh pure by chastening and suffering. When the Guru knoweth thy heart's devotion, he will at once make thee happy. If a poor man stand at a rich man's door and remain there, he may, even though he receive buffets at first, obtain advantage at last.' Jani on hearing this went and stood at the Guru's door. The Guru sent for him, asked why he stood there, and what he wanted. Jani replied, 'Knowing the things of this world to be perishable, I have abandoned them. Grant me a sight of the Ruler of the world and save me from the fire of hell.' The Guru rejoined, 'Tell me what else thou requirest. God is very remote.' Jani refused to accept this answer, quoting Guru Arjan :—

He who is infatuated with worldly love, deemeth *God* distant :
But, saith Nanak, He is ever present.[1]

'If thou, O Guru', continued Jani, 'show me God, then He will not be distant.'

The Guru upon this directed his Sikhs to build a wall between Jani and himself. The object of this apparently was to test the sincerity of Jani's devotion. Jani, however, held his ground and kept his attention fixed on the Guru. He yielded not to hunger, thirst, or sleep, but remained at the Guru's door. Whenever he saw a Sikh passing, he implored him to take his message to the Guru. The Guru wearied by his importunities at last said, 'If he be in a great hurry to see me, let him leap into the river.' Jani hearing this actually went to leap into the river. The Guru sent a Sikh to dissuade him. He then offered him wealth and supernatural power, but these boons were refused. Jani would only accept divine knowledge. The Guru then put his hand on his forehead, and made him happy. Another man called Lal Chand was

[1] Gauri.

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attracted to the Guru by the religious proficiency attained by Khwaja and Jani, and remained in his service after they had departed.

A deputation from Kashmir waited on the Guru, and requested him to send there as preacher Bhai Garhia, who is described as a very liberal, humble, and disinterested man. Bhai Garhia on his way encamped at some distance from the city of Gujrat, where he met Shah Daula. Bhai Garhia was well received in Kashmir. He used to sing the Gurus' hymns and relate events in the lives of the Gurus. After some time Guru Har Gobind recalled him. Whatever offerings he received while in Kashmir he spent in the Guru's name, and at his departure gave a feast in honour of his spiritual master. The Guru was pleased with the manner in which he had spent the offerings he had received in Kashmir. In due time Bhai Garhia returned to his native village.

One day, as the Guru was sitting in open court, a proud Brahman called Nitya Nand, a native of Batala, entered leaning on his staff. His object was to discuss religious matters with the Guru. The Guru respectfully received him. Nitya Nand produced the Purans and began to read them. When he had finished, a Hindu invited him to read the Garur Puran, a Sanskrit composition recited for dying Hindus. According to it the soul reaches its abode in the next world a year after the dissolution of the body. A Sikh called Sundar said, 'By the Guru's favour I can traverse that road in twelve hours.' Bhai Lala said, 'I can do it in six hours.' Bhai Manj said, 'I can do it in three hours.' Bhai Nihala said, 'What need have we to go there at all?' The Brahman then said to the Guru, 'Listen to what thy Sikhs are saying.' The Guru replied, 'What my Sikhs say is correct. The one year's journey stated in thy text is only for sinners; but for those who act without any worldly object, who possess divine knowledge, and who are saints

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of God, there is no necessity to traverse the journey at all. The companions of a king have no need to go to a subordinate of his, nor are good men sent to prison. In the same way good men suffer not on the way to their last abode, and have no concern with thy Dharmraj. Wherefore as Guru Ram Das hath said :—

They who have meditated on God the best Being, the Root of joy, are ever in extreme happiness.

They have ceased to regard Dharmraj ; all their concern for death is at an end.[1]

'Guru Arjan hath also said :—

The road on which the evil passions plundered
The traveller is far from the saints.
It was the perfect Guru who pointed out to me the right road.
Thy name, *O Lord*, is the way of salvation ; the road of Death is distant.
The port where that greedy tax-gatherer *watcheth*
Is far from the saint.
While very many are tortured *by Death*,
The saints abide with the Supreme God.
The recording angels write all men's accounts :
They will take no notice of the saints.
Saith Nanak, for him who *hath found* the perfect true Guru
Unblown trumpets play.[2]

'As a man on horseback can traverse a road in one hour which taketh a man on foot three hours, and he who hath a better conveyance can traverse it still more quickly, so the good suffer not like the bad, and their road is different. The coming and going of the soul is the result of spiritual ignorance. As Guru Arjan hath said :—

My transmigration is at an end ;
My heated caldron hath become cold ; the Guru hath given me the cooling Name.[3]

[1] Bilāwal. [2] Āsa. [3] Māru.

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'And again :—

The saints who have taken God's name as their support suffer not transmigration.

It is all God's play, saith Nanak; God is altogether incomprehensible.'[1]

On hearing this the Brahman obtained peace, and became satisfied that the Guru's words were the essence and conclusion of all wisdom. He confessed, 'In the first place, I had pride of caste; secondly, I had pride of learning which attacked me like fever; but I thank the Guru, whose words are cooling, and who hath cooled with them my burning mind.' The Brahman being thus humbled remained with the Guru, became a Sikh, and began to preach the Sikh religion.

Bhai Budha remained in his village of Ramdas intent on his devotions. The True Name ever came spontaneously to his tongue. One night he saw Guru Arjan in a vision, and begged him to place him at his feet. Guru Arjan replied, 'Guru Nanak hath made death subservient to thee. Thou hast seen six spiritual kings, and mayest when it pleaseth thee go to Sach Khand, and there obtain imperishable dignity.' After this Bhai Budha awoke, and telling his son Bhana of the vision, said his end had come, for Wahguru had called him.

Bhai Budha then sent for a banker friend of his and said to him, 'Go to the Guru and remind him of a promise he once made to come to me whenever necessary.' The Guru taking Bhai Gur Das and other Sikhs went to Bhai Budha, and took a last farewell of him. Bhai Budha had strength enough left to wash the Guru's feet. He then drank some of the water therefrom and sprinkled the remainder over his house. It is said that, as the ocean is pleased on seeing the full moon, so was Bhai Budha pleased on beholding the Guru. The Guru said to him, 'Bhai

[1] Gauri.

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Budha thou hast lived long. Thou hast been ever with the Gurus. Give me some instruction.' Bhai Budha replied, 'Great king, thou art a sun; I am a fire-fly before thee. Thou hast come to save me, and to hear my dying words. Guru Nanak had no worldly concerns or designs. He travelled over many lands, and established in them the worship of the true Name. Guru Angad by the force of his piety and devotion pleased him, and obtained the Guruship. He gave it to Guru Amar Das, he to Guru Ram Das, and he to Guru Arjan who with open hands showered upon men happiness in this life and salvation in the next. Guru Arjan possessed a treasury of the Name, which was never exhausted. His fame hath spread over the world. Thou his son art spiritual and temporal lord and protector of the holy. Though divine, thou also performest a human part. I have been a servant of the Guru's house for six generations. Succour me in the next world, and allow me not to suffer when I enter death's door, which I fondly hope is the portal of salvation. My son Bhana here is thy servant: take his arm and keep him at thy feet.'

The Guru replied, 'Thou sawest Guru Nanak, and hast ever abided by his instruction. Guru Arjan hath said:—

They with whom God is pleased love the saints' society.
They who touched Guru Nanak saved all their families.
They to whom God hath been merciful have obtained all happiness.
They who touched Guru Nanak have not been born again.
They whose fetters the Merciful hath cut off, are attached to His worship.
They who have touched Guru Nanak are ever emancipated in this world and the next.[1]

'Thou, O Bhai Budha, shalt assuredly obtain immortal bliss. Of this thy humility is an assurance.'

[1] Guru Arjan's Sawaiyas.

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The Guru then put his hand on Bhai Budha's head and blessed him. Next morning Bhai Budha arose before day and repeated the Japji. Then fixing the image of the true Guru in his heart and uttering 'Wahguru! Wahguru!' he departed for Sach Khand. The Guru and his Sikhs sang congratulations on the manner of Bhai Budha's death after his long, holy, and eventful life, and lauded him for the assistance he had given in the propagation and consolidation of the Sikh faith. The Guru himself ignited his funeral pile.

At the request of Bhai Bhana the Guru, leaving his troops in Ramdas, proceeded with a few favourite Sikhs to Kartarpur on the right bank of the Ravi. They all did homage at the place where Guru Angad had received Guruship. The Guru after a three days' sojourn re-crossed the river, and proceeded to Dehra Baba Nanak. Bhai Bhana inquired where the shrine of Guru Nanak was. The Guru replied, 'It was not Guru Nanak's desire to set up shrines whether great or small. On this account the river absorbed his remains'

Dharm Chand, Guru Nanak's grandson, with all his male relations came forth from Dehra Baba Nanak to receive the Guru and escort him to their temple. The Guru made an offering to the temple of one thousand rupees, and to Dharm Chand's sons Mihr Chand and Manak Chand he presented clothes and golden bracelets. Dharm Chand, conceited at the Guru's offering to his sons, began to think himself a person of great importance. Bhai Bhana on observing this remonstrated with him, and asked him to listen to the following stanza of Bhai Gur Das :—

Sri Chand hath been continent from childhood and built the Guru's shrine.

Lakhmi Das *his son* and *Dharm Chand* his grandson had a high opinion of themselves.

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Guru Angad seated *his servant* on his throne, yet Datu kicked him off it.

Mohan became a fanatic, and Mohri caused the top story, *where Guru Amar Das had resided*, to be revered.

Prithia became deceitful and urged false complaints and accusations against the Guru.

Mahadev became proud—the *Gurus*' sons made men perverse and led them astray.

The odour of the sandal perfumeth not the bamboo.[1]

Dharm Chand became humble on hearing this. The Guru at his levée next morning expressed a desire to visit Sri Chand, son of Guru Nanak. He went to a solitary place where Sri Chand was engaged in austerities. The Guru saluted and offered him presents. Sri Chand complimented him on his bravery in war: 'Thou hast killed Moslems and given peace to the poor.' The Guru politely replied, 'It was all the result of thy favour.' The Guru then set out with Bhai Bhana to Ramdas, his father Bhai Budha's village. Bhai Bhana entertained the Guru there for a month, which they passed in spiritual converse.

The Guru's followers now reminded him that the Diwali fair would take place in a few days in Amritsar, and pressed him to return thither after his long absence. He took Bhai Bhana with him. On arriving there he sent for his family from Goindwal and for Painda Khan from Kartarpur. Painda Khan on arriving expressed regret that the Guru had not sent for him to take part in the battle of the Bias.

A daughter who was born to Painda Khan after the arrival of his family in Amritsar, was deemed a very unwelcome visitor. The Guru on hearing Painda Khan's complaint on the subject, laughed and said that as God had sent her, so would He

[1] That is, proud men generally obtain no advantage by associating with the holy. Wār XXVI.

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cherish her. Bhai Jetha asked the Guru why he laughed. The Guru replied, 'This child is strife incarnate. On her account there shall be a great battle, in which many Moslems shall perish. This is God's will.'

Chapter XIII

Natti, Gurditta's wife, in due time became pregnant, whereat his mother Damodari greatly rejoiced. The Guru ordered Gurditta to go with his wife, spend the Baisakhi fair at Kartarpur, and take his place as expounder of the faith. While there a son was born to him. When the Guru in Amritsar heard of the glad event, he said that Gurditta's son should prove a second Prithia. The Guru at the same time called Gurditta and his family. On their arrival in Amritsar the Guru put a shirt on the child and named him Dhir Mal.

The Guru went one day a-hunting and heard a woman singing the following rustic verses :—

Thou with the black beard and white turban,
My name is Sulakhani, and I live in Chabba.
I present a petition to the true Guru.
May I, who am now without fruit, bear fruit !

Chabba is a village about four miles from Amritsar on the road to Tarn Taran and is near the Sangrana or monument raised to those who fell in the Guru's battle with the imperial forces. The lady was the wife of a Jat agriculturist. She had come to implore the Guru to intercede for her that she might have a son. The Guru prayed for her and she was subsequently blessed with a family of seven children. A bard has celebrated this occurrence as follows :—

As the Guru was touring, a woman came to him to *ask for a son.*

He said, 'A son hath not been written on thy forehead'; on hearing this she was disappointed.

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Then the Guru wrote on her forehead the figure one.
At the time of writing his hand shook and one became seven.
There were seven sons born ; the universe knoweth it.
By the Guru's favour a stake is changed into a thorn.

As the Guru on another occasion went hunting some thirty miles from Amritsar, he came on Sri Chand's retreat. Sri Chand asked him to allow him to adopt one of his sons. The Guru with great reluctance gave his eldest son Gurditta, who appears to have accompanied him to the chase. Sri Chand, in token of adoption and succession to him, put on Gurditta's head a Persian hat, and on his neck a string of lotus seeds.

Baba Atal, the Guru's son by Nanaki, while playing with the children of the city used to instruct them by his conversation. Whatever he said even jestingly had a profound meaning. He was so beloved by all, that no one refused his requests. The Guru used to take him in his lap, fondle him, and say, 'Display not thy power, or, if thou do, use it with discretion. Squander it not in vain.' Baba Atal would reply, 'Great king, thy treasury never faileth.'

There lived in Amritsar a Sikh named Gurumukh who had an only son called Mohan, eight years of age. He and Baba Atal used to play at bat and ball together. Once they played until nightfall. The victory remained with Baba Atal, and it was agreed between the two boys that Mohan should pay his forfeit in the morning. Both boys went home. At night Mohan arose for purposes of nature, and walking in the dark was bitten by a cobra. On hearing his screams his father and mother arose and found him fainting. A physician was called, but the poison had done its work, and the boy succumbed.

Next morning Baba Atal proceeded to Mohan's house. He heard weeping on the way, and on being

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told that Mohan was dead, said, 'No, he is not dead. He is alive. Come, I will fetch him.' Saying this he went to the apartment where Mohan's body was lying. Touching it with his bat he said, 'Mohan, arise. Utter Wahguru! Open thine eyes. Thou oughtest not to sleep so late, arise and pay me what I have won.' Upon this, it is said, Mohan, though dead for four hours and a half, arose as if from sleep. A crowd of bystanders congratulated the Guru's son, and said he had done a deed beyond the power of other mortal.

The Guru while sitting in his court heard the rejoicings. People were saying, 'As is the father, so is the son, a treasury of miraculous power.' But the Guru was not at all pleased. He said, 'It hath ever been Baba Atal's custom to dissipate his power. Now whenever a son may die, the parents will bring him to our door. Whose son shall we reanimate, and whose shall we allow to die? God showeth no favour to man, who must enjoy or suffer the result of his acts, and the religion of saints and holy men prescribeth obedience to God's will.'

While the Guru was thus speaking, Baba Atal returned from Mohan's house. The Guru angrily addressed him: 'Thou must be working miracles, while I teach men to obey God's will.' Baba Atal replied, 'Great king, mayest thou live for ages! I depart to Sach Khand.' Saying this he left the assembly. It did not occur to any one to seek him or beg the Guru to pardon him. It was thought that the boy had simply gone to his mother's apartments. He had, however, actually gone to bathe in the Guru's tank of nectar. After his ablutions he four times circumambulated the Golden Temple, and then went and sat on the margin of the Kaulsar. Bending his head forward he supported his chin with his bat, and repeated the Japji with his eyes directed towards the Temple. As he finished his morning devotions, his light blended with the light of God

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on the tenth day of the dark half of Assu, Sambat 1685, when he was in his ninth year.

The Guru seeing his wives, children, and Sikhs lamenting their beloved Baba Atal said, 'This world is perishable. Everything is the sport of death. It maketh the weepers laugh and the laughers weep, and produceth the other vicissitudes of life. Be consoled. Baba Atal hath obtained immortal dignity and his fame shall for ever abide.' When the Guru sent for a load of sandal wood to cremate him in the forest, the Sikhs suggested that the body should be taken near some inhabited place and not cremated in that unfrequented spot. The Guru replied, 'The city shall increase in population, and this shall be the centre of it. In the Guru's city this place shall be as the Anpurna[1] in Banaras, where all comers are gratuitously filled with corn.' Baba Atal at the time of cremation received the name of Kotwal, or police officer of the city, by which was meant that he would ever guard its inhabitants. The Guru said, 'In commemoration of him who by God's will hath resigned his body in his ninth year, a nine-storied shrine shall be erected which shall be seen from afar.' The virtues and miracles of Baba Atal have been abundantly celebrated by the Sikhs in song and story.

A great crowd of relations and friends came from Goindwal, Khadur, Daroli, Kartarpur, and other places to offer their condolences to the Guru on the death of his son. He repeated for them the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

[1] Anpūrna, a name of Pārbati, is supposed to be the Anna Perenna of the Romans, whom Varro placed in the same rank as Pallas and Ceres, and who was deified by the Roman people in consequence of having supplied them with food when they retired to Mount Aventine. Besides the almost identity of names there is a singular coincidence in the times of their worship, the festival of Anpūrna taking place in the early part of the increase of the moon in the month of Chet (March–April).

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BABA ATAL'S SHRINE

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As a husbandman having sown his field
Cutteth down the crop whether ripe or unripe,[1]
So, O mortal, know that what is born shall die :
God's saint alone is permanent.
Night shall assuredly follow day,
And when the night is passed, morn shall dawn.
The ill-fated sleep in the love of mammon,
But by the Guru's favour a few are wakeful.
Saith Nanak, ever sing God's praises,
So shall thy face be bright and thy heart be pure.[2]

Sain Das, husband of the Guru's sister-in-law, said to the Guru, 'Ordinary people suffer greatly on the loss of a son. What is the suffering of holy men in such cases?' The Guru requested him to draw lines on the ground. He then requested him to erase them. He did so. The Guru then said, 'Thou hast had no pleasure in making these lines and no pain in erasing them.' Sain Das replied, 'None whatever.' Then said the Guru, 'That is all a holy man suffereth on the loss of a son.'

A Sikh called Prem Chand, resident of Kartarpur, proposed his daughter as a wife for Suraj Mal, the Guru's third son.

One day a conversation arose in the presence of the Guru as to the difficulties of Sikhism. Bhai Gur Das admitted the fact, but said that at the same time men should have faith in their religion. He then recited the twentieth pauri of his thirty-fifth War :—

If a mother become unchaste, how can her son disgrace her?

If a cow swallow a gem, one would not tear open her belly and kill her.

Even if a husband visit several women, his wife should preserve her chastity.

Even if a ruler make current a leather coin, the subjects are powerless, *and ought to accept it.*

[1] Unripe crops are frequently cut in the East. [2] Asa.

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If Brahmans drink wine, shall people burn them ? [1]
Even if the Guru become a play-actor, his Sikhs should not lose their faith.

The Guru was not pleased with the last verse, and thought he would do something to teach Gur Das humility. At the time he wanted two chargers, and was informed that Kabul alone produced horses worthy to bear him. He decided to send Bhai Gur Das thither, and gave him money to make the purchases. The horses were to be bought subject to the Guru's approval. Gur Das found two chargers priced at fifty thousand rupees each, and sent them to the Guru. The Guru approved and wrote to him to pay their price and return forthwith to Amritsar.

When the owner went to Gur Das for settlement, Gur Das seated him outside his tent and went within to count the money. On opening the saddle-bags he found that they contained not money but brick-bats. When he did not come forth from his tent within a reasonable time, the horse merchant went in to ascertain the cause of his delay. He found that Gur Das had escaped by an opening in the back of his tent, and left the saddle-bags, which to the merchant now appeared filled with money. The Sikhs who had come with Gur Das paid the merchant, returned with the balance to Amritsar, and informed the Guru of Gur Das's sudden disappearance.

Gur Das was afraid to return to the Guru, and sought refuge in Banaras, which he reached by a circuitous route after great hardship and suffering. Some Sikhs residing there received him with great respect on account of his former connexion with the Guru and his literary gifts. The Raja of the city heard from the Sikhs of the arrival of a very distinguished member of their body, and went to do him honour.

[1] It is written in the Shāstars that if a Brāhman drinks wine, the only atonement is to kill himself by drinking it boiling hot.

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The Raja used often to send for Gur Das and listen to his expositions of the hymns of the Gurus. Once several pandits and Sanyasis said, 'Banaras is the city of Shiv, and he dealeth salvation there to his worshippers. Wherefore abandon the teachings of the Guru and adore Shiv. What hast thou to gain from the Guru?' Gur Das replied, 'As a virtuous woman leaveth not her husband to go to another man, so will I not abandon the Guru to worship a Hindu god. A calf which leaveth its mother and goeth to a strange cow, only receiveth kicks. If a swan abandon Mansarowar, it will not elsewhere receive pearls as food. If a man leave an emperor and go to serve his subjects, he will feel his altered position. So the Guru's Sikhs cannot leave God or preserve their honour by worshipping the gods and goddesses of His creation.'[1]

The pandits represented, 'The great God in Sanskrit literature bore the names Shiv, Gobind, Ram, &c. Why did Guru Nanak introduce the custom of uttering Wahguru and what is the meaning of the words?' Gur Das replied that Wahguru was the greatest of all names. 'Wah means congratulation, and guru means great. Both words combined, therefore, mean congratulation to the Great God. They also mean that God is marvellous, that is, beyond human comprehension.'[2]

The pandits discussed with him the relative merits of Sanskrit and the vulgar tongue. They said that Sanskrit, which was a written language, was the language of the gods, and Hindi, which was a spoken language, the language of men. Gur Das replied, 'The Guru used the spoken language in order to communicate his ideas to men. Sanskrit was merely the language of priests. The current spoken language had preceded it and will succeed it. Sanskrit

1 Gur Dās's *Kabit.*

2 Another interpretation of Wāhguru has been given already in the Life of Guru Amar Dās.

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only holdeth an intermediate position. It was the current language Krishan used in his exhortations to Arjan. Whenever any one readeth or preacheth a Sanskrit discourse, he must explain it in the language of the people. Speech can only be uttered by a being with a body. God hath no body, therefore He speaketh no language, nor was Sanskrit composed by Him. It is now found only in books, and is therefore a dead language. It is a tree which beareth no fruit, while the current language on the contrary is a tree with fruit-bearing branches. The Guru seeing that human life was limited, compiled the Granth Sahib in easy language. Sanskrit is so difficult that a whole life must be spent in acquiring it, wherefore we use the spoken language which children and women can read and understand.[1] It is on this account the Guru hath made the spoken language the vehicle for divine instruction. All persons of whatever caste may read it, not like your Sanskrit, a knowledge of which you deny to women and men of low caste.' It is said that on this the pandits and Sanyasis of Banaras admitted the force of his argument and acknowledged themselves vanquished. After a sojourn of two months in Banaras Gur Das felt an inclination to return to the Guru and brave his ire.

Gur Das wrote to the Guru, 'As a tethered calf crieth for its dam ; as a labourer who desireth to go home, but is forced to work for another, passeth his time in anxiety ; as a wife detained by her parents and separated from her spouse pineth for him, so a Sikh desireth happiness at the Guru's feet, but is kept in misery in a foreign land in obedience to his order.' [2]

The Guru sent Bhai Jetha and some Sikhs to fetch Gur Das, but not in the manner in which he had anticipated. The Guru sent by Jetha a letter

[1] This is not now the case.

[2] Gur Dās's *Kabit*.

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to the governor of Banaras to say that Gur Das had deserted him without his permission, and requested that he might be sent under arrest for punishment. The governor was astonished on receiving the Guru's letter, and said that he knew no thief called Gur Das, or Guru's servant, but the Guru's messengers might arrest himself and take him to serve the Guru. On this Gur Das, who had just finished reading the Japji, related to the governor and his staff the whole story of his journey to Kabul, and his flight from there, whereat there was further curiosity and astonishment.

Gur Das's hands were then tied behind his back, but, at the same time, he was dismissed with great respect by the governor and his people, who fully believed in his innocence. When the arresting party had proceeded about four miles on their homeward journey, Bhai Jetha unbound Gur Das, so that he might travel more comfortably. Bhai Gur Das had not requested this favour. When they arrived near Amritsar Bhai Jetha again bound his prisoner as before for presentation to the Guru. The Guru ironically told Gur Das that he was an excellent Sikh, and made several other cutting observations on his conduct. Bhai Gur Das replied :—

If a mother poison her son, who is affectionate enough *to save him* ?

If a sentry break into a house, who is to guard it ?

If a guide take a traveller into a wilderness, to whom shall he complain ?

If a fence devour the field, there will be no one to look after it.

If the Guru become a play-actor and cause his Sikhs to doubt, what can the poor Sikhs do ? [1]

The Guru pardoned him and suggested that he might complete the compositions in which he had been engaged prior to his arrest.

[1] Wār XXXV.

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Chapter XIV

The marriage of the Guru's son Suraj Mal was duly celebrated with Khem Kaur, daughter of Prem Chand. One Lal Chand and his wife Bishan Kaur thought that they would like to betroth their daughter Gujari to Teg Bahadur, the Guru's youngest son, on the occasion. When Lal Chand's agent arrived with marriage presents, he did not know the name of the intended bridegroom, so Ani Rai, Teg Bahadur's eldest brother, was asked if he would be married. He whose mind had been absorbed in spiritual thoughts, inquired what marriage meant. The agent explained the meaning and intention of the ceremony. Ani Rai replied, ' Married life is the foundation of misery. Sensual pleasures are like the husk of rice, spiritual pleasures like ambrosia.' Ani Rai could not be induced to alter his opinions or his condition. Teg Bahadur, who had really been intended by Lal Chand for his son-in-law, was then consulted as to whether he would marry, and he replied that he would implicitly obey his father. He was accordingly in public darbar formally betrothed to Gujari, Lal Chand's daughter.

Wali Khan, the surviving son of the Subadar of Jalandhar, was waiting for an opportunity to avenge his father. That opportunity had now arrived. The Emperor Shah Jahan was on his way from Dihli to Lahore. Wali Khan presented him a horse with a gold embroidered saddle and other costly gifts. The Emperor remarked to him that his father and elder brother had not come to wait on him. Wali Khan replied that they had been killed by the priest of the Sikhs who had forcibly taken land in the village of Ruhela, thrown its owner Bhagwan Das Gherar into the river Bias, and caused an insurrection in the country. Wali Khan then entered into all the details of the destruction of the army

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sent against the Guru. The Emperor was astonished, and inquired if there was any one who would lead another expedition against him.

Wazir Khan, the Guru's friend, was ready with his ingenious pleading—'May it please thy Majesty, whosoever thou orderest is ready to proceed against the Guru, but it would not be improper to reflect before action. Had the Subadar of Jalandhar received thine orders when he marched against the Guru? No; he made war on his own responsibility. Ask Wali Khan where the Guru is now. Is he entrenched as a rebel in Ruhela? Is he appropriating its land revenue? No; he is now living peaceably in Amritsar. He belongeth not to any Hindu or Muhammadan faction. The Gherar used to persecute his own people and oppress the poor. The Guru out of his own resources built them houses. He even built a mosque for Muhammadans on the land which he found unoccupied on the margin of the Bias. The Gherar was an ally of the Hindus, and he suffered for it. He came to fight and insult the Guru. The Sikhs could not tolerate his language. While quarrelling with them, he fell into the river, and was taken away by the current. His son Ratan Chand in collusion with Karm Chand, Chandu's son, went to the Subadar to request him to aid them, and, as I hear from the best authority, tempted him with a very large bribe. It is on that account the Subadar made war on the Guru without thy Majesty's authority. The Guru is a wonderful man. He hath no appliances of war and no troops. Thou art asked to believe that some petty shopkeepers killed ten thousand men of thine imperial army. If thou order me, I will go alone and destroy the fort the Guru is said to have constructed, and also the mosque occupied by a priest and a few feeble beggars. This Subadar's son ought to be punished. A long time hath elapsed since his father made war, and he hath only informed thee of it to-day.'

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The Emperor was astonished and inquired why the Guru had constructed a mosque. Wazir Khan's answer was prompt—'Sire, gurus and pirs are all men's property. They feel neither love nor hate. The Guru sitteth on Guru Nanak's throne. His is the abode of miracles. He looketh on Hindus and Muhammadans with an equal eye.' The Emperor replied, 'Wazir Khan, I am pleased with thy faithful representation of the case.' The Emperor then confiscated Wali Khan's jagir[1] and refused to grant him his father's post. After this the Guru was left in peace for some time. Every one hesitated to make further complaints against him.

Baba Gurditta, the Guru's son, founded the city of Kiratpur under the following circumstances:—On the peak of the black ridge of the Kahlur mountain there once lived Budhan Shah, a Muhammadan priest famed as a miracle-worker. He kept two goats which, it is said, a tame tiger used daily to take to graze. Guru Nanak and Mardana once visited the place. Budhan Shah asked the Guru who he was, and for what purpose he had come. Mardana took it upon himself to reply, 'This is the divine Guru Nanak, who hath been born to instruct the world, because all people are engaged in filling their bellies and gratifying their evil passions to the forgetfulness of God. I am Mardana, by profession a minstrel. I sing and proclaim God's praises.' Budhan Shah was pleased to receive such visitors, and passed some time in conversing with the Guru on religious subjects. He then told him that he might depart, as the tiger was returning home with the goats and might possibly alarm him. The Guru replied, that all noxious animals were in the Creator's power, and he had no apprehension from them.

The tiger with his charge returned in the evening, and, it is said, first bowed at Guru Nanak's feet and then at his own master's. Budhan Shah,

[1] A revenue-free tenure.

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observing the tiger's first obeisance to Guru Nanak, concluded that he must be a man possessing supernatural power, and treated him accordingly. He consulted him as to how pride could be erased from the heart, and the senses become disgusted with pleasure. Guru Nanak replied, 'When a man obtaineth fresh milk he will not taste sour milk. Without spiritual pleasure man resorteth to the gratification of his senses. When he forsaketh temporal pleasure he obtaineth divine pleasure. When all false pleasures are forsaken, the true pleasure is obtained; and when permanent pleasure is obtained, transitory pleasures please no more. When man's attention is fixed on God, there ensueth a state of profound exaltation, man's thoughts cease to wander, the senses stray not, and celestial light dawneth on the mind.'

Budhan Shah asked Guru Nanak how celestial light was manifested. The Guru explained the process to him, upon which he fell into a trance. When he arose from it, he milked his goats and laid a pail of milk before the Guru. The Guru drank half of it himself and returned the other half to Budhan Shah, telling him to keep it in memory of him. Budhan Shah pressed him to remain with him, otherwise how long was he to preserve the milk? The Guru replied, 'Wait until my Sikh (Gurditta) cometh, thy life shall last till then. He will found a city and abide here.' Saying this the Guru departed.

Guru Nanak was ever present to Budhan Shah's thoughts. He looked at the milk every morning and found it preserved its freshness. After some time he learned that Guru Nanak had forsaken his body. He then heard of the succession of the Gurus—Angad, Amar Das, Ram Das, Arjan, and Har Gobind—and seeing that the milk remained as before, would often say, 'O Guru, send thy Sikh to drink the milk and fulfil thy promise.'

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Har Gobind privately narrated all the circumstances to his eldest son Gurditta, and sent him to Budhan Shah, whose devotion he commended. Gurditta took his wife and son Dhirmal with him. Budhan Shah met him on the bank of the Satluj, and asked him who he was, whence he had come, and if he knew Guru Har Gobind. Gurditta replied, 'O priest, thou hast the milk that was entrusted to thee. Bring it to me. The Guru is my father, and hath sent me to taste it.' Budhan Shah gave him the milk. He tasted it and, it is said, found it sweet as if it had been just set. Budhan Shah then addressed Gurditta, 'This hilly land is all thine; fulfil my desires, and abide with me.' Gurditta then laid the foundation of the city of Kiratpur at the base of the mountain. It was named Kiratpur as God's praises—Kirat—were ever to be sung there.

At the suggestion of Bhai Bhana the Guru visited his own native village Wadali, about four miles from Amritsar on the road to Lahore. He there pointed out the house in which he had been born. Thencé he proceeded to the well with six Persian wheels constructed by Guru Arjan. There a villager represented to him that a wild boar was devastating the country and killing even cultivators. A hunting party was organized, the forest was beaten, and the boar rushed forth. The Guru told Painda Khan to attack the animal. He rushed forward but failed to strike. The boar then charged, threw horse and rider, and exulted in his feat. Burrowing the ground with his shining tusks, the animal again advanced to attack Painda Khan as he lay helpless. The Guru at once went to Painda Khan's assistance, and drawing his sword confronted the boar. The boar made a charge which the Guru avoided by leaping aside. Then raising his sword and exerting all his strength, he struck the brute with such force across the back, that he cut him in twain.

After this the Guru returned to Amritsar. Next

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morning Bhai Bhana prayed the Guru to relate to him the history of Amritsar, and he graciously did so. On another occasion Bhai Bhana asked the Guru to show him the forest land which the Emperor Akbar had granted to Bibi Bhani and within which Bhai Budha had dwelt. The Guru taking Gur Das and Bhai Bhana with him pointed out the locality. There they found that a solid brick building had been erected on Bhai Budha's seat. It is situated some five miles south of Amritsar near the Bari Doab canal. An annual fair is held there on the 21st of the month of Assu.

In the month of Bhadon, during the rainy season, the Guru at Bhai Bhana's suggestion proceeded with his Sikhs to Tarn Taran. They all bathed there at the time when there was no moon visible. It was the anniversary, according to lunar reckoning, of the excavation of the tank by Guru Arjan.

At the request of his Sikhs the Guru then proceeded to Cholha to see the temple which had been erected to commemorate Guru Arjan's visit. During their visit Bhai Gur Das at the Guru's request related the history of Cholha.

Having left Cholha the Guru and his Sikhs went to visit the ruins of Vindpur, a village in which Guru Nanak had been inhospitably received by his tribesmen. The Guru there related its history.

The Guru and his party thence proceeded to the ruins of Khanpur which Guru Arjan had once visited. Bidhi Chand narrated its history to Bhai Bhana. Thence they all proceeded to Goindwal. On their arrival there, they met Sundar Das, the great-grandson of Guru Amar Das and author of the 'Sadd'

One morning after the Guru had performed his devotions he went to Gur Das, whose end was now approaching. Gur Das begged pardon for any sins he might have committed. He then warmly embraced the Guru and Sundar Das. As a preparation for his

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death he recited the Asa ki War and said, 'There is no time now for delay. As I am dying, repeat Wahguru! Wahguru! Erect no shrine for me, but throw my remains from the pyre into the Bias.' The Guru replied, 'I thank thee, Bhai Gur Das, for having assisted in laying out the road of the Sikh faith. Among the Gurus' Sikhs thy name shall be immortal.' Bhai Gur Das having heard this meditated on God, drew a sheet over himself, and closed his eyes in eternal sleep on Friday the fifth day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1686 (A. D. 1629). After performing Gur Das's last rites the Guru returned to Amritsar by way of Khadur.

Bhai Bhana took leave of the Guru in Amritsar and returned to his village of Ramdas. Bibi Viro and her husband Sadhu also prepared for their departure. The Guru blessed her, and said that she should have five brave sons. She and her husband then proceeded to their residence in Malha.

A married couple called Jalhan and Ramki of the village of Dobhirana, situated some ten miles from Amritsar, were anxious that the Guru should pay them a visit. He accordingly went shooting in their neighbourhood. Jalhan and his wife congratulated themselves on their good fortune that they should at last behold the Guru. He remained with them for a night. During his visit he revealed his hazardous position, 'O saint Jalhan, why do the Moslems cause me such annoyance? They are pursuing me and will not desist. Wherever I go, they attack me.' Jalhan replied, 'O great king, thou canst work miracles. In my opinion thou art doing deeds to please thyself. What power have the wretched Turks to contend with thee? Thou art merely performing human play, and not thy supernatural rôle. Maya hath come to thee and thou attachest her to thy feet. They who long for her bear thee enmity, and are ready to die or be slain themselves in a contest with thee. If thou rid thyself of her, thou

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shalt have peace.' The Guru replied, 'Since Maya hath become attached to me, I cannot detach myself from her, for I must now alter the constitution of Sikhism and defend my followers with force of arms.' Jalhan had no further advice to offer, but on the contrary was willing to receive it. The Guru exhorted him to honestly perform his worldly affairs in the station in which God had placed him, and never to forget his devotions.

Gurditta and his wife Natti continued to reside in Kiratpur. There was a son born to them on Sunday the thirteenth day of the light half of Magh, Sambat 1687 (A. D. 1630). Gurditta sent a messenger to inform the Guru and invite him to Kiratpur on the joyful occasion; but the Guru had more pressing matters to attend to at the time. He opened the Granth Sahib, gave Gurditta's child the name of Har Rai, and returned a message to the effect that he would soon proceed to Kiratpur.

After a few months the Guru received a letter from Sain Das inviting him to attend the Baisakhi fair at Daroli. The Guru reflected on his own position. 'The Emperor beareth me malice in his heart. The honour of my temple shall be preserved if I go to Malwa and make its forest my fort. If the Emperor send an army thither to pursue me, it will die of thirst without my taking the trouble to destroy it.' Thus reflecting, the Guru consulted his wife Damodari. She replied, 'My lord, I am a slave obedient to thy will. If thou depart, I will go with thee. If thou leave me behind, here will I remain.' Before leaving Amritsar the Guru went to the temple and prayed to God to preserve him and ever grant him victory. The Sikhs inquired who would take care of the temple in their absence. The Guru replied, 'The Sikhs will take care of it. We shall not return again.' He complained to the people of Amritsar that they would be likely to suffer greatly were he to remain with them. He would now re-

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move the theatre of war to the forest, but would ever abide with them in the spirit.

To his father-in-law Hari Chand, who said that the city would be ruined in his absence, the Guru represented, 'The city shall increase in population day by day. He who meditateth evil to it shall die in misery himself. Here at the Guru's feet shall be the spring of happiness in both worlds; here shall the feast of the Name be ever served to my followers; and here, shall my Sikhs be ever happy. The foundation of the city hath been firmly laid, and never shall give way.' He then proceeded on his journey, taking with him a mounted army of one thousand brave and devoted men. A band with banners flying preceded the party, and then came the Granth Sahib borne on the heads of two carriers. Sikhs were employed to wave fans over the sacred volume to add to its dignity, and hinder any thoughtless insect from alighting on it.

The Guru on arriving at Daroli by way of Tarn Taran was received with great affection by Sain Das. The Guru said to him, 'The cable of thy love hath so bound me that I have no hope of ever escaping from it.' Sain Das replied, 'In all ages this hath been God's way. His name is Bhagat Watsal—the saints are dear to Him—He knoweth the love of His slaves. Whether one be a pandit, a jogi, or a king one cannot please God without love. If a man have love, even though he be poor and ignorant, yet is he dear to the Lord.'

An event occurred at the time of the Guru's first visit to Daroli, which must be here narrated. In the village of Wadaghar in the present district of Firozpur was a Sikh called Akal, a carpenter by trade. He had been converted to Sikhism by Guru Ram Das and used often to visit Guru Arjan and Guru Har Gobind. He had an accomplished daughter for whom he desired to procure a husband. He found a suitable match for her in the person of

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Sadhu, son of Sada, a resident of the village of Tuklani. Akal's family priest had made all inquiries and performed all the necessary ceremonies, but had failed to inquire if the intended bridegroom were a Sikh or not. The priest replied to Akal's inquiries that the boy was a Hindu held in high honour by his brethren; and he deemed that sufficient without further investigation. Akal was not satisfied, but said that God would put everything right. He heard some time afterwards that the bridegroom's parents were followers of Sakhi Sarwar,[1] yet he accepted the alliance fearing that he could not find another mate so suitable for his daughter. At the same time he felt severe twinges of conscience on the subject. Accordingly, at the time of his daughter's departure after the wedding he gave her this admonition—'My beloved daughter, in all worldly matters obey and wait upon thy mother-in-law and thy husband, but never bow thy head to any but the Guru.' The girl herself was much distressed at having to marry a youth of another religion, but she was obliged to accept her position.

The marriage procession started from Wadaghar to Tuklani in the early morning. The intervening route not being safe, the procession passed by Daroli, where the bride heard the Sikhs singing sacred hymns. Being informed that the Guru was encamped in the village, and fearing that she might not again have an opportunity of seeing him, she ordered her bearers to let her alight and go to do him homage. The Guru on seeing her asked who she was. A Sikh who knew her whole history answered for her. The girl then addressed the Guru, 'Thou art a searcher of hearts, and knowest that I am a daughter of a Sikh, while my parents-in-law are followers of Sakhi Sarwar. Evil is my fate that I am in the power of others. If thou convert my husband to

[1] A famous Baloch pir, whose shrine, not far from the Sulaiman Mountains, is yearly visited by pilgrims of various Indian religions.

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the Sikh religion, I shall be perfectly happy.' The Guru replied, 'My daughter, have no anxiety, God will act for the best. As thy father and mother were Sikhs, so shall thy husband and children also be Sikhs, and thy wishes be fulfilled.' On hearing this the girl was consoled and felt satisfied that her evil destiny was now altered.

Meantime Sada missed his daughter-in-law. On discovering that she had gone to visit the Guru, he became very angry and sent the bridegroom for her saying, 'What have we to do with the Guru? We are worshippers of Sakhi Sarwar. If we bow to the Guru, our priest will be very angry with us. Go quickly and bring back thy wife.' Sadhu thus found his way to the Guru's presence. The Guru was then holding court, and hymns were being sung. He shone among his Sikhs like the moon among the stars. Sadhu became at once filled with devotion and said, 'Alas! we have wasted our lives in vain. Being of the Hindu faith we reverence and worship a Muhammadan. We make an offering of a cake to Sakhi Sarwar and then eat his leavings.' Upon this the Guru said, 'Bhai Sadhu, repeat the Name and amend thy life. Cease to worship Sakhi Sarwar.' Sadhu, after some further parley, begged the Guru to make him a Sikh, and pardon his past sins. The Guru, seeing him fit for the favour, initiated him with the usual ceremonies, and said that he should have a son who also would be true to the Sikh faith.

When the marriage procession reached home, the bridegroom's relations took him to the family shrine of Sakhi Sarwar and asked him to worship. He at once remembered the words of Guru Nanak:—

> I will not fall into idolatry; I will worship none but God; I will not go to graves or places of cremation.[1]

Saying this he kicked down the miniature likeness

[1] Sorath, Ashtapadi.

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of a grave which had been erected for Sakhi Sarwar's worship, and said, 'I will repeat the true Name of Wahguru and amend my life.' Sada thought his son had lost his reason, and began to remonstrate with him, 'My son, it is through Sakhi Sarwar's favour we have obtained wealth and thou hast found a bride, and yet thou spurnest his household shrine.' Sadhu far from being satisfied with what he had done continued his work of destruction. He seized a mattock and removed the last vestige of Sakhi Sarwar's worship. The father renewed the masonry work but, as fast as he did so, the son demolished it. Faith in Sakhi Sarwar began to be shaken. People said that he had become powerless to defend himself, much less to defend others. By the Guru's favour Sadhu's wealth and happiness continued to increase. A child, a treasury of beauty, was born to him in Sambat 1672, and his devotion acquired new fervour. The Guru named the child Rup Chand on account of his beauty, and said he should become a great saint.

When the boy had attained the age of fifteen years, he and his father Sadhu went one day during the hot weather to the forest to cut wood. They took with them a leather bottle filled with water to quench their thirst. They hung the bottle on a tree, and afterwards, on going to drink from it, found the water had become cool. They remembered the Guru and thought to themselves that this would be pleasant water for him to drink. Although the heat was terrific, as if it rained sparks of fire, they refrained from drinking and began to meditate on the Guru, 'O true Guru, first drink this pure cool water, and then we will satisfy our thirst. Thou fulfillest the desires of thy servants. Ever present thou hearest their supplications. Drink this water. We may die, but we will never drink till thou hast tasted it.'

The village of Tuklani, where Sadhu and Rup

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Chand lived, was some thirty miles distant, yet, it is said, the Guru heard their prayer as he lay in an apartment perfumed with sandal and fragrant grass and cooled by water sprinkled over a sandy floor. The Guru at once stood up and, leaving all his comforts, prepared to start in the appalling heat for Tuklani to see his Sikhs Sadhu and Rup Chand. He found them fainting from the heat, and called on them to arise. They arose as happy as the chatrik when he hears thunder presaging rain, on as the lotus when it beholds the sun. The Guru told them that he was thirsty and asked for cold water. On drinking from the leather bottle he said it was excellent, like nectar, and that he had never before drunk such delicious beverage.

The Guru told them that the Sikh religion should ever remain in their family, but, as the people of Tuklani were annoyed at their having embraced it, and as the village would be destroyed on account of the several enormities of its inhabitants, Sadhu and Rup Chand ought to leave the place and found a village for themselves. The Guru was particularly pleased to see Rup Chand, and made him a present of clothes and arms. Rup Chand placed them reverently on his head, and said he would honour them. Through respect he refused to wear the sword which had been worn by the Guru. Upon this the Guru seated him on the couch, and said he should have a congregation of his own, in which he should use his tongue instead of a sword, spread Guru Nanak's doctrines, and make the Sikhs firm in their faith. 'Keep thy kitchen', said the Guru, 'ever open for the traveller and the stranger. What thou sayest shall be fulfilled, wealth and preternatural power shall hang upon thy tongue People will reverence thee, and great shall be thy glory.'[1]

[1] The lord of Bāgriān in the Ludhiāna district is a lineal descendant of Bhāi Rūp Chand. He maintains a public kitchen up to the present time, as ordered by the Guru.

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The Guru on the thirteenth day of the light half of the month of Baisakh, Sambat 1688, laid the foundation of a village on an open plain six miles distant from Tuklani and called it Bhai Rupa in honour of his Sikh protégé. Bhai Rupa is now a considerable town in the Nabha State. The Guru also ordered a house to be constructed for himself and promised on its completion to reside in it for some time. The Guru after a very brief visit to Bhai Rup Chand and his father, returned to Daroli, where he was joined by Gurditta and his wife and sons, Dhirmal and Har Rai.

Damodari's last hour had now arrived. She asked the Guru's pardon for her sins or for any idle words she might have spoken during her married life. She said she had no fear of death and only felt one sorrow, that of leaving her husband. The Guru replied, 'Have no anxiety. Bodies meet subject to destiny, but it is the meeting of souls that is important.' He further consoled her, gave her parting spiritual instruction, and said her salvation was assured. She then sent for all the members of her family, and took leave of each in turn. She departed this life on Wednesday, the twelfth day of the light half of Sawan, Sambat 1688 (A.D. 1631). The Guru ordered that instead of mourning for her death his Sikhs should read the Japji and Sohila for her eternal repose.

Ramo was so sad at the loss of her sister, that she too pined away and died. Her husband, Sain Das, perished from the shock of his wife's untimely death. Damodari's parents, that is the Guru's parents-in-law, did not long survive Sain Das and Ramo.

When the funeral ceremonies of his relations were completed, the Guru again began to consider his position. He trusted that Wazir Khan would prevent the dispatch of too powerful an army against him. He therefore decided on sending all his family and the Granth Sahib to Kartarpur, while he himself remained in Daroli. On seeing Sain Das's un-

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tenanted and desolate mansion, once the abode of life and joy, the Guru repeated the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

Accursed the love of mother and father; accursed the love of brothers and relations!

Accursed the love of wife and the pleasure of sons; accursed the love of home!

The love of the guild of saints is true; Nanak happiness abideth with them.

Perishable is the body, its strength faileth;

In old age the love of wealth increaseth.

Though only a pilgrim in the world, *man indulgeth* in endless hopes

While terrible Dharmraj counteth his breathings.

Man falleth into the pit of mammon; God's mercy is the real support of his body obtained with so much difficulty.

They whose desires are evil, attach themselves to a mirage, an enchanted city, or the shadow of a tree.

Thus perishable is the love of family: Nanak remember God's name.[1]

One day the Guru addressed his Sikhs: 'Brethren dearer to me than life, you are one thousand brave men. Shall we remain here or proceed to spread our religion?' A Sikh replied, 'O my lord, show thyself where the devout and grateful think of thee and await thee.' The Guru beat the drum of departure, whereat the people of Daroli were very much grieved, and feared that they should have no one to protect them in his absence. The Guru recommended them to occupy their time in remembering God, in showing hospitality to travellers and visitors, and in repeating the true Name. Thus should all their desires be fulfilled, and their troubles and sorrows depart. Saying this the Guru and his party proceeded to his friends Sadhu and Rup Chand's village. They had constructed a splendid house for his reception. The Guru blessed them and exhorted them, as earnest

[1] Sahaskriti sloks.

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and devout exponents of his religion, to practise charity and humility, in which case their homes should last for ever, and they should be reverenced as holy men. The Guru abode with them during the months of Bhadon and Assu.

Near Bhai Rupa was a village called Kangar in the present state of Nabha, owned by Rai Jodh. He was third in descent from Mahar Mitha, who had been a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar. Mahar Mitha had a young daughter sixteen years of age, whose beauty attracted the Emperor's notice. He vowed that if he did not obtain her with her parents' consent, he would take her by force. Mahar Mitha, finding himself powerless to oppose a powerful monarch, sent him a message, that if he came veiled as an ordinary bridegroom, he might return with the coveted bride. Akbar consented, went to Mahar Mitha, and duly married his daughter. Mahar Mitha had a son called Chain Beg, who begot Amar Shah, who begot Rai Jodh. He had for a wife a Sikh lady. At her request he went with very costly presents and a retinue of five hundred men to pay his respects to the Guru. His wife subsequently visited the Guru alone, and prayed him to make her husband a Sikh. The Guru replied, 'Thy progeny shall increase and all become Sikhs. Thy great-grandson shall receive and serve the tenth Guru who will grant him salvation.'

Chapter XV

Τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐσπουδακόσιν ἡγοῦμαι προσήκειν μετὰ τὴν πολλὴν τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων ἀνάγνωσιν ἀνιέναι τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπειτα κάματον ἀκμαιοτέραν παρασκευάζειν.[1]

It is said that Bidhi Chand, before he entered the service of the fifth Guru, had been a famous highway-

1 Methinks it befits persons of literary pursuits to relax their minds after protracted serious reading, and thus render them fresher for subsequent application.—Lucian's *Veracious History*.

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man and robber, and several of his exploits in that capacity are recorded. Once he stole some very valuable buffaloes from Sultanpur. The owners awoke and hotly pursued him as far as the village of Cholha, where he was received by a man called Adali. Adali put the stolen buffaloes into a slimy pool so that when they emerged from it they were not recognized by the owners. Bidhi Chand, glad of his escape, begged Adali to make him a disciple. Adali said he had no spiritual power himself, and recommended him to go to Guru Arjan, who would grant him peace of mind. He also advised him to restore the stolen buffaloes to their owners and implore God's pardon. Accordingly Adali took Bidhi Chand to the Guru and informed him that he desired to become a Sikh. Guru Arjan made him a Sikh and instructed him to renounce thieving, serve the saints, and meditate on God. Bidhi Chand represented, 'I have contracted this habit of thieving. The world is in the power of habit, which it is difficult to overcome.' Guru Arjan replied, 'Do good to others, forswear falsehood, read and ponder on the Gurus' hymns and associate with saints, so shall all thy evil inclinations depart.' Upon this Bidhi Chand abandoned his village and attached himself to Guru Arjan. Adali his guide and friend then went home, pleased at having placed Bidhi Chand in the way of redemption.

One day Bidhi Chand said to Guru Arjan, 'I began from my childhood to commit theft. How shall I be saved hereafter?' Guru Arjan told him to repeat the following hymn :—

The formless One, the Destroyer of sorrow, bringeth back what hath gone and freeth the captive.

I know not good works, I know not religion ; I am greedy and avaricious.

I am called a worshipper of God ; preserve Thine own honour,

O God ; Thou art the honour of the unhonoured.

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Thou makest something out of those who are nothing; I am a sacrifice unto Thy power.

As when a boy following his natural inclinations committeth hundreds of thousands of faults,

His father adviseth him, chideth him in several ways, but at last embraceth him;

So pardon my past offences, O God, and put me in Thy way for the future.

God the Searcher of hearts knoweth everything; then to whom shall man go to redress grievances?

God is not pleased with the utterance of words; if it please Him, He preserveth our honour.

Other shelters all have I tried: Thy shelter alone remaineth me.

Be merciful and compassionate, my Lord God, and hear Thou my supplication.

Cause me to meet the perfect true Guru and put an end to my mental anxieties.

God hath put His name as medicine into my mouth, and the slave Nanak abideth in happiness.[1]

Guru Arjan continued—'Thy past sins shall be pardoned if thou seek God's protection, and cease to commit sin for the future. Serve saints and worshippers who repeat the Name, sweep their floors, draw them water, scrub their vessels, fan them, and shampoo them, and thou shalt gain all possible advantages. Theft is a baneful habit. It is the cause of entanglements in this world. Thy service to the saints will only be profitable if thou renounce all desire to appropriate others' property.'

Two masands, Bakht Mal and Tara Chand, had been deputed to Kabul to collect funds for the Guru. They returned with a company of Sikhs who also brought offerings for their spiritual master. They were besides bringing two horses of surpassing beauty and fleetness for the Guru, but the animals were forcibly seized by the Emperor's officials and duly

[1] Sorath.

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presented to him. Guru Har Gobind, who was then in Bhai Rupa, received the Sikhs with great ceremony. Having laid their offerings before him they proceeded to inform him of the seizure of the excellent steeds they had intended for him. He bade them be of good cheer and not take the matter too much to heart.

Some of the Sikhs invited the masands to give an account of their travels, what countries they had traversed, whether they saw Amritsar on the way, and by what route they had returned? They replied that in their anxiety to see the Guru they had first gone to Lahore where they thought he was, and had remained there some days to see the Muhammadan festival of the Baqar Id, during which an ox is slain in commemoration of the intended sacrifice of Ismail[1] by Abraham. They intended on their return journey to visit Amritsar and bathe in its sacred tank. The Sikhs hearing them mention Lahore asked them to give their impressions of it, and tell about the Emperor, Shah Jahan, who was there at the time. They said that Shah Jahan publicly attended the mosque on the occasion, and the people of many villages came and assisted in the service. The Emperor appeared in great state on a beautiful tall elephant adorned with gold and silver trappings and bearing a glittering canopied hauda, whose ball-fringe was set with precious stones. The masands said that they could not count the imperial army, which on that occasion descended on the parade ground like clouds.

'Then came, led with embroidered silken ropes, the horses taken forcibly from us. Their bearing-reins were fastened to saddles studded with gems, which glittered in a manner to captivate the beholder. The horses were in superb condition and pranced as they were led along. The Emperor loved them so much that he would not allow them to go out of his sight. They appeared beautiful, as if made by Cupid's own hands. If the god of the firmament saw them, even

[1] The Muhammadans have substituted Ismail for Isaac.

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he would be enamoured of their beauty. We heard people say that the horses would cross a river without wetting their riders. One of them was called Dil Bagh and the other Gul Bagh. They were so swift that it was difficult to tell whether they put their legs on the ground or flew in the air. During our whole lives we have never seen such horses; and, as they had been brought for the Guru, he ought certainly to possess them, so that he might in case of necessity have excellent chargers to bear him in a conflict with the enemy. What doth the Emperor want such horses for? He cannot ride or fight like the Guru. The Guru is a man of great stature, and when mounted on such horses would appear doubly beautiful as he presented himself to his Sikhs, and would gladden their hearts as they beheld him.'

The party from Kabul returned home, except Bakht Mal and Tara Chand, who remained with the Guru at Bhai Rupa. Their conversation was ever of Dil Bagh and Gul Bagh. Bidhi Chand, notwithstanding his resolutions of amendment, began to consider how he could restore the belauded steeds. A horse destined for the Guru had once been taken away by the Emperor's father and was duly recovered. This afforded Bidhi Chand what he deemed a suitable pretext for his intended action. The Emperor was now at war with the Guru, had inflicted great losses on the Sikhs, and caused the death of many of his bravest warriors, and it would be a disgrace to allow him to retain possession of the horses brought all the way from Kabul for the Guru. It was impossible to secure them by purchase, and being very dear to the Emperor they were well guarded. Even were war to be declared against him, possession of the horses could not be obtained, as they were kept in an impregnable fortress.

Some of the soldiers lately enlisted by the Guru said, 'We find on full consideration that no one

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but Bidhi Chand can accomplish the enterprise of recovering the horses. He is so clever that he can do what all the world thinketh impossible. As there are no horses like Dil Bagh and Gul Bagh, so there is no one like Bidhi Chand to secure possession of them. If Bidhi Chand by his great cleverness succeed in bringing the horses, it will be a miracle famous throughout the world. Ram Chandar, on losing his queen Sita, selected the very wise and clever Hanuman, and dispatched him to Ceylon in search of his queen. Hanuman examined the whole island, discovered Sita, killed the great demons of Rawan's army, set fire to his city, and crossed the ocean on his victorious homeward march. There is now a similar exploit to be performed. Hanuman's fame still liveth in the world. Bidhi Chand will accomplish it, and his fame shall be resplendent.' Bidhi Chand on hearing himself thus praised and encouraged said, 'What are Gul Bagh and Dil Bagh? I would even bring the Guru the horses of the sun's chariot.'

Bidhi Chand then with clasped hands uttered a prayer. 'O Guru Arjan, I am now bent on acting in opposition to thine injunctions; pardon me for venturing to restore to thy Sikhs horses wantonly taken from them by unrighteous Moslems. Assist me in the perilous path I am about to tread.' He received the congratulations of his companions, and as soon as preparations for his journey were completed departed for Lahore. On reaching the city gate he again considered how he was to perform the task. 'I cannot break the fort wall which is very strong. The horses are well guarded and no stranger may approach them. There are several sentries at the gates. If I can only enter the stable-keeper's service, then I may have access to the horses; but he will not take me without an introduction; wherefore I must try some means of obtaining access to him in some other way, so that I may succeed in my object.'

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The manner in which, without the Guru's knowledge, Bidhi Chand recovered the horses brought for him from Kabul, cannot afford edification to the strictly pious. We here, however, give a narrative current among the Sikhs partly to relieve the strain on the reader who has so far followed this serious narrative, and partly to show with what ingenuity, address, and daring Indians of former ages could succeed in transferring property.

Bidhi Chand went to the house of a carpenter named Jiwan who had previously known him. Jiwan welcomed him as bringing a blessing on his house. Bidhi Chand in reply to Jiwan's inquiries frankly told him the nature of his errand, and asked his advice, and all information regarding the Emperor, his horses, and their keepers. Jiwan was astonished and said, 'Thou hast come on a difficult errand. The Emperor resideth in the Saman Burj—octagonal tower—and the horses are kept near him. They are guarded by hundreds of men who serve their master with great fidelity. There are many sentries ever under arms at the gates. The Darogha or stable-keeper's name is Sondha Khan. He hath many subordinates. To say nothing of taking away the horses, the stable is inaccessible. How canst thou ever reach it? But if fortune favour thee, thou shalt accomplish a feat which is otherwise impossible. God can render what is difficult easy, can make the weak strong and the strong weak. Who but thee can reach the stables and obtain possession of the horses?'

Bidhi Chand requested his host to make him a khurpa, or iron instrument for grubbing up grass, and pray that success might attend his efforts. Bidhi Chand then went to rest and slept soundly, while his friend Jiwan sat up all night making the khurpa. Next morning Bidhi Chand took it with a net to hold grass, and proceeded to the bank of the river Ravi. There he began to cut beautiful soft grass to take to the coveted horses. He already deemed

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them the Guru's, so he laboured with a will. He collected the grass with great care and put it in his net. He then took it to the market-place. Horse owners on seeing its emerald brightness hastened to negotiate for it. Bidhi Chand said that he would not sell it for less than a rupee, but no one would give him so much for a bundle of grass. He then moved on till he arrived opposite the gate of the fort. It was in the evening, and the time for the stable-keeper to go forth and breathe the fresh air on the margin of the Ravi.

Bidhi Chand, on learning that Sondha Khan, the well-dressed man he saw before him, was the stable-keeper, congratulated himself for having been so fortunate as to meet on the very day after his arrival the man whose acquaintance he had so desired to make. When the grass was brought to the stable-keeper's notice, he said that he had never seen such grass in all his life. It was fit for Dil Bagh and Gul Bagh, and he ordered his men to adjust the price and buy it for the horses. On observing Bidhi Chand he said that he appeared to be an honest man. Bidhi was ready with his reply, ' Thou art an appreciator of merit. Thou art very wise, and art therefore employed in the Emperor's service. I greatly desire that Dil Bagh and Gul Bagh should thrive, and to this end I have made great efforts. Now that this beautiful grass hath reached its proper place my wishes are fulfilled. As long as the horses of the true King '—a title of the Guru not understood by the stable-keeper—' eat my grass, I will gladly sell it for whatever thou art pleased to give.'

His sweet words and civility induced Sondha Khan to take him with the grass on his head to where the horses were tethered with silken ropes. When Bidhi Chand laid down his bundle in front of them, they ate ravenously as if they had been fasting for a whole day. Before leaving the court he carefully surveyed the premises, and came to the conclusion that it

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would be very difficult to remove the horses. He went into the market-place, and changing the rupee he had received, distributed the money as alms, saying that he would never eat anything purchased with Muhammadans' money, lest after taking away the prize he should be deemed ungrateful.

After thus feeding the horses for six or seven days, they used to neigh welcome to him whenever he approached. He would then pat them on their backs to make them pleased with him. The stable-keeper one day inquired his name and whether he would consent to be a permanent servant. Bidhi Chand replied, 'The wise call me Kasera.[1] I bring thee grass daily; wherefore make me thy servant and thou shalt see me serve thee daily more and more, but I will not work for hire. As these are the true King's horses, I will serve them for love. If ever I obtain my wishes, my service to the horses shall not go unrewarded.' Bidhi Chand was accordingly appointed grass-cutter to the Emperor's favourite steeds at a wage of one rupee per day. The stable-keeper on appointing him warned him to do good work and nothing should be deducted from his stipulated pay, a practice so usual in former times. Bidhi Chand replied, 'What shall I say? Thou shalt see the service I will perform. Good men say little, and what they do say they fulfil in the end.' When Bidhi Chand was not cutting or fetching grass, he was always occupied in washing and brushing the horses and attending to their comfort.

Bidhi Chand requested the stable-keeper to give orders to the porters at all the fort gates to allow him free ingress and egress at all times. The stable-keeper took him round and gave all the necessary orders. Bidhi Chand continued his incessant labour and even did the work of the permanent stable-servants, whereat they were much pleased. After some days Sondha Khan ordered that the bridling and the

[1] Bidhi Chand meant a *ghasiyāra* or grass-cutter.

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unbridling of the horses should be entrusted to Kasera. They had become attached to him on account of his great attention to them day and night. Sondha Khan then told Bidhi Chand his principal duty would be to groom the horses. He needed only go occasionally for grass. Bidhi Chand replied that he was not above any service whether it were to go for grass or remain and groom the horses. He spoke civilly to every one and won all hearts without paying any money.

Whenever for the future Bidhi Chand went for grass he brought a large stone concealed in it. At midnight he used to fling the stone into the river which then flowed under the fort. When the stone fell into the water it made a great noise, and awakened everybody in the neighbourhood. Bidhi Chand's object was, that people might suppose it was a fish or the falling of a wall or of a stone off the parapet; and that the occupants of the fort would gradually become habituated to the noise, and take no notice of it when he leaped one of the horses over the battlement into the river. If he once succeeded in getting the horse outside the fort walls, he knew he should succeed in taking him to Bhai Rupa, the Guru's residence at the time.

The Emperor once went to see the horses and was very pleased to observe their excellent condition. He admired Bidhi Chand, said he appeared a smart servant, and ordered the stable-keeper to treat him well, that he might remain in his service. He then made him a suitable money present. Bidhi Chand, who lived on Jiwan's earnings, entrusted the money to the stable-keeper, told him to retain it, and also his monthly salary until such time as he required funds for his expenses. The stable-keeper was deceived by this apparent generosity. He thought that Bidhi Chand, who was really greedy to obtain the horses, had no greed in his heart, and he continued to repose the utmost confidence in him. He deemed him the best of all his servants and made the others sub-

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ordinate to him. Though Bidhi Chand thus became their superior officer, he used to treat them affectionately, so that they might be on his side in the hour of need.

Bidhi Chand congratulated himself on his progress thus far. The next object of his ambition was to obtain a saddle for one of the horses to assist him in his escape. He accordingly set to work to secure the friendship of the man who kept the keys of the Emperor's storehouse where his costly saddles were kept. In this also he succeeded by flattering and soft speeches. All the time he managed to conceal his extraordinary cleverness, and to pass for an ignorant villager of mean understanding. As his fellow-servants listened to his simple talk, they began to love him and he gratified them in every way in his power. One day he said in their presence, 'These are very fine horses. Does his Majesty keep them to look at, so that his heart may rejoice; or do they always remain standing like this in the stable? Have they any saddles, and if so what are their saddles like? Will you show them to me?' Somebody said to him in reply, 'Thou simpleton, their saddles are very costly, set with pearls and well-cut diamonds, and inlaid with glittering gems which shine like the stars in heaven. The saddles are each worth a lakh and a quarter of rupees. The like of thee can never have seen such saddles. Who would show them to ignorant villagers? And who could possess them but emperors with unbounded wealth?'

Bidhi Chand humbly represented, 'Pray consider me as one of yourselves. I am a servant of the horses of the true King. I live among you day and night. If my desire to see the saddles be not gratified, then everything I do is in vain. I have never seen a saddle of such value. Where did you have saddles made worth a lakh and a quarter of rupees each? I am astonished at hearing such a thing. I have therefore a great desire to see them,

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and I beg you to gratify me.' Another servant replied, 'The saddles are kept under lock and key and continually guarded. He in whose custody the keys are will show them to thee. Speak to him, he is here now.' The custodian of the keys said he would be very pleased to show the saddles, if he received the stable-keeper's permission, but otherwise he would be afraid to do so. The stable-keeper happened to arrive at the time, and asked the servants what plot they were concocting. They replied, 'Thou hast employed Kasera, a very simple-minded fellow, who says things to set us all a-laughing. He desireth to know how a lakh and a quarter of rupees could be spent on a saddle.' Bidhi Chand himself then told the darogha he could not rest until he had seen saddles of such astonishing value.

The darogha told him that on the great Id festival both horses would be saddled and led out, and then he would see such a sight as he had never seen before. Bidhi Chand, to whom time was valuable and delay a thing to be avoided, then philosophically addressed the darogha, 'What dependence is there on life? It may cease within an hour. Who knoweth whether even the breath we now expire shall return again? The moment I heard every one praise the saddles I conceived a desire to behold their wonderful workmanship. A thing worth a lakh and a quarter of rupees is a wonder to me, and I shall not be happy till I see it. I am always with thee here, and am I not to have my natural desires gratified in such a matter? Wherefore, my master, I pray thee grant an order that their custodian show me the saddles.' The darogha, overcome by these entreaties, ordered that Bidhi Chand should see the saddles. Bidhi Chand on seeing them pretended that he thought the diamonds were white stones, and the pearls grains of millet such as he had often chewed in his native village, and asked where the precious stones were of which he had heard so much. What

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he saw appeared to him of no value. At this every one laughed, and asked what he could know about precious stones. He had never heard of such things, and had never seen them before. Bidhi Chand, putting his hand on the diamonds, remarked that they were very hard, and would prick the Emperor's body when he touched them. They could not possibly be comfortable things to sit on. The darogha explained to him, that what he saw were not things one could take into his hand and eat. They were for display on great occasions, and only found in the possession of emperors and great monarchs. Bidhi Chand replied, ' If a man like me got a thousand rupees it would last him for life. He could get a wife for himself and another for his son, when he had one, out of the money. It is only kings who squander money in vain.'

This conversation at an end, the darogha ordered Bidhi Chand to lift up the saddles and take them back into the store-room. Bidhi Chand kept his eyes well open, and took note of its interior. He also observed where the custodian laid the key after locking the door. Next day the darogha seeing him most attentive to the horses, ordered that he alone was to give them mashes and other food, and take care of them day and night. Meanwhile, Bidhi Chand carefully studied how he could take one or both away. He was ever searching for a low and suitable part of the fort's ramparts over which he might leap them into the river. He said to himself, ' I must hit on some plan by which the servants may go to sleep and not hear or see me saddling the horses. If the grooms remain awake, they will most probably catch me in the act.'

All the grooms employed on the horses were fond of music and dancing women. One day, as they were all laughing and talking together, one of them turned to Bidhi Chand and said, ' Look here, brother Kasera, thou art a new servant and receivest the

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highest pay of us all. Thou hast also got a large present from the Emperor, and not yet given thy fellow-servants a dinner. This is not well of thee.' This proposal was the very thing that Bidhi Chand had desired. He replied, 'I am at the service of you all. Why should I not please you? I did not think of it; you have reminded me. You have said well, and I have grasped your meaning. I am thinking, however, that it would not be proper for you who are of a different religion to receive food from my hands. I will do another thing as you ask me. You know well that I am no miser. I will spend all I have on you. I will tell you what I wish to do myself. I will give you wine—a hogshead among you—and you may enjoy yourselves and get drunk to your hearts' content. With my own hands I will fill your cups, and you shall be delighted when I have satisfied you. Be happy in the enjoyment of God's gifts. There is no reliance on life. The pleasure of the day is the only gain.'

The grooms on hearing this were all delighted and shouted 'Bravo! Bravo Kasera!' The prospect of getting drunk filled them with visions of bliss. They vowed that they would take no dinner that day, that they might the more eagerly partake of Bidhi Chand's hospitality. They had dinner every day at home, but they had never yet joined in such a symposium as Kasera had proposed. Bidhi Chand at once saw his opportunity, and thus communed with himself, 'This is the eighth day of the dark half of the month, a convenient time for my purpose. It will be very dark in the beginning of the night. I will then jump one of the horses over the rampart, and after that when it is light make my way to Bhai Rupa. I will now so entertain my friends that they will curse me in the morning.'

Bidhi Chand then addressed his brother grooms—'Let no one take dinner to-day. I adjure all of you to assemble here this evening. I will go and fetch

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the wine. When you have drunk it, you may eat as much as you please. After that you may go home to your wives. If you do not wish to go home, then remain here. Have no anxiety whatever to-day. Enjoy for the moment the pleasures of love and wine. I will arrange everything for you.'

Bidhi Chand went to his friend Jiwan, took twenty rupees from him to buy strong wine,[1] and going to a publican asked for his most potent liquor. The publican told him he would charge him fifty per cent. above ordinary market price for a special distillation which he kept in his private house, and which he would not sell to ordinary customers. The publican described its virtues, 'If a man drink even a little of it, he will so lose his senses that he cannot find even his own door. What higher praise can I bestow on it?' Bidhi Chand told him that he would give him not fifty but one hundred per cent. above market price, if he supplied him with wine possessing four times the ordinary strength.

When Bidhi Chand met his guests he told them all the trouble he had taken to procure them excellent wine, again pressed them to enjoy themselves, and assured them, with a covert meaning, that whenever he left them they should all remember him. Having addressed them loving words of that description he handed round the wine, but at first in small quantities. He then engaged them in pleasant conversation, and they were delighted when he agreed with everything they said. As intoxication gradually came on, some were laughing and others thought they were in the seventh heaven. Hitherto he had taken care not to give them too much lest they should suspect his designs; but, when a watch of night had elapsed, he began to give them wine without measure, and they drank with open mouths. The sentries also joined in the carousals and said while Bidhi Chand was filling their cups, 'Listen, brother

[1] Spirits were then much cheaper in India than they are now.

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Kasera, the sentry duty is thine to-night. Thou hast been so liberal of thy wine, that we cannot possibly remain awake, so keep guard thyself.' Bidhi Chand replied, 'Have no fear; I shall remain awake the whole night. Such is the dread of the Emperor that no one may approach. The whole country is under one powerful monarch. Who can come to spy out the land, much less to steal?'

Saying this Bidhi Chand let the wine flow. He filled to the brim a special goblet for the custodian of the keys, who took it and laughingly said, 'O Kasera, seeing thy friendship I will drink this cup from thy hands. The protection of my storehouse I now entrust to thee. Thou hast not taken wine, so thou wilt remain awake and be fully on the alert.' Bidhi Chand assured him that he would remain awake and that no stranger, however daring, should approach the premises. The key-holder might therefore sleep soundly and comfortably. All the company were reassured on hearing Bidhi Chand's cheerful words, and began to drink on, big and little, old and young. They soon became unconscious and fell down uttering incoherent nonsense. When they could no longer speak, they took off their clothes and rolled naked on the floor. Bidhi Chand took each man's arm and inquired how he was, and on receiving no answer knew that his friends were disposed of for the night, and he himself was free for action. It is true he heard the distant sentries calling, but they could not interfere with his operations.

The author of the 'Gur Bilas', or Life of Guru Har Gobind, here makes the following reflection on the use of wine. 'Wine is evil on this account that he who drinketh it loses his senses. A king who drinketh becometh like a beast, and easily falleth a prey to his enemy. Good men, hear me on this subject. Monarchs who have conquered powerful enemies have been blinded by the intoxication of wine. Their kingdoms have passed out of their

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possession, and they have become poor in an instant. Men holy, clever, and great have degraded themselves to the level of brutes by the use of wine. It would hold men captive even without fetters.'

Bidhi Chand finding all his guests lying on the floor in Bacchanalian slumber tied his waistband and adjusted his turban for action. He then went to the niche in the wall where he knew the key of the harness-room was kept and immediately found it. Having taken out a saddle he went to Dil Bagh and undid his silken headstall. Caressing the animal he put on his bridle and drew the reins over his neck. He then laid on the saddle-cloth and the saddle, and fastened tight the soft silken girths. He attached on either side the golden stirrups, and further secured the saddle by carefully passing the crupper under Dil Bagh's tail. This done he untied the horse's heel ropes. He then mounted, taking in his hand a whip with a golden handle which he found attached to the saddle. He cantered the animal backwards and forwards until he found that he had got into his full stride. Then applying the whip he faced him at the fort-wall over which he was to leap. The horse, which had never previously been struck even by the stalk of a flower, on receiving a cut with the whip roused himself at the unusual summons, gathered his strength, set his limbs, and on Bidhi Chand lifting the reins cleared without hesitation the high battlement with a bound, and plunged with his rider into the river. Bidhi Chand, well skilled in horsemanship, steadied the animal in the water and guided him safely to shore.

The residents of the fort who were awake had become accustomed to the report of bodies falling into the water, and thought the splash they had heard was due to the falling of one of the battlements as the result of erosion of the river. Bidhi Chand drawing in his reins on the bank patted the horse, and encouraged him after the fright he had sustained.

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While Bidhi Chand had been originally meditating this enterprise, he used to note every wall and rivulet and tree in the neighbourhood, and now carefully examining them took the road and directed his course to Bhai Rupa. The horse bounded along like the wind while Bidhi Chand gaily sang—

May the Guru and God be always with me !
Remember, remember Him who ever protecteth.[1]

The moon rose two hours after his departure, and then he was able to steer his way by its position in the sky. He avoided all towns and villages. On reaching Harike at the junction of the rivers Bias and Satluj, he introduced Dil Bagh again into deep water by plunging him into the foaming Ghara.[2] The horse was found to correspond exactly with the description the Kabuli Sikhs had given. Dil Bagh appeared as if he had sprung from a sea of beauty by the combined agencies of exquisiteness and strength.

Chapter XVI

The morning after Bidhi Chand had departed from Lahore the darogha Sondha Khan, finding one of the Emperor's favourite horses missing and all the sentries and grooms asleep, was not in an enviable frame of mind. The grooms and guards, when roused up, maintained that they had been watchful during the night, and said the horse must have sunk into the earth or soared to the celestial regions. The Emperor Shah Jahan bemoaned his irreparable loss—'Who hath taken my most favourite steed and thus hastened his own destruction ? Can there be any one in the whole earth who hath not the fear of me in his heart? When the kings of other lands cannot keep a particle belonging to me in their pos-

[1] Āsa.
[2] The Satluj is so called after its junction with the Biās.

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session, who hath two heads that he can afford to sacrifice one of them for stealing my horse? If my enemy were to hide himself in the retirement of the mountains or in desert fastnesses, my army would not desist till it had found him. Whoever hath taken my steed is now my greatest enemy. I will assuredly put him to death whoever and wherever he may be.' The Emperor sent trackers with an escort in every direction to endeavour to trace the missing animal, but no clue could be obtained.

The Sikhs who had brought the horses from Kabul, on receiving charge of Dil Bagh in Bhai Rupa, observed that he did not eat his corn with a will, that tears were flowing from his eyes, and that his heart was sad. It was not known how he had become so weak. He was well groomed and treated with the utmost care. Rai Jodh thought that the horse had become weak as it was the first time he had been ridden any distance. He had previously been unaccustomed to travel and exertion. The Sikhs, however, came to the conclusion that the water which flowed from the horse's eyes was simply the pain of his heart projected on his body, and must be caused by separation from his hitherto inseparable stable companion. Bidhi Chand was easily able to confirm this opinion. 'This Dil Bagh of ours and Gul Bagh were tethered together. They used to eat corn, grass, and mashes of different sorts side by side, so that affection sprang up between them. Manifestly it is on account of his separation from his brother that tears are flowing from his eyes.' This speech convinced everybody.

Bidhi Chand therefore decided on bringing Dil Bagh's brother to him from the Lahore fort, so that the horse might no longer suffer from the pangs of separation. He said to himself, 'Although hundreds of thousands of brave men with arms in their hands were on the alert, I could so deceive them, that I would take the horse away before their very eyes.'

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After Bidhi Chand had set out for Lahore, Rai Jodh pressed the Guru to leave Bhai Rupa and go to his village of Kangar about four miles distant. Sadhu and Rup Chand, owners of the village of Bhai Rupa, desired to accompany the Guru, but he advised them to remain in their own village, and they should always have his company in the spirit. His bodily company would not he said be safe for them, for he was bent on perilous enterprises. He should have to encounter the Muhammadans in the blood-stained field of danger, when steel would resound on steel and brave men die amid the clash of arms. Meantime his beloved friends Sadhu and Rup Chand would lead the lives of saints, and practise the virtues of charity and benevolence in their native village. Sadhu and Rup Chand accepted the Guru's decision, and made him their parting obeisance. Rup Chand's wife also came and embraced the Guru's feet. On the Guru's arrival at Kangar he was similarly greeted by another lady, Rai Jodh's wife, who made him large offerings. Such were the Guru's gracious manners that he completely won Rai Jodh's heart, and Rai Jodh daily showed him some new mark of affection.

When Bidhi Chand arrived at the gate of Lahore he heard the town-crier publishing the theft of Dil Bagh, and offering to give the finder any reward he pleased. Bidhi Chand inquired what all this meant, and was duly informed by the Sikhs who were entertaining him of what had occurred. After considering his position, and the danger to himself in the event of failure, he carefully formed his plans. He went to a cloth-merchant and asked him to make him a fine Hindustani costume. He ordered three coats of different lengths, a paejama or trousers with a beautiful waistband, a turban several yards long with embroidered ends, and a pair of ornamental shoes low at the heels but with long toes pointed upwards. The cloth-merchant had everything ready by four o'clock in the after-

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noon, and his wife then served up dinner. Bidhi Chand expressed his satisfaction—'When one Sikh serveth another, the Guru valueth that more than service to himself, as he hath said, "Knowing him to be my Sikh he hath honoured him." On hearing of such love the Guru will be pleased.'

Bidhi Chand then asked his friend to get a magician's chain made for him by a clever smith before next morning, and not mention the circumstance to any one. On the morrow he put on his new dress and with coco-nut oil greased his long hair until it shone. He parted his beard in the centre, so that his chin could be seen. He also twisted up his moustaches. He then put on his three coats, one reaching below the knees, the second a shorter one over it, and the third a jacket over all. He tied on his turban in the shape of a shield, and buttoned his trousers at the ankles. He fastened its waistband so as to show the embroidered ends, and finally put on his long pointed shoes so that he looked a real Hindustani. He had just dressed when the magician's chain he had ordered arrived. Holding it in his hand in front of him, he walked slowly into the streets and market-places and appeared an innocent and respectable man. At the same time people were astonished on seeing his strange costume, and thronged around him. Several questions were asked, 'To what country does he belong?' 'What is his name?' 'Where doth he reside?' Bidhi replied, 'My country is far away. I am a professional man and know something of occult science.' So saying he strutted proudly along, followed by a crowd to the gate of the fort.

Bidhi Chand sat down on a raised platform and in reply to further inquiries said, 'I am an experienced tracker and astrologer, and can trace anything that hath been lost.' The crowd asked other questions which he answered oracularly, while at the same time he amused his audience. He procured a mirror into

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which he frequently looked, and then adjusted his beard and moustaches ; and he would now and again handle and shake his chain ostentatiously before the multitude. It happened that a servant of the stable-keeper, who was passing that way, stopped to see what was going on and inquired who the stranger was. Bidhi Chand replied, 'My name is Ganak.[1] My ordinary residence is in a forest[2] in a distant country. I have come in quest of an opportunity to show my skill.'

The stable-keeper's servant then began to tell him of the loss of the Emperor's horse, and said that, if he thought he could give any clue to the recovery of the animal, he would introduce him to the Emperor who would generously reward him. Bidhi Chand then boasted of his skill. By merely smelling the ground, he said, he could tell the secrets of the upper and nether regions, to say nothing of this contemptible planet. He could tell the Emperor in what direction the horse had been taken and where he was at that moment. He could not recover the horse, he admitted, for that was beyond his power, but the Emperor himself with his army could accomplish an enterprise of that nature. The Emperor heard of the self-constituted tracker and sent the stable-keeper to summon him. The stable-keeper went, and failing to recognize Bidhi Chand in his altered costume, took him inside the fort. He was duly presented to the Emperor, and stood up in court with the utmost confidence. In reply to the Emperor's questions he said, 'I dwell in a forest. Men call me "Tracker Ganak." My skill I obtained from an ancient and venerable seer. I can interpret omens, discover tracks, and read the stars and planets. I am a wanderer because certain persons bear me great enmity. They are many while I am but one. I have come hither to obtain justice, and I will give thee information regarding

[1] This word means a diviner by numbers.

[2] The Mālwa country is sometimes still called the Jangal or forest.

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the horse thou hast lost.' The Emperor then conferred on him a costly robe, gave him a large sum to defray the expenses attendant on his residence at the capital, and promised him lakhs of rupees if he pointed out where the stolen horse was concealed.

Upon this Bidhi Chand, holding his magician's chain, put his hand on the ground and raised it three times to his forehead. He then ostentatiously bowed to his supposed patron saint and preceptor. He began to count by the aid of his thumb the joints of his fingers, so that all might think he was interpreting omens. He then said to the Emperor, 'I know where the horse is, but I want to have one look at the place whence he was stolen, and then I will give thee all information. I will tell thee the thief's name and how he effected the theft. It is then for thyself to consider whether thou canst recover the animal peaceably or go to war for him.' The Emperor promised Bidhi Chand a high office at court; he should have all his enemies in his power, and he should receive four lakhs of rupees on giving information which would lead to the recovery of the horse.

Bidhi Chand requested the Emperor to reduce his promise to writing, and said, 'Let all the people in court pray with clasped hands that the two horses meet again. The prayers of many produce an effect, because the Lord is in the midst of a multitude. I shall obtain the desire of my heart if you will all heartily pray to God for my success.' On this the courtiers clasped their hands and prayed that the stolen horse might again meet its mate. After this the Emperor reduced his promise to writing. Bidhi Chand then said, 'Let us now go to the place whence the horse was stolen. I will cast my chain and consider numbers, stars, and omens. I swear by my preceptor that I will tell thee truly where the horse is and the name of the thief. We diviners tell not lies, especially in the Emperor's court.' Upon this the Emperor, stable-keeper, Bidhi Chand, and

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a few others went to the stables. Some tried to dissuade the Emperor from trusting the stranger, but the advice was disregarded.

When the Emperor, in reply to Bidhi Chand, said that the horse which had been stolen had his saddle on, Bidhi said that, if it had been otherwise, he could by the calculations he had already made discover the tracks. If, however, the remaining horse were saddled and bridled, he would consider what could be done without the delay which would be necessary to recast his numbers. His suggestion was adopted. Upon this he said he would ply his skill energetically and not go to sleep that night. He hoped, by observing the motions of the stars, to discover before morning the tracks desired. He would then be ready to receive the stipulated reward. The Emperor pressed him not to wait till morning but impart his secret at once, in which case he should receive a further reward of a lakh and a quarter of rupees. Bidhi Chand said that he could only succeed in divining the tracks in solitude and tranquillity at the particular hour when the horse had been stolen, so he requested the Emperor to cause all the inhabitants to close their doors and go to sleep at that time. He also made it a condition that all the gates of the fort should be shut, so that there might be no noise made by the ingress or egress of its occupants. The Emperor was deceived into issuing orders according to Bidhi Chand's wishes. When the fort gates were closed on one side, Bidhi Chand contrived to cause them to be opened on the other side, in order to effectually secure himself from pursuit.

When everybody else had retired to rest, Bidhi Chand undid the ropes that bound the horse. He put his head on the ground and prayed for his success. It is said that the Emperor heard a noise as if a horse had got loose, but Bidhi Chand allayed his apprehensions, and said that he had discovered where the horse was, and would surely fulfil his promise

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to tell the name of the thief. Bidhi Chand appears to have also found means of locking from the outside the door of the passage which led from the Emperor's apartments. He then said aloud, 'Hear everything, consider not the thief a person to be forgotten. Thy father, by the power of his army, formerly took possession of an excellent horse intended for the holy and worshipful Guru Har Gobind, whose fame is like that of the sun, and thou hast now in imitation of thy unjust father seized these noble steeds specially intended by pious Sikhs for their beloved Guru. I have made reprisal and taken the first horse by my ingenuity. My name is Bidhi Chand; I am the Guru's servant. It was I who took home Dil Bagh, the horse thou art in search of. On account of separation from his mate he wept copiously on his arrival, and we could only induce him to eat and drink with difficulty. Wherefore, in the guise of a tracker and with a love for dumb animals, I have come to take his companion to join him. I am the thief, the true King is my master. Thou hast now given me Gul Bagh ready saddled. I have thoroughly gauged the wisdom of thy court. I will tell where the horse is, and in so doing remove all blame from myself. The Guru hath pitched his tent in the new village of Bhai Rupa. Know that Dil Bagh is standing there. Gul Bagh shall now go to join him.'

The Emperor on hearing this called to the darogha to stop the thief, but the darogha was also a prisoner and helpless. The Emperor again called out for help, but no help was forthcoming. The guards were all locked in. Bidhi Chand again addressed the Emperor, 'Why art thou angry? I have taken the horse, as was fit and proper. Remember the promise thou hast made me. I have not received my former wages as groom and grass-cutter, nor the present of a thousand rupees which thou madest me. Thou hast promised me four lakhs of rupees for tracking.

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That thou hast not paid me. Again, thou didst promise a lakh and a quarter of rupees for immediate information. I have not yet received a kauri from thee. I have, therefore, virtually purchased the horses which with their saddles may be set against my account. Send me the balance and free thyself from the debt; otherwise there shall remain an account between us which can only be adjusted in God's court. If thou desire to stop me and determine not to pay me, then I shall go with the conviction that thou art a deceitful monarch. I have the keys of the fort here with me, and will throw them into the deep river. Make haste. Thou wilt have to find them before thou catchest me.' Saying this, Bidhi Chand again prayed for the success of his enterprise, and finally addressed the Emperor—'Whatever efforts are to be made, make now, so that thou mayest not be sorry after my departure. Say not that thou hast not had full information.' Upon this he took the bunch of keys and calling out, 'Going, going, gone,' threw them into the deep water, and left the Emperor to search for them and his precious steeds.

He then applied his whip to the horse. The animal pulled himself together, leaped over the battlement, and dropped into the deep water of the Ravi. Bidhi Chand then rode off with him as he had done his companion Dil Bagh, gaily singing as he went along. Both horses were entrusted to the Sikhs who had brought them from Kabul.

The Sikh chronicler, who is partial to detail, states that when the two horses met they neighed each other welcome, rubbed noses and offered mutual salutations like two brothers who had met after long separation. The Kabuli Sikhs made them a present to the Guru. He changed Dil Bagh's name into Jan Bhai, which means that the horse was as dear as life, and Gul Bagh's name into Suhela, which means dear companion.

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Chapter XVII

There were warnings that the Emperor's army would soon arrive to recover the horses, and it was necessary to prepare for defence and seek shelter in some advantageous position. Rai Jodh recommended the Guru to betake himself to a deep forest in which there was a tank, as otherwise there was no water for miles around. Two villages, Lahira and Marhaj, were subsequently built not far from this tank. The Guru with three thousand, and Rai Jodh with one thousand men marched to a tank in the lands of Nathana. The army was so disposed round the tank that when the enemy arrived they could not obtain access to its water, and must thus inevitably perish from thirst.

The Emperor was thinking of proceeding himself to punish the Guru, but was dissuaded by Wazir Khan, who knew that his own happiness and prosperity depended on the Emperor's, and that the Guru would be victorious. Wazir Khan recommended that no artillery should be sent, but that the combat should be decided by swords, bows and arrows, and matchlocks. To this the Emperor agreed. Then, taking a naked sword in his hand and calling his chief secretary, he said, 'Is there any brave man who will undertake an expedition against the Guru?' It was the custom of the time for a monarch on such occasions to lay down a sword and a packet of betel. Whoever put the betel into his mouth and took up the sword, bound himself to undertake the enterprise and defend the monarch's cause. Up rose Lala Beg, a high officer of the imperial army, and going through the usual ceremony said he would lead an expedition against the Guru, and produce him with the stolen horses before the Emperor in a few days. Lala Beg's brother Qamar Beg with his two sons, Qasim Beg and Shams Beg,

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and his nephew Kabuli Beg also volunteered. The Emperor made them anticipatory gifts—bracelets, necklaces, aigrettes for their turbans, and robes of honour—and put them in command of an army of thirty-five thousand horse and foot. He gave them orders not to delay, but make all possible speed and produce the Guru in chains before him.

The imperial army marched to Bhai Rupa and not finding the Guru there proceeded to his new quarters. A spy named Hasan Khan was dispatched by Lala Beg to make a reconnaissance. The nature of his errand was discovered by an expression which accidentally escaped him, namely, 'Our army is much larger.' Upon this he was seized by the Sikhs, cuffed and kicked, whereupon he asked for mercy in the name of the Guru. The Guru ordered that he should be released and not put to death. He was asked to tell the strength of the imperial army, and he in gratitude gave true details. He was then given a dress of honour and dismissed.

A curious device for discovering the movements of a hostile army is here mentioned by the author of the *Suraj Parkash.* Rai Jodh's wife put some pearls on a tray so that, when the imperial army moved, the tramp of the soldiers' feet might cause the pearls to vibrate and the necessary information would thus be obtained.

When the spy Hasan Khan returned to his chief, he, in giving details of what he had seen, incidentally praised the Guru's troops. Though few in number, they were, he said, brave as tigers and longing for the fray. The imperial army were as so many jackals before them. This enraged Lala Beg, and he dismissed his spy on the pretext of disaffection. Upon this Hasan Khan returned to the Guru, and begged his patronage and protection. The Guru welcomed him in opposition to the advice of Rai Jodh, who represented that it was impolitic to

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entertain an enemy's spy. The Guru, in reply, said that it would not be proper for him to refuse protection to any one who sought it. Moreover, this Hasan Khan in God's mysterious way should become a very distinguished person. Orders were then issued to Bidhi Chand and Jetha to hold their troops in readiness for defence. The orders had not been given too soon. That very night Rai Jodh's wife knew by the movement of her pearls that the Emperor's army was approaching, and wrote to that effect to her husband who was with the Guru's army, so that the Guru might be duly apprised.

The imperial army was composed of several nationalities. Some had large heads, others long noses, and others again red cheeks. There were sable Ethiopians, Ruhelas, Yusufzais, Daudzais, Gilzais, Baloches, and Pathans. Preceded by torches they advanced to the sound of drums of many descriptions. Lala Beg said to his troops that the Guru had nothing of an army; with whom were they to fight? They had only to go and seize the priest of the Sikhs. Qamar Beg addressing the Chief said, 'O my brother, if thou send me, I will bring thee even the angel of Death, to say nothing of the Guru?' Upon this the Chief placed seven thousand men at his disposal. On seeing him approach, Hasan Khan, the late imperial spy, informed the Guru of his name, position, and capabilities.

Rai Jodh with a thousand men went to oppose Qamar Beg. He ordered his troops to use their matchlocks at a distance, and not allow the enemy to come to close quarters. Showers of bullets soon thinned the ranks of the imperial army marching in close formation, and totally destroyed the torch-bearers who had been leading the way. Then ensued darkness, upon which the imperial army fell into dire confusion. They used their swords and guns, and, goaded by their misadventure and the havoc caused by the Guru's troops, heeded not

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whether they slaughtered friend or foe. Very soon under all the circumstances—the darkness, the dust raised by men and horses, the day's fatigue, the cold, and the severe losses in the ranks—they deemed it best to retreat. They thought their own troops who were in the rear were enemies, and received them with showers of bullets. Thus the imperial army was broken up and whole detachments fell by mutual slaughter. Qamar Beg left alone advanced in search of his army, and discharged showers of arrows as he proceeded. Rai Jodh finding an opportunity pierced Qamar Beg with his lance. He fell and soon after died in agony. Rai Jodh reported his victory to the Guru who warmly commended him.

The Guru's army was provided with sufficient firewood from the forest. The imperial army had no such comfort. Consequently at the end of the night the Emperor's troops became frozen with the cold. When day dawned, there were heaps of soldiers of the imperial army found dead on the field. As the Guru surveyed them from an eminence, he was reminded of Hasan Khan's words that his Sikhs were as brave as tigers, and that each of them should kill many flying jackals of the enemy.

The Chief on seeing Qamar Beg and thousands of his men slain was in sore anxiety. He thought of advancing himself into the thick of the fight, but Shams Beg, Qamar Beg's son, asked to be allowed to go instead. The Chief yielded and gave him command of a division of his army. As Shams Beg advanced he saw his father's dead body, and well nigh succumbed at the sight. He, however, succeeded in putting himself at the head of his troops. Hasan Khan, the quondam spy, pointed him out to the Guru : ' Behold that powerful youth in blue uniform on a steed painted blue, at the head of the imperial forces. It is necessary to send some very brave men to oppose him.' The Guru sent Bidhi Chand

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with fifteen hundred men. He, on seeing his antagonist, thus addressed him : 'O boy, why comest thou to die? Seest thou not thy father already entered into Death's abode? Why seekest thou to follow him? Thou art yet too young for the battle-field. Go home to thy mother's protection.' Shams Beg on hearing this angrily retorted, 'If I die, I will take with me my father's foe.' Arrows and swords were then plied. Bidhi Chand's powerful arm sent many Turks to untimely death. Though some of them fought well, they were defeated by the superior skill and bravery of Bidhi Chand and his troops. The two commanders, Bidhi Chand and Shams Beg, then approached each other and engaged in single combat. Bidhi Chand struck his adversary with his mailed fist, and sent him reeling to the earth. He then put his leg on his, and, taking hold of the other with his powerful arms, tore his body in twain.

Lala Beg was enraged on seeing his nephew Shams Beg and his army slain. When he made a signal for some one to advance, his second nephew, Qasim Beg, offered himself, 'If thou wilt allow me, I will go and avenge my father and brother.' The chief, on seeing the young hero come forward, gave him command of his reserve. Hasan Khan pointed him out to the Guru as he approached, 'O true King, Qasim Beg now advanceth against thee. He is a very powerful man and held in great esteem by the Emperor of Dihli. A brave warrior should be sent against him also. The Guru accordingly dispatched Bhai Jetha with five hundred men. Qasim Beg, seeing Bhai Jetha, thus addressed him : 'O greybeard, why comest thou with such a puny force to seek thy destruction? Go and enjoy a few days more of this world, and send to the battle-field him who hath killed my father and brother.' Bhai Jetha replied, 'I have enjoyed my life, but thou art young. I see thy beard is just sprouting. There

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is yet time for thee to escape by flight and enjoy the wife of thy youth. Mistake not on seeing my small army. I, single-handed, will not suffer thee to abide alone, but will dispatch thee speedily to thy father and brother. If thou consent not to fly, let our armies engage, and then, if the issue be doubtful, we shall both decide the fortune of war by single combat.'

Except cannon every weapon of warfare known at the time was brought into requisition. Bullets fell like hail ; swords, knives, and daggers glittered like lightning, quivers were emptied, bow-strings snapped, arrows broke, and warriors wrestled in deadly combat. Some of the raw undisciplined forces began to plunder one another, and there was general riot and disorder. Jackals, wolves, kites, and vultures feasted on the bodies of the slain. There were heard on all sides cries of 'Kill him! kill him!' 'Let him not escape!' When Bhai Jetha saw Qasim Beg's army falling in numbers, he confronted him as he had promised, and let fly showers of arrows which killed Qasim Beg's horse. Jetha then seized the rider by the legs, whirled him round his head, and dashed him to the ground as an Indian washerman beats soiled linen on a plank. Qasim Beg immediately expired, while Jetha stood on the battle-field like a pillar driven into the earth. The Chief, Lala Beg, hearing of the destruction of Qasim Beg and his army, was only able to invoke Allah, whom he had so trusted, for a successful issue of his engagement with the infidels.

The Chief himself then advanced with all his remaining men. Hasan Khan, who was at the Guru's side and now thoroughly devoted to his cause, advised the dispatch of a force to support Jetha. The Guru replied that Jetha was like a tiger, and would dispose of his enemies. The Turks surrounded and endeavoured to kill him with arrows, but these flew right and left of him and ever missed

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their mark. Jetha on his own part discharged arrows which never sped in vain. Lala Beg, seeing the destruction caused by Jetha, now went to oppose him. Lala Beg first used his lance, but Jetha parried it. Lala Beg then drew his sword, but Jetha received the first blow on his own. The next time Lala Beg was more successful, for he cut down his brave adversary, who died uttering Wahguru. Thus emboldened by success, Lala Beg advanced with three thousand men in armour against the Guru. Jati Mal, the son of Singha, asked the Guru's permission to show Lala Beg the strength of his arm, and cut down the Turks. The Guru consented to his stemming the onset of the enemy.

Jati Mal rained showers of arrows on the Turks, and sent them to death's abode with the speed of hill torrents hastening to the sea. Lala Beg himself hurried to oppose him, and discharged an arrow which struck Jati Mal on the breast, and made him fall fainting to the earth. The Guru, seeing Jati Mal fall, entered the battle-field on his bounding steed. In mild accents he invited Lala Beg to approach and measure his strength with his. Lala Beg would not come near, but dispatched arrows from a distance, all of which missed their mark. The Guru, taking steady aim, shot Lala Beg's horse, which fell with its rider. The Guru, on seeing the Chief on the ground, dismounted so as not to take an unfair advantage of his adversary. The Chief assumed the offensive and aimed several blows of his sword at the Guru, who parried them all. The Guru then putting forward his strength, struck the Chief a blow which completely severed his head from his body. It was as if the Chief had in his devotion offered his head as a sacrifice to the Guru, and the Guru in return had granted him escape from the ills of life and ultimate salvation.

Kabuli Beg, the Chief's sister's son, was the only one of the commanders who now remained. On

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seeing him advance and make a final effort to restore the fortune of the day, the faithful Hasan Khan called the attention of the Guru to his intrepidity and the impetuosity of his attack. Kabuli Beg meant to gather such a harvest as reapers do when they enter a ripe field. Bidhi Chand, Rai Jodh, and Jati Mal, who by this time had somewhat recovered from his wound, bravely confronted him. The battle was then fought with extreme fury on both sides. The three Sikh warriors committed such havoc among Kabuli Beg's troops that few remained. Kabuli Beg, maddened with rage on seeing the destruction they caused, rapidly discharged arrows which wounded all three. Seeing this the Guru himself hastened to their support. Kabuli Beg discharged arrows at the Guru which whizzed as they passed him. One arrow struck his horse, Gul Bagh, on the head and killed him. The Guru in retaliation killed Kabuli Beg's horse. Kabuli Beg now approaching the Guru made a stroke at him with his sword, which the Guru received on his shield. Kabuli Beg again and again slashed at the Guru, but every blow was parried. The Guru then, to change the monotony of defence, said to him, 'It is now my turn, be on thy guard.' The Guru then dealt him such a blow as severed his head from his body. This ended the battle. The surviving Turks fled for their lives. Twelve hundred soldiers of the Guru were slain, and wounded.

Chapter XVIII

Bidhi Chand, Rai Jodh, and Jati Mal went to congratulate the Guru on his victory. The battle, which had begun at midnight, lasted for eighteen hours on the 16th of Maghar, Sambat 1688 (A. D. 1631). The Guru allowed Hasan Khan to return to Lahore with the survivors of the imperial army.

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The plunder obtained from the bodies of the deceased Turks was divided among the poor. A descendant of Marhaj appropriated to himself a costly sword belonging to a fallen Pathan. When the Guru heard of it, he called upon the Sikh to relinquish it, for it was not proper to retain booty. The Sikh denied all knowledge of it. The Guru said that the sword should ply in the family of him who had stolen it. It turned out that the members of his family died within a year by mutual slaughter. The Guru established the scene of the battle as a place of pilgrimage. It is now called Gurusar, or the Guru's tank. It lies near the village of Nathana, about three miles from the Rampura Phul railway station. The Raja of Nabha has at considerable expense built an imposing temple on the spot where the Guru encamped. The bard, Abdulla, composed a dirge on the battle, which is no longer extant.

It was noticed that the horse Dil Bagh was very distressed at the absence of his mate. The Guru addressed him words of consolation: 'Such births as thine have been obtained and lost by sin. By sin hast thou obtained the body of a beast. Thy brother hath gone to heaven, have no more anxiety.' It is said that upon this the horse recovered his usual spirits. Hasan Khan carried to the Emperor the news of the death of his generals and of the defeat of his army. The Emperor was in a fury. Wazir Khan was as usual ready with special pleading for the Guru: 'The Guru's predecessors, from Guru Nanak down, had either done the Emperor's line favours, or had been on good terms with them, and what was now to be gained by falling out with the Guru? This was the third time that the Emperor's forces had been defeated by his army. What then was the advantage of carrying on the contest and aggravating the enmity? I pray thy Majesty, let this be the end of it, and let bygones be bygones. Let another officer be appointed

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instead of Lala Beg the deceased chief.' Upon this the Emperor, by the Guru's occult inducement, gave Hasan Khan a dress of honour, and appointed him to a high office.

After the Guru's return to Kangar from the war, he went shooting in the adjoining forest. A hissing python crawled near his party. The Sikhs wanted to destroy it as vermin, but the Guru interposed and ordered them to allow the animal to approach him. The Guru touched it with his toe, whereupon it burst and died, and worms issued from its body. The Guru explained that it had been in a previous birth a very proud Mahant who used to embezzle his disciples' property. He had not repeated God's name or repented, so he became a python, and his victims in order to torture him, became the worms which now appeared. The Guru, quoting the following lines of the first Guru, granted him salvation :—

They who give disciples hats[1] are fools, and they who receive them very shameless.

A rat cannot go into its hole if there be a winnowing-fan tied to its belly.[2]

By this the Guru meant that hypocritical priests who make disciples are fools and make fools of their disciples, and that man cannot obtain salvation so long as he is entangled with mammon. The Guru also quoted the following pauri from Gur Das :—

Though one wear man's five garments ;[3]

Though his moustaches and whiskers appear beautiful and his dress be very effective ;

Though he wear a hundred arms and associate with the elect ;

[1] It was and still is the custom in India for a religious teacher to take off his hat and put it on the head of his disciple as part of the ceremony of initiation.

[2] Malār ki Wār.

[3] The five garments of Gur Dās's time were pacjāma (drawers), kurta (shirt), angarkha (long coat), kamarband (waistband), dastār (turban).

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Though he be skilled in courtly graces, and known in many lands,

Yet without virile power he cannot be deemed a man. What can a woman do with him?

So if a man without virtues be called a guru, who shall do him obeisance? [1]

When the Guru was leaving Kangar, Rai Jodh expressed a wish to remain for ever in his service. The Guru did not encourage him in this, but told him to abide in his village. He then promised that when he became Guru Gobind Singh, he would pay an affectionate visit to Rai Jodh's family. He crossed the Satluj and proceeded to Kartarpur, whither he had sent his family and the Granth Sahib from Daroli.

Preparations were now made for the marriage of the Guru's son Teg Bahadur to Gujari, daughter of Lal Chand and Bishan Kaur. The ninth of Phagun, Sambat 1689, was fixed on as a suitable time for the purpose, and the marriage was then celebrated with great munificence and rejoicings.

There was at that time one copy of the Granth with the Guru, and another at Mangat made by Bhai Banno. Bidhi Chand asked and obtained the Guru's permission to make a third copy.

One day as the Guru was hunting he had everything white on and about his person. He was clothed in white muslin, he was protected from the sun's rays and the dust by a white umbrella, he carried his white hawk on his hand, rode on a white horse, and his groom waved a white chauri by his side. To him thus arrayed a father and son, Sikhs of Amritsar, presented themselves. The father represented that the son had with severe study learned the art of painting, and they were both ready to perform any service the Guru might desire. Bidhi Chand suggested that the youth should paint

[1] Wār XXXVI.

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a picture of the Guru. The young man fixed his attention on the work, and drew a satisfactory likeness of the Guru. The Guru presented the picture to Bidhi Chand. It is unfortunately no longer in existence.

On the approach of the Baisakhi festival several Sikhs, including Rai Jodh, went to visit the Guru. A Sikh named Chitar Sain made him a present of a horse, a hawk, a dress, and some military weapons. The Guru gave all the offerings to Painda Khan except the hawk, which he reserved for his own son Gurditta. The dress and arms Painda Khan put on to adorn his person. He then appeared a magnificent warrior, and began to consider himself a very superior being. The Guru ordered him to appear before him always in that style. He mounted the horse which he had received, rode swiftly to his village, and showed himself to his admiring relations. Asman Khan, his son-in-law, asked him for all the presents given him by the Guru, but he very properly refused.

Asman Khan then tried to steal them by suborning Painda Khan's wife. He said that if he did not get them, he would either became a faqir or drown himself. She told this to Painda Khan, and represented how sad it would be if their daughter, Asman Khan's wife, became a widow. Painda Khan, however, did not wish to displease the Guru by transferring the presents he had made him to another. Were the Guru to dismiss him, how could he maintain himself? Painda Khan's, wife disregarding his strong remonstrance, stood up, and gave the sword, shield, and clothes which he had just taken off to her son-in-law, saying to her husband as she did so, 'Thou needest nothing; the Guru will give thee other presents. May I not claim so much from thee?' She then laughed away her husband's displeasure. Asman Khan at once put on his father-in-law's dress, buckled on his

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sword and shield, mounted his horse, and went forth to amuse himself with the chase. Painda Khan seeing this stared in blank astonishment at his wife who had robbed him in his own house. He threw himself on his bed, heaved cold sighs, and considered what the Guru would say to him for parting with his presents. He felt for the time mentally disorganized and unable to pay his respects to the Guru.

It happened that Gurditta, taking the hawk which had been presented to the Guru, went hawking on that very day. In opposition to the advice of his attendants, he let fly the bird at a time when it was not hungry. The hawk consequently did not return, but flew off to the village of Wadamir, where Asman Khan happened to be resting from the fatigue of the chase. Asman Khan captured it, thinking to himself that if he took it to the Emperor instead of the one the Sikhs had formerly appropriated, he should be rewarded with a grant of land.

Asman Khan, on returning home, told his mother-in-law all the events of the day. She said, 'Conceal the hawk. If the Guru hear that thou art in possession of it, he will not fail to punish thee. Painda Khan said, 'If thou give me the hawk I will take it to the Guru, and obtain his pardon for letting thee have his presents.' Asman Khan laughingly said, 'Thou art ever prating of losing thine appointment. I want this hawk to enable me to obtain a tract of country from the Emperor. Why shouldst thou be dependent on infidels for thy subsistence? Pray to God to support thee.' Father-in-law and son-in-law spent the whole night wrangling over the hawk, but without arriving at any satisfactory settlement.

When the Guru heard that his son Gurditta's hawk had been taken possession of by Asman Khan, he said, 'The will of God is very powerful. Worldly love destroyeth the understanding. Five days have

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now elapsed, and Painda Khan through shame hath not come near me.' Painda Khan did not venture to go near the Guru during the Baisakhi fair, which is generally a time of universal enjoyment. The Guru again remarking his absence sent for him. He appeared looking dejected and wearing dirty clothes. The Guru inquired the cause of his altered appearance. Where were the clothes and the horse he had received ? Was he in possession of Gurditta's hawk ? If he told the truth he should be pardoned and receive presents to make amends for those he had lost.

Painda Khan, fearing his wife's and son-in-law's ire, falsely replied, 'The horse and clothes thou gavest me are in my possession. As soon as thine order reached me, I hastened to come to thee without even thinking of my appearance. Were I in possession of the hawk, I would surrender it to thee. I would never detain thy property. Do me justice and listen not to slanderers.' The Guru said, 'Falsehood pleaseth me not. I have heard that thy son-in-law hath seized the hawk. There is even yet time for thee to make a full confession.' Painda Khan swore by the Guru that he had not seen the hawk. Upon this the Guru whispered to Bidhi Chand to go and bring the hawk with all the offerings that had been presented to Painda Khan. Bidhi Chand found Asman Khan asleep, and quietly took all the property he had misappropriated. The Guru again pressed Painda Khan to tell the truth, but he swore for the third time that he knew nothing of the hawk, and that he was in full possession of the Guru's presents. Upon this the Guru called on Bidhi Chand to produce the hawk, the sword, and the dress he had taken from Asman Khan's house. The Guru then in presence of his Sikhs charged Painda Khan with having sworn falsely three times in succession. When Painda Khan could make no reply, the Guru ordered him

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to be expelled from the darbar. The presence of Painda Khan had never been agreeable to the Sikhs, and they obeyed the Guru's order with alacrity. They seized Painda Khan and submitted him to very rough treatment. He could not bring himself to ask the Guru's pardon. On the contrary he thus addressed him 'I will go and complain to the Emperor. Thou shalt suffer as thy father did, and then I shall have my revenge.' The Guru simply replied, 'Go by all means and complain to thy heart's content. Thou shalt reap the reward of thine acts.' The Guru then caused him to be forcibly expelled from the precincts of Kartaapur

When Painda Khan reached home he found his son-in-law Asman Khan weeping for the loss of the hawk. On seeing Painda Khan crestfallen and hearing him curse his fate, Asman Khan inquired the cause. Painda Khan then gave him all the details of his treatment at the hands of the Guru and his Sikhs, and vowed that he would have his revenge. He then went from his village of Chhotamir to the Muhammadan village of Bassi. A resolution was there passed at his instigation, that the priest of the Sikhs was a great tyrant, that his power daily increased to the public detriment, that he received countless offerings and possessed boundless wealth, and that the Emperor should be invited to send an army to reduce him to subjection and take possession of all his property. Some people laughed, and said Painda Khan was an ungrateful scoundrel, who returned evil for good, and must one day inevitably receive his deserts.

Painda Khan was able, under the promise of plunder, to induce five hundred horsemen to join him. Some far-seeing men among them, however, suggested that the advice of his cousin Qutub Khan, who was now governor of Jalandhar, should be taken before war was declared against the Guru. They accordingly proceeded to Jalandhar, where Painda

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Khan laid his case before his cousin, and said, 'A generous man is tested in famine time. Join me and assist me.' Qutub Khan was surprised, and asked why such a crowd had favoured him with a visit. Painda Khan told him of the ill-treatment he had received, and begged him to induce the Emperor to send an army to punish the Guru. His cousin replied, 'Thou sinner, masters are ever chastising their servants. What if the Guru hath taken his own property? Thou hast eaten his salt and been brought up by him. Whatever desirable things the Guru obtaineth he ever bestoweth on thee. Disgrace not the Pathans by fighting with such a man. If thou do, the world will call thee ungrateful. If thou desire thine own advantage, make peace with the Guru.'

Painda Khan angrily replied, 'Perhaps thou hast eaten the Guru's sacred food, and it speaketh within thee.' Qutub Khan rejoined, 'Thou oughtest to be ashamed of thy words. I have never eaten the Guru's food, sacred or profane; but thou, having eaten it over and over again, hast been nourished on it. Everybody knoweth that thou desirest to fight with him whose menial thou hast been the greater part of thy life.' Painda Khan then thought it proper to adopt a more concilatory tone, 'Deeming thee to be a Musalman and brother I have come to thee.' Qutub Khan jeeringly retorted, 'Fine Musalman thou art to desire to do evil to him whose salt thou hast eaten!' Painda Khan ingeniously gave a new turn to the discussion, 'I am waging a religious war. The Guru hath stolen thy master's horses from the Lahore fort and ridden them. I desire to avenge that wrong.' After much debate of this description Qutub Khan said, 'I have only been making trial of thee. True it certainly is that the Guru is an enemy of the Emperor. Proceed and I will follow and assist thee.' Painda Khan and his cousin then swore fidelity to each other, and Painda Khan and

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his son-in-law proceeded to Lahore to lay their complaints in person before the Emperor. Qutub Khan promised to follow them.

Chapter XIX

When Painda Khan and his son-in-law reached Lahore, no one would allow them to approach the Emperor. They had spent all the money they had brought with them in maintaining themselves and their five hundred horses, and in bribing a courtier called Salamat Khan to procure them an audience; but the ever-faithful Wazir Khan would not allow any one to poison the Emperor's mind against the Guru. Painda Khan was consequently reduced to great straits. He could not return home, nor could he gain access to the Emperor. He was in the condition of a snake which takes a lizard into its mouth, and can neither swallow nor reject it.

Qutub Khan soon arrived in Lahore, and listened to the story of his cousin Painda Khan's disappointment. He advised him to procure a long bamboo, tie a hen to the end of it, and lift her to the royal casement, when her clucking might perhaps awake the Emperor. Should this fail, he was to light torches at midnight and cause his five hundred men to raise a loud shout opposite the Emperor's apartments, upon which an audience might be vouchsafed him on the morrow. This expedient proved successful. Next morning the Emperor sent for the men who had disturbed his rest over night, but it was not with the object of giving them a satisfactory audience. He peremptorily demanded an explanation of their conduct.

Before Painda Khan or Qutub Khan could address the Emperor on the subject of their grievances, Wazir Khan was ready with his usual pleading on behalf of the Guru. 'Thy majesty, this is not an age for an honest man. The evils prophesied

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for the thirteenth century[1] of our era have already begun. He whom thou treatest well doeth thee harm in return. This Painda Khan was a poor unprotected child. His parents were dead. The Guru found him as a waif, took pity on him, and brought him up as if he were his own son. He bestowed on him every valuable present he received for himself. He procured a wife for him and made provision for his family. It is through the Guru's munificence his daughter's marriage hath been celebrated. Now when he ought to be satisfied with his position, he hath stolen the Guru's hawk, denied the offence on oath, and come to complain against the very man who cherished him and made him distinguished among his fellows. He hath thus committed the most heinous sin of ingratitude, the extreme of all wickedness.'

Wazir Khan in thus pleading was actuated as much by his devotion to the Emperor as by gratitude to the Guru. He knew the Guru's power, and did not wish to embroil the Emperor in further warfare with him. It happened soon after, that there was urgent need of Wazir Khan's services in a distant part of the empire, and thither he was accordingly dispatched. Painda Khan now found his opportunity of approaching the Emperor in person, and thus unburdened himself: 'Sire, the Guru hath done me grievous wrong. I have been his servant. I asked him for my last six months' salary, but, instead of giving it to me, he hath confiscated my clothes and arms, and expelled me with ignominy from his court. Three times hath he conquered in war by my assistance. I have killed a large portion of thine army. Thy chiefs now

[1] This was a Moslem prophecy which like others has not been fulfilled. The fourteenth century of the Muhammadan era has already begun. It must be stated, however, that orthodox Muhammadans maintain that the prophecies were not for the thirteenth century but for the day of judgement.

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know my strength.' The Emperor inquired what wars he referred to, and where they had been fought. Qutub Khan replied, ' First the Guru had an engagement in Amritsar with Mukhlis Khan, who had an army of seven thousand men, secondly at Har Gobindpur with Abdulla Khan, the governor of the Jalandhar province, and thirdly at the Nathana tank with Lala Beg. They with their armies were all vanquished by thy petitioner Painda Khan's assistance.'

Painda Khan continued, ' I am so strong that I can throw an elephant. I can pulverize a rupee under my thumb. I bore with the kicking and cuffing I suffered from the Guru because I had patience and confidence in thy justice. He is thy deadly enemy and hath killed thousands of thine army. His robbers have stolen thy horses from thy fort at Lahore. He seized thy white hawk and refused to surrender it. I am in his secrets, and if thou entrust an army to me, thou shalt assuredly succeed in reducing him to submission. I promise to bring him and the horses he stole to thee, or kill him and have my revenge.' Then spoke the corrupt Salamat Khan in support of the charges: ' Painda Khan's assistance is providential. The Guru hath quarrelled with him without reason, and he hath come to thee for justice. Look at him. He hath the frame of a giant. If thou but order he will catch the Guru by the neck and produce him before thee, and what the Guru hath in his treasury shall become thy spoil.'

By such representations was the mind of the Emperor influenced. He inquired the strength of the Guru's army and the amount of his wealth. Painda Khan replied, ' He hath no army. The halt, the cripple, the blind, the deaf and dumb, the diseased, the old, the poor, the lazy, and the good-for-nothings gather round him. Barbers, washermen, pedlars, strolling minstrels, and similar unwarlike people compose what he calleth his army. As

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for wealth, he possesseth millions upon millions.' Salamat Khan chimed in, 'Such an opportunity as this which God hath given us ought not to be lost.' The Emperor was worked up to a passion and taking a sword in his hand said, 'Is there any one of my officers brave enough to go and assist Painda Khan, and subdue the Guru who hath caused all this trouble.' Kale Khan, governor of Peshawar, desirous of avenging the fate of his brother, Mukhlis Khan, rose and said, 'May it please thy Majesty, I will capture the Guru and bring him before thee.'

The Emperor gave Kale Khan command of fifty thousand men, bestowed on him, as insignia of his appointment, a necklace of enormous pearls and a robe of gold lace, and ordered him to proceed forthwith against the Guru. Anwar Khan, a confidential officer of the Emperor, friend of the late Abdulla Khan, and anxious to be his avenger, joined Kale Khan with two thousand men. The Emperor decorated him too with a robe of honour worth five thousand rupees. Qutub Khan, Painda Khan, and Asman Khan also received dresses of honour, and were commissioned to fight under Kale Khan. The Emperor on dismissing them said that, when they returned victorious, they should receive further marks of his favour. But the Emperor did not reflect that his army was as the ocean, and the Guru as the barwanal, the fire that consumed it. The imperial troops were in reality like a herd of deer proceeding to engage with a tiger.

Kale Khan crossing the Bias proceeded to Jalandhar. Qutub Khan entertained all the generals and provided for the encampment of the troops. During the following night they planned their campaign. While they were so engaged a voice of warning proceeded as from a neighbouring tree, 'One of thee hath been untrue to his salt. With him thousands shall perish. These troops which have come in proud array, are like moths hovering round a lamp.

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The Chaughatta[1] (Chaghtai) monarch too is ill-advised, and is sowing thorns for his children.'

When the generals heard this mysterious boding, they came forth from their tents, looked hither and thither and examined the trees in the vicinity, but could not see the speaker. They then said among themselves, 'The Guru is a great miracle-worker. This must be a voice from heaven.' Painda Khan thought it necessary to encourage his brother generals, 'Fear not; had the Guru the power of working miracles, could he not have made himself emperor of the whole world? He hath been powerful and victorious only through my assistance. Now victory shall no longer be his. You shall see my strength. If you allow me a free hand to plunder I shall capture the Guru this very day.' Kale Khan thought it necessary to repress the speaker, 'Pride and braggadocio avail not. It seemeth to me it would be well to send an envoy to ascertain what the Guru meaneth—whether he will fight or come to terms with us.' Anwar Khan suggested that they should make an offering to the Guru, and thus deceive him into believing that they were his friends. They would thus obtain an easy victory and succeed in capturing him. Qutub Khan was for more violent measures, 'Deceive him, deceive him! and overpower him in any way you can!'

A faithful Sikh hearing of the arrival of an enormous imperial army in Jalandhar hastened to inform the Guru. Next arrived a masand who said that the imperial army was approaching thick as flies, and suggested to the Guru that he should take measures to protect himself and his followers, as, when it rained iron, the showers would not fall like ordinary raindrops. The Guru replied by a hymn of Guru Amar Das :—

God Himself protecteth His saints; what can a sinner do against them?

[1] Bābar, the Emperor's ancestor, belonged to this family.

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Proud fools practise pride, and die by eating poison.
The few days they had to live are at an end ; they shall be cut down like a ripe crop.
They shall be spoken of according to their acts.
The slave Nanak's Master is great ; He is the Lord of all.[1]

Painda Khan's voice was soon heard inciting the troops to make a sudden charge and surround the Guru. Qutub Khan again counselled patience and the dispatch of an envoy to endeavour to make peace. This was at last agreed on, and Anwar Khan was the envoy selected. Anwar Khan thought to pitch his tent near the Guru, and thus find a convenient opportunity of treacherously slaying him. The Guru, however, took care that Anwar Khan should not continue long in too close proximity to him. And though Anwar Khan was provided with many presents for the Guru, yet the Guru refused to accept them.

A goldsmith came to the Guru with unusually rich offerings. He presented golden dice set with gems and an embroidered chaupar-board with variegated pieces formed of sapphires, rubies, and topazes. Although the Guru did not approve of such articles as tended to divert men's minds from God, and were sources of falsehood, sin, and trouble, yet he accepted them, so that he might preserve the goldsmith in his faith and devotion. The imperial envoy on seeing the presents said to the Guru, 'Thou acceptest the offerings of all other Sikhs, but not mine. What is the cause?' The Guru replied, 'The Guru's house is like a sea of milk. The offerings of the Sikhs are like streams which flow into it of their own accord, and blend with it. But thy heart is not sincere, and, therefore, if put into the Guru's sea of milk, would turn it acid and cause it to ferment.' Anwar Khan rejoined, 'Wazir Khan frequently sent me with gifts to thee, and thou didst

[1] Gauri ki Wār I.

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always accept them.' The Guru said that they were gifts of love which easily amalgamated with the Guru's milk.

When Anwar Khan failed to persuade the Guru to take his presents, he challenged to play him at chaupar. The Guru replied that such play was not suitable for a priest. Anwar Khan pressed his proposal, and laid the chaupar-board before him. He had formed an idea that, if he conquered the Guru at the game, it would be a presage of victory for his army, and if the Guru defeated him, his army would also be defeated. The Guru at last consented to play with the envoy. Anwar Khan lost the first time, the second, and the third also, and then losing his temper with his game said to the Guru, 'Thou art a cheat, thou hast won by trickery! Why have I always had threes?' The Guru replied, 'Cheating, deceit, and falsehood are the principal stock of thy house, while I am a faqir.' Anwar Khan retorted, 'A fine faqir thou art, hunting and enjoying thyself and practising warfare for thine own amusement. Thou art a great deceiver, and so have been all the Gurus from Baba Nanak down.'

The Guru could endure the insults to himself, but not the defamation of his predecessors. 'If there is any Sikh of the Guru present, let him remove this fellow from my presence.' Bidhi Chand duly obeyed the Guru's order. Some Sikhs then on their own account administered Anwar Khan shoe-beatings until he fainted. The Guru interceded for him and allowed him to depart without renewed punishment.

Anwar Khan on his return to his Chief reported the ill-treatment he had received, and advised an immediate attack on the Guru who had not one-tenth of the strength of the imperial army. Kale Khan was very pleased with this suggestion. Painda Khan too was for immediate action. Qutub Khan, however, was not so sanguine. The Guru had already had great experience of war; and it was

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not likely that he would be now off his guard. It was, however, determined by a large majority of the generals to attack his position that very night. The Guru knowing their designs ordered Bidhi Chand to be on the alert. The Guru had by this time eighteen hundred regular fighting men who were supplied by his friends in Kartarpur. The whole force was so marshalled and disposed as to prevent surprise and capture.

Meantime dissension was brewing in the Guru's camp. Dhir Mal, his grandson, accepting the evil forebodings of the masands, said that the Guru would certainly be defeated. The imperial army had arrived like a flight of locusts. The Guru's army was insignificant. It did not bear the same ratio to the imperial army as condiment to the viands of a feast. 'The Guru,' continued Dhir Mal, 'is in one of his fits of obstinacy, and knoweth not the enemy's prowess and strategy. I shall, therefore, probably attain my object and succeed him in his holy office.' Dhir Mal's mind having been thus perverted, he sat down and wrote the following letter:—'Brother Painda Khan, my grandfather hath expelled and disgraced thee without cause, but I know thee to be my friend, and I will do the best for thine interests. If thou come to-night and make a sudden attack, the fort and its treasure will fall into your hands, for here there is no preparation made. I will render thee every assistance.'

Needless to say that Painda Khan was highly pleased on receiving this letter. He showed it to the other generals, who were also pleased, particularly when they learned the dissension in the Guru's family. An immediate charge was ordered. The soldiers, heated with wine, began to boast and use ribald language. Dust arose and obscured the moon and stars. The earth shook beneath the tramp of the army. Sweets and offerings were vowed to Muhammadan saints for success. The

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Chief ordered that the whole army should assemble near Chhotamir, and thence they would assault Kartarpur and capture the Guru. It happened that, before the imperial army could enter Chhotamir, an earthquake occurred which swallowed the village with the greater portion of its inhabitants. Those who did not perish were plundered by the imperial troops. Painda Khan did his utmost to protect his fellow-citizens, but in vain.

The Guru arose earlier than usual, and after bathing began his devotions. He repeated the Japji, and prepared sacred food. He then read the Anand, the third Guru's song of rejoicing, and uttered a prayer suitable to the occasion. Sacred food was then distributed, and after partaking of it his soldiers received a substantial meal, upon which arms were served out to them. Jati Mal announced that the imperial army was approaching like a dust storm in an Indian summer. When the Guru heard this and other similar expressions of warning or dismay, he calmly said, 'Have no anxiety, stand fast, be united, put on your armour. The Creator will act for the best.'

On receiving the Guru's orders, Jati Mal, Ami Chand, Mihr Chand, and Bhai Lakhu, taking five hundred men, advanced and showered bullets and arrows at the enemy. Baba Gurditta asked his father's permission to enter the battle, but was ordered to keep guard in the village until daylight. The discharges of matchlocks were like fireworks at a wedding. The armies soon came to close combat when, it is said, twelve thousand of Kale Khan's army slept their final sleep. Twenty thousand imperial troops then advanced. Kale Khan told them that the Guru's army was insignificant, and, if they finished the fighting, they might plunder as much as they pleased. This permission greatly stimulated their bravery. Then ensued the usual carnage. Bows twanged, arrows hissed like snakes, bullets fell like hail. Here and there men engaged

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in close combat with swords, knives, and daggers. Horses fell or fled without their riders. Elephants wandered in quest of their drivers and stable companions. The wounded became so attached to the battle-field that they could not rise. The dead fell in rows like corn laid by reapers.

Qutub Khan, seeing the destruction of his troops, addressed Kale Khan, 'We have made a great mistake in engaging at night. Want of sleep hath disabled our brave soldiers. The darkness and the dust, too, have led to our troops turning against one another. Our Pathans are retreating before the Sikhs. Our losses are very serious, while the Guru's are practically none.' Painda Khan said, 'Make one charge and the battle shall be at an end. Know ye any men among the Sikhs able to resist your onset?' Kale Khan, the Chief, was not of this opinion, and replied, 'Are the Sikhs sweet food which we can gulp down? Our army hath all been slain or routed. The Sikhs have made our teeth so bitter[1] that we cannot eat any more. No Pathan will now advance. Lead thyself.' Then Painda Khan and his son-in-law, Asman Khan, taking lighted torches advanced at the head of their troops, but they were only seeking their own destruction. Kartarpur was like a lamp round which they were fluttering as moths.

Bidhi Chand, Jati Mal, Lakhu, and Rai Jodh ranged themselves and their troops on the four sides of Kartarpur Qutub Khan, Painda Khan, Asman Khan, and Kale Khan, at the head of their respective detachments, advanced against them. The Pathans were, however, powerless against the brave Sikhs fighting for their religion and their Guru. Bidhi Chand was seen as usual fighting bravely and practising with signal success the skill in archery which he had acquired during an eventful life of

[1] The Sikhs have inflicted such injury on us that we cannot bear to look at them again.

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foray and warfare. There was seen the Guru in glittering armour, mounted on Dil Bagh, once the Emperor's pride. Fortunate, says the chronicler, were the Pathan chiefs that they obtained the priceless advantage of beholding the Guru on his beautiful charger with his resplendent armour and trappings.

Bidhi Chand discharged an arrow at Anwar Khan which struck him between the eyebrows, as if it were applying a Hindu sacrificial mark to his forehead. He fell to the earth as if he were doing obeisance to the Guru, or begging his forgiveness and suing for salvation. The Guru's order went forth that nobody who was fleeing should be put to death. The Sikhs were only to fight after challenging the enemy face to face. The Guru's arrows passed through the Muhammadan chiefs, Pathans, Mughals, and Saiyids, as if these men were only pancakes. Jati Mal and Qutub Khan encountered each other in the darkness and dust-cloud, but under the circumstances the contest between them remained undecided.

Chapter XX

Morning dawned on the combatants to find the Guru dispatching his enemies as the sun's rays put darkness to flight. The Pathans died like sparrows struck by hail or lightning. Their hopes of victory were abandoned, and their spirits could not revive. They began to say to one another, 'Fine friendship hath Painda Khan shown for Islam and fine booty have we got! While trying to empty the Guru's treasury we have emptied the Emperor's. We have awakened a sleeping tiger and sacrificed our lives and property. Thousands of brave Muhammadans have perished as the result of our espousing the cause of an ungrateful villain. Now we can neither flee away nor conquer. But it is better to turn

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our face to the enemy and die than disgrace ourselves by flight.'

The generals also conferred among one another. They had been fighting, they said, for six hours, and far from having succeeded, half their army had perished. It was inexplicable how the Guru had become such a soldier. Let Painda Khan, who boasted that it was through him the Guru had obtained his former victories, and that he would at once capture him, now show his prowess and put his word to the proof. Painda Khan replied, 'I am going to advance; come and support me. In one bound I will catch the Guru as a tiger fasteneth on an elephant.' Asman Khan followed up his father-in-law's boasting: 'I, single-handed, will capture and bring the Guru with his sons and all his Sikhs.' Saying this, Painda Khan and Asman Khan entered the battle-field. The Muhammadan army then rallied and discharged arrows like rain in the Indian month of Sawan.

Nanaki watched the battle from the top story of her house. She was delighted as she saw her son, Teg Bahadur, wielding his sword and dealing out destruction to the enemy. Baba Gurditta, the Guru's eldest son, also fought valiantly, and made the Muhammadans feel the strength of his powerful and well-practised arm. Asman Khan, seeing his troops dying by Gurditta's hands, discharged arrows at him from afar, but it is said the Baba cut them with his sword as they flew in the air. Qutub Khan, putting a cannon in position, fired at the Sikhs, but nothing could restrain the havoc they were dealing among the Muhammadans. The Guru displayed prodigies of strength, bravery, and martial skill, and the enemy were not able to cope with him even single-handed.

The Muhammadans again began to bewail their evil destiny: 'Alas! alas! why have we come hither? We cannot, however, recall the time when

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we left our homes, our wives, and our children. What will the Emperor say ? Fine dresses of honour we shall obtain ! We are undone ourselves and have undone our army.' Qutub Khan advanced gnashing his teeth with rage as he observed the Guru shining like a sun on his favourite charger. Bhai Lakhu, seeing Qutub Khan's onset, discharged an arrow at him which caused him to fall swooning to the ground. Seeing this a body of Pathans moved against Lakhu. For the space of three-quarters of an hour he kept the opposing forces at bay. The Musalmans surrounded Bhai Lakhu and killed his horse. Shouting victory to the true Guru, he still defended himself with his sword. The Muhammadans said to one another, ' Thousands of us have been vanquished. This one man fighteth with his sword alone, and will not allow lances, arrows, or daggers to touch his body. He hath yet no need of the maids of paradise who bestow happiness on departed heroes.' While men were thus speculating, Qutub Khan, who by this time had recovered consciousness, struck Bhai Lakhu on the forehead with an arrow, which caused him to reel and fall to the ground. Qutub Khan, then drawing his sword, struck the fallen hero as he lay wounded, and severed his head from his body.

Bhai Lakhu's death was a boon for the Muhammadans, and cheered their flagging spirits. Kale Khan again addressed Painda Khan, who seemed to have been playing the laggard: ' Painda Khan, half the day is now over and our army is perishing. Thou art the cause of this disaster: go forward and withstand the Guru. We will support thee.' Accordingly Kale Khan, Qutub Khan, and Asman Khan, putting Painda Khan in front, advanced against the Guru. The Guru, on seeing his deadly enemy Painda Khan, curbed his wrath and bided his opportunity. Bidhi Chand engaged with Kale Khan, and Baba Gurditta with Asman Khan. Painda Khan with his drawn sword confronted the Guru,

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and thus addressed his former friend and master, 'Stand, I will now revenge the ignominy thou hast caused me, and thus cool my burning breast. If thou desire to come to terms, do so at once, and I will take thee to the Emperor and induce him to pardon thy many offences.'

The Guru replied, 'Painda Khan, why use haughty language? Now that the sword is in thy hand and that thou art ready to do or die, what time is it to talk of peace? The man who runneth away and turneth his back to the foe, hath no longer regard for his religion. As to what thou talkest of revenge, I am here alone prepared to afford it thee. Thou mayest even strike the first blow, otherwise thou mayest regret it afterwards.' Painda Khan, on hearing this, became enraged and brandished his sword. Inclining his body, he aimed a blow at the calf of the Guru's leg. The Guru turned his horse aside to avoid it, but the sword struck his stirrup. He smiled and said, 'O Painda Khan, strike me where thou pleasest, seize me, bind me, that thou mayest have no cause for repentance. Fear not that I shall flee thee.' Painda Khan made another stroke at the Guru, which he received on his shield. The Guru was merely showing his science, for hitherto he had not intended to kill his adversary. Painda Khan then tried to seize the Guru's bridle, and take him and the famed Dil Bagh to the Emperor's general. As Painda Khan was making his attempt, the Guru kicked him so forcibly as to cause him to stagger. He, however, recovered himself and again assumed the offensive. He had sufficient insolence to provoke the war, but he could not look straight in the face of the Guru whose presents he had received, whose leavings he had eaten, and whose cast-off clothes he had worn. It was the Guru's wish that Painda Khan should even now admit that he had erred, and he would then restore him to his former position.

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Instead of that the ill-starred man made another blow of his falchion at the Guru. His weapon parted from the handle and fell on the ground. The Guru, deeming it a point of honour not to take advantage of the misfortune of his enemy, alighted and said, 'Ingratitude and slander, both of which thou hast been guilty of, are very serious crimes, but to kill the person I have cherished is not a course I desire to adopt.' Painda Khan mockingly replied, 'Come, I will take thee to the Emperor.' The Guru, under all the provocation, drew his two-edged scimitar and struck Painda Khan so forcibly that he fell prone on the ground. The Guru said, 'Thou art a Musalman. Now is the time to repeat thy creed.' Painda Khan, repenting, replied, 'O Guru, thy sword is my creed and my source of salvation.'

The Guru, on seeing Painda Khan's dead body, was filled with pity and regret. He took his shield, and put it over his victim's face so as to shade it from the sun, and bursting into tears, said, 'Painda Khan, I cherished thee, I reared thee, and I made thee a hero. Though men spoke ill of thee, I forgot thy failings, and evil to thee never entered my mind; but evil destiny so misled thee that thou broughtest an army against me. It is thine own acts of ingratitude and insolence that have led to thy death at my hands. It is impossible to digest offerings without serving the saints and worshipping God, otherwise they ruin the understanding, become deadly poison to the body, and lead to man's ultimate damnation. Though thou hast been ungrateful and untrue to thy salt, I pray the Almighty to grant thee a dwelling in heaven.

Good men are honoured for their greatness; God also adjusteth the affairs of the evil:
He saveth sinners and those who fall away from Him.'[1]

Asman Khan advanced, discharging arrows, and was confronted by Baba Gurditta, who showered

[1] Gur Dās, X.

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arrows on him in return. One of them struck Asman Khan on the eyebrow and penetrated his brain. Baba Gurditta, seeing him dead, stood at his head and wept copiously. The Guru came up and inquired the cause of his grief. Baba Gurditta replied, 'He was my friend. We used to play together. He now tried to kill me with his arrows, from which I escaped, but one of mine hath lodged in his head. He reeled and fell, and never rose again. I have used great efforts to lift him up, but in vain.' Saying this Baba Gurditta continued to weep. The Guru inquired if dead men ever rose, and if he had ever known weeping of any avail. Baba Gurditta replied, 'This is the result of wearing arms. The mind becometh cruel. Take these weapons from me. I will now go home.' Baba Gurditta then retired from the battle-field to weep over the friend of his youth, and embrace a more peaceful and holy life.

The imperial army, hearing of the death of Painda Khan and Asman Khan, became totally demoralized. As they fled from the field they said, 'The Guru is the death of the Pathans. Let us return to Lahore.' Others, more jealous of their reputation, inquired how they could dare go home and endure the reproach of cowardice. They were now not fit to show their faces to any one, much less to the Emperor. They had accordingly better sound the drum for another charge, and either conquer or die. This advice prevailed, and another attempt was made to retrieve the day's misfortune. Bidhi Chand, seeing the enemy advancing, warned the Guru to prepare to receive them. There was, however, no necessity for warning. The Guru continued to discharge an incessant shower of arrows which caused unwonted havoc. There was such a collection of corpses on the battle-field that it was difficult to move without treading on them. The earth was stained with gore as if it had put on a red garment.

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As Qutub Khan advanced, the Guru observed him and shot his horse. Qutub Khan thus dismounted, continued to discharge arrows, which the Guru cut with his sword in their flight. Qutub Khan approaching nearer fought desperately, and for a whole hour engaged the Guru in single combat. At last the Guru, who had better staying power, cut off his head with a single stroke. Kale Khan the chief, on seeing Qutub Khan's corpse, massed his troops and said, 'This is a war for our religion. Behold the Sikhs—how insignificant in number, yet how desperately they have fought! In a few hours they have repelled all our charges. You have come like clouds, yet have achieved nothing. This is the last encounter. Take courage.' Upon this the Muhammadan troops made a furious onslaught, but could make no sensible impression on the Sikhs. The imperial troops died in numbers, and now only about two thousand remained. Kale Khan became demented, and raised despairing cries. 'O God, who hath destroyed mine army? whither hath it gone?'

The Commander-in-chief now confronted the Guru and said, 'Har Gobind, thou art very clever in the science of arms. Thou hast killed thousands of my soldiers. Until I send thee where thou hast sent them, my debt will not be discharged.' The Guru smiled and said, 'Kale Khan, the soldiers who have gone before are now awaiting thee. Thou abidest in sorrow here, therefore I am going to dispatch thee quickly to thy friends.'

Kale Khan, maddened by rage, discharged an arrow which whizzed past the Guru. A second arrow grazed the Guru's forehead, and drops of blood bespattered his face, as if they were tilaks of victory. The Guru again addressed him, 'I have seen thy science. Now observe mine.' The Guru discharged an arrow which killed Kale Khan's horse. Kale Khan thus dismounted confronted the

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Guru. The Guru thought it a point of honour also to dismount and offer his adversary a choice of arms. Kale Khan desired to fight with sword and shield. The Guru prepared to meet him with his own weapons. Sparks of fire issued from the clash of sword on sword. The Guru parried all his strokes. When not receiving them on his sword he dexterously stopped them with his shield.

The chiefs of both armies fought thus for an hour, cut and guard. At last the Guru said to his adversary, 'As thy name is Kale Khan, so Kal—death-knocketh at the gate of thy life.' Kale Khan on this became further enraged and dealt his blows recklessly and unskilfully. When the combat was becoming monotonous and the Guru had warded off the last stroke, he said to his adversary, 'Not thus; this is the way to fence.' The Guru, then putting forth all his strength, dealt Kale Khan a blow with his two-edged scimitar which severed his head from his body. On this the Musalmans and their leaders retreated like clouds before an Indian westerly wind. Bidhi Chand and Jati Mal shouted victory. On hearing this, Qasim Khan ran towards the Guru in the hope that he would fall on him unawares and have the drum of victory beaten for himself. The Guru warded off his blows for some time, and at last easily dispatched him to his departed friends.

A Sikh subsequently asked the author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahab*, what the Guru meant by saying, 'Not thus; this is the way to fence.' Muhsan Fani replied that the Guru had not killed his enemy through hostility, but was merely giving him a lesson in sword-play.[1]

It is said that several thousand Muhammadans but only seven hundred of the Guru's brave and skilful Sikhs perished in this sanguinary battle. It ended an hour before nightfall on the 24th day of Har. Sambat 1691 (A.D. 1634).

[1] *Dabistān-i-Mazāhab.*

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In the early morning the Guru determined to see his friend Budhan Shah, whose end was approaching, and who, the Guru well knew, was waiting for him near Kiratpur. The Guru started on his horse, and directed Bidhi Chand to follow with his family, and he would wait for them on the road. Bidhi Chand, taking charge of the Guru's followers and some of his property, prepared for his journey.

Dhir Mal and his mother Natti were the only members of the Guru's family who did not accompany him on his journey to Kiratpur. In the first place, Dhir Mal had turned traitor, and was ashamed to show his face to the Guru and his Sikhs. In the second place, he thought that, if he remained behind, he could take possession of all the Guru's property, including the Granth Sahib. It will be remembered that Bidhi Chand had begun to make a copy of the sacred book. He told Dhir Mal that he had copied it as far as the Bilawal Rag, or more than one half of the whole, and, if he might take the Granth Sahib with him, he would soon finish copying the remainder. Dhir Mal replied, 'Go to Kiratpur; I will search the Guru's house for the Granth Sahib, and if I find it, will send it to thee.' When Bidhi Chand overtook the Guru, he told him of Dhir Mal's continued contumacy. The Guru laughingly said, 'Kartarpur was founded by his ancestors. That is why he will not leave it. He desires to improve it, and hence his remaining there. It was improper for him to break with his father and grandfather and to ally himself with the Muhammadans, but he is an incarnation of Prithia and means to establish a sect of his own. Let the Granth Sahib remain with him. When the Sikhs feel devotion, they will deprive him of it.'

The Guru reached Phagwara on his journey. As the town was on the road to Lahore, whence reinforcements could easily be sent against him, he continued his march to Kiratpur. On arriving at the Satluj he pointed to a hill at the north, which he said the tenth

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Guru would make his playground. Here the famous steed Dil Bagh, surnamed Jan Bhai, died from the effect of wounds in the recent battle.

The Guru thence proceeded on his journey to Budhan Shah's hut. Budhan Shah on awaking from a deep trance addressed him—'O true Guru, thou hast assumed birth to save the world. Although Gurus Nanak, Angad, Amar Das, Ram Das, Arjan, and thou have all had different bodies, they have been pervaded by the same light. My wishes have been fulfilled, and, now that I behold thee, I have no further object in life. As thou hast come to me regardless of the care of thy body overspent in the fatigue of war, so assist me in the next world also. Guru Nanak promised me that I should behold him before my death, so his light in thee hath brightened my departure.'

The Guru left his son Baba Gurditta and Bidhi Chand with Budhan Shah, and, promising to return, departed to Kiratpur, which he made his permanent residence. There he bathed, performed his devotions, and medicated his wound. Bidhi Chand inquired Budhan Shah's age and circumstances. He replied, 'In this Kal age few live for a hundred years, but by the Guru's favour I have enjoyed a much longer span of life. Guru Nanak left milk with me and promised that a Sikh of his should return and drink it. Gurditta formerly came to me and received the trust. I pray him to deem me his servant and not forget me, and before he dieth to order his shrine to be made near mine.' Baba Gurditta replied, 'Why art thou sad? Remain with us for some time longer. Men worship thee, and thou art caressed and happy.' Budhan Shah answered, 'However long I may remain, I must depart at last; and this is the time to go while thou art by my side.'

The Guru returned from Kiratpur to Budhan Shah in time to bid him a last adieu. Budhan Shah

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grasped his feet and prayed for his intercession. His last words were, 'My mind is sinful, evil passions have overmastered it. I have called myself Thy servant, O God, wherefore preserve the honour of Thy name.' Saying this, Budhan Shah, fixing his thoughts on God, parted with his body.

Chapter XXI

After the Guru's departure from Kartarpur, Dhir Mal possessed himself of a large amount of the Guru's property. He then feared that the Emperor might send another army to wrest it from him and capture him in mistake for the Guru. He accordingly wrote to the Emperor, 'Sire, I desire thy victory and thy support, but thy troops were fated to die, so how could they be saved? The Guru hath destroyed the whole army, but I am thy friend, and I pray thee to deem me so.'

The Emperor was distracted at the loss of his army. He said, 'Several thousands of my troops slain! Assuredly the Guru hath brought about the destruction of the world!' Wazir Khan, who by this time had returned to the Emperor, took the Guru's part as he had so often done before. 'Sire, thou hast now ascertained for the fourth time that whosoever proceedeth with evil intention against the Guru, never returneth. Thine armies have been destroyed by the Guru's supernatural power, and not by his materia' strength and strategy. Painda Khan was in the Guru's secrets, but he died in return for his ingratitude and treachery. His family is ruined, and his town hath been swallowed up. I have often ventured to give thy Majesty advice, but thou hast deliberately sent thine armies to destruction.'

Then came Dhir Mal's messenger with his letter. Wazir Khan read it to himself and was astonished at its contents. Whether the Emperor could read it

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or not he accepted the following version of Dhir Mal's missive from the lips of Wazir Khan : 'O Sire, come to terms and be not at enmity with the Guru. Both thy steeds have been slain in battle, and there is now no hope of their recovery. The Guru is ever thine ally and well-wisher. Thou shalt have peace of mind by forgetting the past.' It is to be feared that some Indian Rajas even in the present day have their communications read to them in this fashion, and are thus rendered incapable of administering their states.

The Emperor was pleased at Wazir Khan's version of Dhir Mal's letter and said, 'Wazir Khan, thou gavest me good advice, but to my sorrow I did not accept it. Now write in reply that there shall be no enmity between the Guru and myself for the future.' The ingenious Wazir Khan while adhering to the spirit of this order wrote a conciliatory letter to Dhir Mal.

A messenger is said to have come about this time from an untraceable island in the Bay of Bengal to the Guru inviting him to go thither and bless the country. The Guru, however, could not leave his Sikhs to proceed to such a distant country, but deputed Bidhi Chand, who long before this had repented of his many misdeeds, to go and preach the principles of the Sikh religion. Bidhi Chand lost no time in executing the Guru's order. On his way by the margin of the sea he arrived at a city called Devnagar. In an adjoining forest lived a faqir named Sundar Shah, who by the practice of painful austerities had obtained miraculous power and was extensively worshipped. Bidhi Chand rested under a withered tree outside the city, and in devotional ecstasy sang the following hymn of the third Guru :—

The spring hath appeared ; the forests are in bloom ;
Men and lower animals fixing their attention on God are flourishing.

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It is in this way the heart becometh glad.
Repeat God's name day and night; under the Guru's instruction pride is washed away.
By preaching the verses and words of the true Guru
This world becometh happy, and the true Guru is pleased.
Fruit and flowers appear when God Himself causeth them.
When man findeth the true Guru, he clingeth to the Root of joy.
God is the spring; all the world is His garden.
Nanak, by perfect good fortune special service is obtained.[1]

It is said that on this the withered tree became green, and in consequence every one recognized Bidhi Chand's miraculous power and did him homage. Sundar Shah on hearing of the miracle went riding on his tiger to see the stranger. He expected that Bidhi Chand would incontinently take to flight on seeing the tiger. The crowd of worshippers round Bidhi Chand departed precipitately, but he fearlessly held his ground. Sundar Shah incited the animal to attack Bidhi Chand, but a glance from the latter changed, it is said, the animal into a pillar of stone. Sundar Shah and Bidhi Chand then held a religious discussion in which the former was vanquished.

Sundar Shah pressed Bidhi Chand to remain with him, but he pleaded the Guru's order to visit the island for which he was bound. He promised, however, with the Guru's permission, to return and spend his last days with Sundar Shah. Bidhi Chand went to his destination, preached the Sikh religion to the people, and made many converts. Having fulfilled the Guru's instructions and accomplished his mission he returned to Kiratpur.

The anonymous author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahab*, who wrote under the *nom de plume* of Muhsan Fani, states that he corresponded with Guru Har Gobind, who always signed himself Nanak. That author's testimony, therefore, regarding the

[1] Basant.

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Guru we consider of the highest importance, and we shall give it as far as it extends:—

Whilst the Guru and his party of Sikhs were at Kiratpur a Sikh called Bhairo cut off the nose of the goddess at Naina Devi, some ten miles distant. This was reported to the neighbouring Raja, who complained to the Guru of the outrage. Bhairo was summoned, and said he would admit the charge if the goddess herself attested it. One of the Raja's courtiers said in reply, 'O blockhead, how can the goddess speak?' Bhairo smiled and said, 'We now know who the blockhead is. If the goddess cannot repel her assailant and give evidence against him, how can you hope for any advantage from her?' On this the Raja remained silent.

One Jhanda, a very rich man, used to be very attentive to his devotions. When his foot was accidentally injured, Guru Har Gobind advised him not to wear shoes. Jhanda accordingly took off his shoes, and remained barefooted for three months. The Guru on hearing this said that he did not mean him to remain always barefooted, but only as long as his foot was sore. He then resumed his shoes. One day the Guru told his Sikhs to fetch firewood from the forest. Next day Jhanda was not to be found. The Sikhs searched for him, and about noon on the following day saw him with a bundle of firewood on his back. The Guru remonstrated with him for having undertaken such a menial office. He replied that the Guru had given an order to his Sikhs to fetch firewood, and, as he considered himself a Sikh, he decided to obey his order. Both these stories are given as instances of the Guru's influence even over rich men.

The Guru commissioned a man called Basava to proceed from Balkh to Iraq to purchase horses. As he had advanced one stage from Balkh, some one told him that his son had fallen suddenly ill, and advised him to return home. He replied, 'If my

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son die, then let him die. There is sufficient firewood in the house to burn him. I will not flinch from my duty to the Guru.' After his return home he heard that his son had died, but he felt no remorse for having obeyed the Guru and proceeded on the journey he had undertaken.

Muhsan Fani relates that as he was travelling with this man Basava from Kabul the fastening of his postin or sheep-skin jacket broke. Basava took off his janeu and gave it to him to tie his postin with, saying that janeus were best employed for such purposes.

The Sikhs asked the Guru whom they should recognize as Guru when he was far away. He replied, 'Deem the Sikh who cometh to you with the Guru's name on his lips as your Guru.' The historian states that any one with the Guru's name on his lips might then enter the house of a Sikh and receive welcome and hospitality.

It became a custom of the Sikhs if any one of them desired a gift from heaven to mention his request before his brother Sikhs or before the Guru's masands, and then all combined and prayed for the desired blessing. The Guru himself adopted the same custom.

The Guru believed in one God. His disciples reprobate idol worship. They neither pray nor practise austerities in the Hindu fashion. They hold not sacred the temples of Hindus, or believe in their incarnations. They pay no regard to Sanskrit compositions which the Hindus believe to be in the language of the gods. They believe that all the Gurus are the same as Nanak. The Sikhs are not restricted in the matter of eating or drinking. One Partap Mal, a learned man, said to a Hindu youth who felt caste restrictions irksome, and consequently desired to embrace Islam, 'Why become a Muhammadan? If thou desire to have no restrictions on what thou eatest and drinkest, then become a Sikh.'

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The Sikhs increased under all the Gurus to such an extent that even in the time of Guru Arjan one or more representatives of the Sikh religion could be found in every Indian city. To such an extent was caste disregarded that Hindus of the Brahman caste became disciples of Sikh Khatris, for none of the Gurus was a Brahman ; and Khatris did homage to the Jat masands, who were a low section of Vaisyas. Guru Har Gobind gained a large number of followers in Kiratpur. He kept seven hundred horses in his stables, and always entertained three hundred horsemen and sixty artillery men.

One day Baba Gurditta joined a hunting party. It happened that one of his Sikhs shot a cow by mistake for a deer. The shepherds came and arrested the offending Sikh. Baba Gurditta went to his assistance and offered to give compensation. The shepherds, however, would have from the Guru's son nothing less than the restoration of the cow to life. Gurditta found himself in a dilemma. If he restored the cow to life, the Guru would be angry, as he had been before with Baba Atal, and if he refused to satisfy the shepherds, they would detain his Sikh as a hostage. He was at last persuaded to reanimate the cow. He accordingly put his cane on her head and said, 'Arise, and eat thy grass!' It is said that upon this the cow arose, and ran and joined the herd.

The cause of Gurditta's late return was inquired into, and he was obliged to give a narrative of the day's events. The miracle wrought by him was reported to the Guru, who became angry, and said, 'It is not pleasing to me that any one should set himself up as God's equal, and restore life to the dead.[1] People die every day. Everybody will be bringing his dead to my door, and whom shall I

[1] It appears from this that the sixth Guru entertained no such special veneration for the cow as the Hindus have. He was only angry at the miracle wrought which altered the course of nature.

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select for reanimation? Guru Nanak ordered that we should accept the will of God—"What pleaseth Thee, O Lord, is good." If thou persist in doing acts contrary to God's will thy further residence on earth is unprofitable.' Baba Gurditta replied, 'Mayest thou live for ever! I depart.' He then circumambulated the Guru in token of offering himself as a sacrifice to him, and took his departure for Budhan Shah's shrine. On arriving there he drove his cane into the ground, lay down, and, in the words of the Sikh chronicler, crossed the stream of the troubles of life at the early age of twenty-four years, in the Sambat year 1695 (A. D. 1638).

When Baba Gurditta did not return within a reasonable time, the Guru caused search to be instituted for him. His body was ultimately discovered. The Guru himself went to behold it, and was followed by other members of the family of the deceased, who mourned his untimely fate.

After this the Guru sent to Kartarpur for Dhir Mal, Baba Gurditta's elder son, and the Granth Sahib of which he had been left in custody. The Guru intended that the holy volume should be read for the repose of Gurditta's soul, and also that Dhir Mal should be present to receive a turban after his father's death in token of succession to his property and position. Dhir Mal possessed extraordinary acuteness for one so young. He said to himself, 'If I leave the land and money which have come into my possession and go for a turban to the Guru, every one will think me a fool. I have the Granth Sahib and I will keep it.' He then addressed the messenger, 'My father is not in Kiratpur. To whom shall I go? It is through fear of the Guru my father died. I do not desire to die yet. I will myself have the Granth Sahib read here for my deceased father. I do not deem it advisable to leave my property in charge of servants. My younger brother Har Rai is with the Guru. The

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turban may be bound on him. What business have I in Kiratpur ? '

The messenger represented to him, ' Thou art still young, and oughtest to be subject to thy grandfather the Guru. It is thy duty to obey him. Come by all means with the Granth Sahib to the Guru. Leave thy property in charge of thy servants, who are trustworthy. Thou mayest afterwards return and take charge of it. Be not too much in love with earthly things. Obey the order of the Guru.' Dhir Mal then volunteered the following statement, ' I have written to the Emperor and entered into an alliance with him. I have informed him that I now hold no parley with the Guru. If I go to the Guru, I shall prove false to the Emperor. And if the Emperor become angry and sack the city, to whom shall I go for redress ? I will not give up the Granth Sahib.' Dhir Mal's object was to secure the Guruship for himself. He hoped that, as long as he kept the sacred volume in his possession, the Sikhs would look on him as their religious leader. The messenger, however, failing to persuade Dhir Mal, succeeded in taking Natti, Dhir Mal's widowed mother, to the Guru. When the Guru heard that Dhir Mal declined his invitation, he merely said, ' Mammon is very powerful. It hath led the world astray. Dhir Mal is a very unfortunate child.'

The Guru now sent for Bhai Bhana, son of Bhai Budha. Bhai Bhana on the way from his village of Ramdas called at Batala, and thence took with him Gurditta's parents-in-law to the Guru. There was a great gathering of Sikhs at Kiratpur on the occasion. Bidhi Chand read the Granth Sahib as far as he had copied it for Gurditta's repose. Bhai Rup Chand also presented himself on the occasion. His father had died not long previously. All friends and relations appeared and mourned Gurditta's untimely fate. They praised his virtues, his beauty, his affability, and his bravery. The Guru offered

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them all words of consolation, and begged them to dry their tears. He explained that Dhir Mal had acted with great treachery, and would neither come himself nor send the Granth Sahib. He would therefore bind the turban on the head of Har Rai, Dhir Mal's youngest brother. Though very young in years, he was deemed worthy of succession to his grandfather.

Suraj Mal, the Guru's son by the Marwahi, was intelligent and performed his secular duties to his father's satisfaction. Ani Rai, the Guru's son by Nanaki, was a religious enthusiast. Teg Bahadur, the Guru's son, also born of Nanaki, was worldly contempt incarnate. Satisfied that the world was transitory, he mixed not in it, but delighted in solitude. One day the Guru's wife Nanaki addressed him, 'O my lord, thou ever showest great kindness to Har Rai, who is only thy grandson, but thou never regardest thine own son Teg Bahadur, who is simple and unsophisticated. Fulfil my wishes to put him on thy throne.' The Guru replied, 'Teg Bahadur is a Guru of gurus. There is none who can endure the unendurable so well as he. He hath obtained divine knowledge and renounced worldly love. If thou have patience the Guruship shall revert to him. From him shall be born a warrior who shall smite the Turks, free the earth from the burden of the evil, render Guru Nanak's name illustrious, and spread his own glory and fame to the uttermost bounds of the world.'

The Marwahi dreamt that the late Damodari appeared to her and said, 'My sister, leave the world now. It is good to leave the fair when it is at its height. If thou live, thou shalt be greatly pained at the Guru's death. If thou come with me, we shall both abide together in Sach Khand where there is perpetual happiness, where sorrow, sickness and death enter not, and where night and day the saints are ever hymning the Creator's praise.'

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The Marwahi on awaking related her dream to the Guru. He gave his interpretation to the effect that her end was near, and repeated for her the following hymn of Guru Nanak :—

No one liveth as long as he desireth, or obtaineth his object.

He who possesseth divine knowledge liveth for ever ; it is he who remembereth God who is ever honoured.

By ever husbanding life it passeth away in vain.

Nanak, to whom shall we complain ? Death taketh us away even without our permission.[1]

' If thou desire to go,' continued the Guru, ' I will quickly follow thee.' She called her son Suraj Mal, told him she was going to leave the world, and begged him to be patient and mourn not for her. She impressed on him the propriety of ever obeying his father. She then called the other members of the family and took leave of them. Putting herself in a devotional attitude she recited the Japji, and repeating the true Name, the holy Wahguru, resigned her spirit to her Creator.

On the tenth day after Marwahi's death Bidhi Chand finished reading for the repose of her soul the portions of the Granth Sahib he had copied. Her son Suraj Mal duly received a turban and a shawl on the occasion. The Guru now became daily sadder and resigned every comfort. He removed a comfortable mattress on which he had slept and only put one sheet under him. Pillows he entirely rejected.

The Guru kept Har Rai continually beside him, and taught him worldly and spiritual knowledge. One day a Sikh called Daya Ram, from Anupshahr on the bank of the Ganges, appeared before the Guru. He had come with people of his country and some members of his family to do homage to the Guru. His daughters had previously heard of Har

[1] Supplementary sloks.

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Rai and conceived a desire to wed him collectively. On seeing Har Rai the Guru's grandson, Daya Ram betrothed his daughters to him. The nuptial ceremonies took place on the tenth day of Har, Sambat 1697 (A. D. 1640).

CHAPTER XXII

Bidhi Chand after a stormy, eventful, and perilous life felt that his end was approaching. He remembered his promise to Sundar Shah to return to him that they might go to paradise together, and asked the Guru's permission to proceed on his long terrestrial and celestial journeys. The Guru addressed him the following parting words: 'All worldly persons dread death; but the holy fear it not, and are happy since they exchange bodies, which are mines of sorrow and disease, for bodies which are like celestial light, and they roam for ever in the blissful fields of Sach Khand. Take Sundar Shah with thee to the Guru's heaven, and I will come to you soon.' Bidhi Chand put his son Lal Chand's hand into the Guru's and said, 'I pray thee to cherish my son as thy servant.' He then addressed his son, 'If thou desire to obtain the wishes of thy heart and to live happy, be faithful to the Guru and ever serve and obey him.' Saying this, the old man's eyes filled with tears. The Guru tenderly embraced him, and offered him further words of consolation—'This body is temporary and abideth not. How long can one keep life, which is like a mud vessel which breaketh sooner or later and alloweth its contents to flow away? Look to thy soul, which is an emanation from God, and not to thy material body.' Bidhi Chand on hearing this bowed to the Guru's feet and, bidding farewell to the assembled Sikhs, went to join Sundar Shah and prepare for the road to paradise.

Bidhi Chand after his toilsome and tedious journey

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to the south of India found his friend Sundar Shah contemplating God in a fit of abstraction. He said to him, 'My friend, arise, find a home with comfort and peace in God's palace, and return not again to this world.'[1] Sundar Shah opening his eyes said, 'Brother, by thy favour my mind is at peace and all fear of death is dispelled. I have waited for thee, and now the wish of my heart is gratified.' The people of the village came to see the devout Sikh from the Panjab, and received divine instruction from him for the space of three days.

The fourth day, before Bidhi Chand arose for his devotions, he saw in a vision Bhais Budha, Paira, Pirana, Gur Das, Langaha, Jetha, and a whole assembly of departed Sikh saints. He heard them say, 'O Bidhi Chand, congratulations! By repentance and service to the Guru thou hast made thy life profitable. Come now with us to abide in Sach Khand.' Bidhi Chand on hearing this trembled with joy. When he related his vision to Sundar Shah they both agreed to abandon their bodies and proceed to join the blissful Sikhs in their heavenly abode. The date of Bidhi Chand's death is given as the eighth day of the light half of Bhadon, Sambat 1697. The Guru caused his partially copied Granth to be read for Bidhi Chand's eternal repose, and bound a turban on his son Lal Chand's head.

The Guru continued to be very thoughtful. His discourses were ever on the transitory nature of human life and the propriety of accepting the divine will. One day in spring, as he was seated alone in his garden, he saw the flower-beds blooming and the creepers adorning and clinging to the trees like loving and chaste wives to their husbands. He began to reflect on the many benefits which trees conferred on man. Their leaves, blossoms, fruit, branches, bark, shade, timber are all for human

[1] Guru Arjan, Gauri Pūrbi.

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advantage. Whoever cometh to them with hope never goeth away disappointed. Even they who heartlessly throw stones at them receive their fruit. They supply food, covering, carriages, ships, utensils, furniture, perfume, and countless other favours.

While the Guru was thus reflecting, Har Rai approached on horseback. On seeing the Guru at a distance he alighted and hastened to make his obeisance. He was dressed in the style of a nobleman of the time in a loose-flowing robe composed of one hundred and one pieces. The wind expanded it, and it broke several flowers as the wearer proceeded to the Guru. Har Rai on seeing the damage his dress had caused sat down and wept, saying, 'Alas! I have spoiled these flowers.' A Sikh who had observed the occurrence informed the Guru. The Guru went and inquired why Har Rai was thus seated in sorrow. Har Rai duly informed him. The Guru then said, 'Wear thy robe by all means, but lift up thy skirts when walking. It behoveth God's servant to be tender to all things.' Har Rai ever after remembered the Guru's instruction as to how he was to carry his robe.

When the Guru was pressed by some Sikhs to appoint his second son Suraj Mal as his successor, he replied, 'The Guruship is a heavy burden. Only the worthy can support it. The aspirant to it may know how to prophesy, but should keep his secrets to himself. Though he see offences he should forgive them. He should assist his Sikhs in their time of tribulation and give servants the reward of their services. Deeming the things of this world perishable, he should not covet them. Only he who possesseth these virtues is worthy to be a Guru. The Guru's masands and servants are worthy of respect and receive offerings, but my son Suraj Mal is more worthy than they. He shall obtain other things—wealth, property, children—but the Guruship is the heritage of Har Rai.'

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One day the Guru received a letter to the effect that Manohar Das, the great-grandson of Guru Amar Das, was dead. Upon this the Guru remained for some time absorbed in thought. He then said, 'Congratulations to the saints! His name was Manohar—heart-stealing—and of a truth he stole God's heart.' A Kashmiri Sikh on hearing this inquired what virtues Manohar possessed that he received this extravagant eulogy. The Guru replied with great affection, 'Manohar Das used to take Guru Arjan in his lap and play with him. It was by service to the Guru he obtained his greatness. He was free from covetousness, worldly love, and wrath, and never desired the world's praises. His dependence was on the Name. That is why I congratulated him. I had myself intended to wait on him, but I was engaged in warfare, and now that he hath departed my opportunity of serving him hath gone.'

The Guru dispatched a letter to Anand Rai, Manohar Das's son, who was living in Goindwal, and invited him to visit him. Anand Rai, overjoyed at the honour done him, speedily set out. The Guru went to meet him, and on account of the affection he bore him joined in carrying his palki.[1] Anand Rai, who did not desire such condescension from the Guru, alighted and said, 'Thou art on the Guru's throne and a mine of virtue. Thou treatest me as of higher dignity than thyself, but I am not equal to the dust of thy feet. What if the bamboo groweth very tall? It is not equal in value to the smallest sandal tree.' The Guru took his arm, conducted him to his private apartments, and ministered to his every comfort. Anand Rai persisted in saying that he was the Guru's servant. This the Guru would not admit, and apologized to him for not having waited on him before for want of opportunity. 'Without service to the saints,' the Guru continued,

[1] Generally known as a palanquin.

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'life is vain and profitless. It is by such service the advantage of human birth is obtained.' Anand Rai replied, 'Thou hast lifted my palki as an example of humility to others. Kindly grant that my mind may continue lowly, that I may be a true Sikh, and that worldly love may not enter my heart.' The Guru replied, 'They who serve without hope of reward obtain distinction, but they who serve with ulterior motives merely accumulate sin.'

While the Guru and Anand Rai were thus conversing, Man Singh and other servants of the latter arrived. The Guru respectfully seated them near him. He offered a tray full of rupees to Anand Rai, but he would not accept them. Anand Rai would not touch money of any description for the following reason. While Guru Amar Das was meditating on God, his son Mohri used to receive the offerings of the Sikhs. One day, while handling money, his hands became black, and he showed them to his father who said, 'My son, silver is white and beautiful, but when thou takest it into thy hands it turneth them black. In the same way the minds of those who covet it become black; and they fight and quarrel with one another until death releaseth them from their struggles.' The Guru said to Anand Rai, 'If thou wilt not accept my offering, then distribute the money among the needy.' Upon this Anand Rai accepted it, saying that as it was a present from the Guru he would make it an exception. The Guru sent an escort of honour with him.

A rebeck-player called Babak is frequently mentioned in the life of the sixth Guru. He was a very devout and able servant of the Guru and assisted in attracting listeners to the temple. After service one morning he told the Guru that he had been very happy with him. He had risen rapidly from the position of humble player to that of honoured courtier of the Guru. He prayed the

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Guru to give his son the same position and dignity he had held himself. The Guru consoled him on his departure—'His turn shall come to every one. No one may abide here. The day of departure is certain for all. Repeat the true Name which assisteth in both worlds. I will as long as I live protect thy sons and grandsons. By the power of the Word thy father obtained happiness. Thou too shalt be happy. Nothing shall be wanting to those who possess the Gurus' hymns. He who readeth them and renounceth worldly love shall have the four great boons as his attendants.' Babak took his leave, repaired to his house, and there with Wahguru on his lips died a painless death.

One day the Guru, observing Jati Mal's devoted service, thus addressed him, 'Thy father Singha was with me in my first battle. Thou hast been with me in three battles, and bravely hast thou sustained thy part in destroying enemies. Thou lovest me, and art even a greater warrior than thy father. Thy son Daya Ram shall be with my grandson, Guru Gobind Singh, and assist in destroying the Turks. I am delighted with thy conspicuous gallantry, and invite thee to ask any gift in my power to bestow.' Jati Mal replied that the only boon he desired was that at the last moment he might not suffer the pain of death, but remember God and be released from further transmigration. The Guru replied, 'The time for thy departure is nigh. Birth and death are the law of the body; hunger and thirst of life; weal and woe of the senses; joy and mourning of the mind. The soul is pure as ether. When it through ignorance taketh on itself the duties of body, life, senses, and mind, it becometh subject to desires and doubts, and falleth into worldly entanglements; but when it hath freed itself from these it obtaineth salvation and becometh absorbed in divine happiness. The soul associating with worldly wisdom falleth into ignorance and for-

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getteth God. The mind yielding to the senses misleadeth wisdom and falleth into sin. It is to the body the senses are attached. When the soul through divine knowledge separateth from the body, then it becometh pure, obtaineth salvation, is absorbed in celestial happiness, and beholdeth God. Be not afraid of death, and be not desirous of life. Know the Creator who cherisheth all His creatures; then shalt thou be free from all mortal ills and obtain peace.' On hearing this Jati Mal's mind was happy. He put his son's hand into the Guru's, upon which the Guru assured him of the youth's future welfare. Jati Mal went home, repeated Sat Nam Wahguru, and gave up his spirit. The Guru on hearing of his death, said :—

The love of the worshipper shall go with him to the end.
While alive he worshipped his Master, and at his departure kept Him in his heart.[1]

The Guru deeply felt the loss of so many friends and relations, and thought it was time for himself, too, to depart and follow them. Preparing for death he abandoned all mundane affairs, and distributed his private property among those who had a claim to it. He then ordered the masands to collect all his Sikhs and bring them to him on the first day of the moon in the month of Chet. His Sikhs accordingly thronged from every quarter to see their Guru and do him homage on the day appointed.

The Guru sent again for his grandson Dhir Mal, who was still living in Kartarpur. Dhir Mal being in possession of the Granth Sahib replied, 'I am already a guru. If the Guru supersede me and appoint my younger brother, what shall it avail me to go to Kiratpur?' The messenger then went to Dhir Mal's mother and represented to her that people had come in thousands from all parts to the Guru, and it would not be right for her and her son

[1] Māru.

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to remain absent at such a critical time. Dhir Mal's mother tried to persuade him to go to the Guru. She said, 'Fail not to take thy place in the family circle. Thou art his eldest grandson. He appeareth, it is true, to love thy younger brother more. But go to the Guru in any case. Thou shalt have an honourable reception. If thou even now please him, he may appoint thee his successor.'

Dhir Mal persisted, 'I possess the Granth, which is the outward and tangible sign of Guruship. The Guru may appoint whomsoever he pleaseth. I will deprive his nominee of the dignity, as I am on good terms with the Emperor. I hold this city of Kartarpur. Why should I go to the Guru?' His mother replied, 'The Guru will neither take the Granth nor the city from thee. He hath two grandsons of whom thou art the elder. Thou shalt obtain greatness by pleasing him. When the Sikhs see thee seated near him, they will recognize thee as his elder grandson. If thou go not to him, who will acknowledge thee? He is now about to appoint a successor. If he choose to bestow the Guruship on one of thine uncles, we cannot help it. But whether he giveth it to thee or not, have thyself respected by showing that thou art on friendly terms with him.'

These arguments were successful. Dhir Mal mounted his horse and proceeded to Kiratpur. The Guru received him affectionately. After the usual commonplaces of meeting and salutation Dhir Mal said, 'I have written to the Emperor and adjusted the difference between thee and him. Therefore it is that thou dwellest in happiness and security.' When the Guru heard this he thought to himself, 'This youth is deceitful and proud, and consequently not fit for the Guruship.' Dhir Mal remained with the Guru and had ample opportunity of seeing that Har Rai was his favourite. It happened that the Guru kept his private apartments

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for three days. Dhir Mal thought that that would be a good opportunity to put himself forward as the Guru's successor, so in consultation with his masands he erected a throne, raised a canopy over it, and took his seat as Guru. When the Guru heard of this usurpation, he said, 'I sent for him to receive my parting instruction, but he hath come to practise deceit and guile. The succession to the Guruship dependeth on the Guru's pleasure, and can only be obtained by service, humility, and devotion. It is not to be obtained by pride and trickery.' Dhir Mal on hearing this became very angry, and gave expression to his feelings, 'Am I not the Guru's grandson? I am heir to the Guruship. The Guru may give it to whomsoever he pleaseth. I have the power to take it from him afterwards. It is my mother who hath brought this disgrace on me by persuading me to come here.' Saying this Dhir Mal mounted his horse and rode back to Kartarpur.

Chapter XXIII

When the Guru's Sikhs in response to his summons arrived from all quarters in Kiratpur, the Holi festival was being celebrated according to Sikh ritual. On that occasion the following hymn of Guru Arjan was sung :—

Let us worship the Guru[1] and make obeisance to Him.
To-day is our day of rejoicing;
To-day we are very happy;
Our anxieties have departed since we have met God.
To-day spring is in our hearts,[2]
And, O God, we sing Thine endless praises.
To-day our Phagan is celebrated.[3]

[1] God.
[2] Literally—houses, but the word is often used for the heart.
[3] The Holī is celebrated in the month of Phāgan.

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We begin to play on meeting God's companions;
Our service to them shall be our Holi.
The very red colour of God attacheth to us;[1]
Our souls and bodies bloom beyond comparison,
And wither not in shade or sunshine;
They flourish in all seasons.
It is ever spring when we meet the divine Guru:
Then the tree of life is produced for us,
And beareth many gems of flower and fruit.
We are cloyed and satiated singing God's praises—
The slave Nanak meditateth on God.[2]

The following hymn was sung to remind the Sikhs that their time must not be spent in frivolity:—

Man is led astray by recreation and varied amusements and by the pleasures of the eyesight.

Such delights are unreal, for even kings and emperors are involved in anxiety.[3]

My brethren, happiness is obtained by association with saints.

Sorrow and anxiety depart from him for whom God hath so destined.

I have wandered through all countries, and *observed that*

Lords of wealth and great lords of the soil perished speaking of their property;

They fearlessly enforced their orders, and treated men with haughtiness;

They subjected every one to them, but being without the Name they were blended with the dust.

Great monarchs, at whose gates stood the thirty-three karors of gods, Sidhs, and Strivers as servants,

Whose dominion was over mountain and sea, all passed away, Nanak, like a dream.[4]

[1] The word *rang* means either colour or love. [2] Basant.

[3] These two lines are also translated—

Those who enjoy much recreation, varied amusements, and pleasures which lead the senses astray;

Who enjoy regal and imperial state, are involved in anxiety.

[4] Guru Arjan, Sri Rāg.

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The Guru added the following more particular instructions regarding the observance of the Holi festival : ' He who drinketh wine and throweth mud and dust and blackeneth his face, shall have dust thrown on his head, and his face shall be blackened in the next world ; while he who uttereth lascivious expressions shall suffer pain in the lowest hell. It is those who take delight in the true Name who enjoy the real Holi ; and it is for this purpose the soul obtaineth human birth in this world. Guru Arjan hath said :—

Man hath come to hear and read God's word.

Vain is the human birth of those mortals who, forgetting the Name, conceive worldly desires.

Understand this, O thoughtless man, that the saints have told the story of the Ineffable One.

Receive the gain of worshipping God in thy heart, and thy transmigration shall be at an end.

Effort, power, and cleverness are Thine ; if Thou grant them to me, I will repeat Thy name.

They are servants, and it is they, O Nanak, who are attached to service, who are pleasing to God.'[1]

A day was appointed for a great assemblage at which the Guru's successor was to be consecrated. When all were assembled Guru Har Gobind rose, clasped his hands in an attitude of supplication, and uttered a prayer to the Supreme Being for the success of the day's proceedings. Then, taking Har Rai by the hand, he seated him on the throne of Guru Nanak. Bhai Bhana, son of Bhai Budha, affixed the tilak to Har Rai's forehead and decorated him with a necklace of flowers. The Guru putting five paise—farthings—and a coco-nut on a tray offered them to Har Rai. He then circumambulated him four times, bowed to him, and gave him the following instructions :—' A watch and a quarter before day, shake off sleep, rise, bathe, and recite

[1] Sārang.

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the Japji, which is the Guru's spell. Be gentle in thy demeanour. Obtrude not thyself, repeat the Name, and cause others to do so. Sit in the company of thy holy Sikhs twice a day.' After this and similar instruction to his successor, the Guru addressed the Sikhs, 'In Har Rai now recognize me. The spiritual power of Guru Nanak hath entered him.' Upon this the assembled Sikhs shouted congratulations and the minstrels began to sing. The heralds then announced that this was the seventh Guru duly appointed and consecrated. Bards and minstrels chanted the young Guru's genealogy and eulogies. All were unanimous in saying that Har Rai, who by service had pleased his grandfather Guru Har Gobind, well merited the exalted position he had attained.

Guru Har Gobind's wife Nanaki thus addressed her spouse: 'Thou didst promise that my son should be a Guru of the world, and that thy grandson should be a greater warrior than thou. My lord, when shall this prophecy be fulfilled?' The Guru replied, 'I have told thee that thy son shall be a Guru, and he certainly shall. Everything cometh by patience.' Go now to the village of Bakala, where my mother Ganga's cenotaph is, and there abide. The Guru asked Suraj Mal what boon he desired for himself. He at once replied, 'To be a real Sikh.' The Guru said, 'Well done! my son, well done! mayest thou live long! Thou shalt greatly flourish. Thine offspring shall be rich and reverenced. Abide with Har Rai, and thou shalt obtain all spiritual and temporal blessings.'

The Guru then retired for introspection and divine meditation into a house called Patalpuri, which he had constructed on the margin of the Satluj, and, as the other Gurus had done, exhorted his people not to mourn for him. 'This visible and tangible body is false, God alone is true.'

Bibi Viro his daughter came to him with tears

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in her eyes and said, 'My mother departed and left me. Thou hast since then been a mother as well as a father to me. What shall I do without thee?' The Guru gave her every consolation, and thus concluded his address to her, 'Sorrow not for me. Everything that is born must perish. Thou shalt have sons who shall fight on the side of thy nephew the tenth Guru, and display great valour.' Guru Har Gobind then addressed words of parting or of advice and instruction to his friends and relations around him.

Guru Har Rai put the departing Guru a question which needed an urgent reply—'O great king, thine enmity with the Turks hath ceased. The Emperor is possessed of treasure, arms, and fortresses. If he proceed against me, how am I to act?' Guru Har Gobind replied, 'Have no anxiety. He who proceedeth against thee with enmity in his heart shall never prevail against thee. God will be with thee and assist thee. Keep two thousand two hundred mounted soldiers ever with thee.'

To his Sikhs generally he said, 'The seventh king Guru Har Rai is now on Guru Nanak's throne. I have attached you to the hem of his garment. If you serve him you shall obtain the fruit your hearts desire. He holdeth the storehouses both of salvation and of worldly enjoyment.' When the Sikhs pressed him for further instruction he repeated the following hymn of Guru Arjan :—

What is the moonlight on your floor? *Better is* God's light within you.

Among forms of worship, the best is the worship of God's name.

Among things to be relinquished, the best is the relinquishment of lust, wrath, and avarice.

Among things to be prayed for, best is it to pray to the Guru for God's praises.

Among vigils, the best is to awake to sing God's praises.

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Among things to be attached to, the best is attachment to the Guru's feet.

These things shall be obtained by him on whose forehead such destiny hath been written.

Saith Nanak, he who hath entered God's asylum findeth everything good.[1]

The Guru, having recited this hymn, thus addressed his Sikhs and his family: 'When I am gone, be glad and rejoice. I am now departing to my final home. Let there be no mourning in my house, but let every one rely on God. He who obeyeth my words shall be dear to me, and shall obtain salvation with me. Ever love the Guru's hymns, and regale your hearts by reading and listening to them. Remember the true Name with devotion, and be daily more and more intoxicated with its sweetness.'

The Guru then caused attar of roses, saffron, and sandal to be sprinkled in all his apartments, and a great feast to be provided for his Sikhs. His rebeck-players he rewarded with money, clothes, and sweets.

The Sikh writers state that at the Guru's death the sky appeared rose-red, and there was soft singing heard in the firmament. Cool and fragrant zephyrs blew. All good-hearted and saintly men, dwellers on high who had attained the most exalted position, demigods, and Sidhs, singing his praises came to receive him, and shouted 'Victory! victory!'

The Guru was borne on a beautiful bier amid the singing of hymns, amongst which the following passage from the Sukhmani received special prominence:—

He who knoweth God must always be happy,
And God will blend him with Himself.
He in whose heart God dwelleth is wealthy,
Of high family, honoured, and obtaineth salvation during life.

[1] Māru Ashtapadi.

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Hail! hail! hail! a man hath come
By whose favour the whole world shall be saved.
The object of his coming was
That through him the Name might be remembered.
He was saved himself and he saved the world:
To him, Nanak, I ever make obeisance.

The author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahab*, who appears to have been present at the Guru's death, states that he died on Sunday the third day of the Muharrim, A. H. 1055 (A. D. 1645), after a spiritual and temporal reign of thirty-seven years and ten months.[1]

After the Guru's cremation Lal Chand, son of Bidhi Chand, read the Granth as far as his father Bidhi Chand had copied it, that is, as far as the end of the Bilawal Rag.

When the death ceremonies were all completed, Mata Nanaki and her son Teg Bahadur set out, according to the late Guru's order, for Bakala, where they both dwelt until Teg Bahadur obtained the Guruship. Bhai Budha's son Bhana entrusted his son Sarwan to the new Guru, and went to Ramdas, where he died.

Bhai Gur Das in the following has briefly summed up the attributes of the first six Gurus :—

The divine Guru Nanak was the Guru of gurus;
In an unseen and inscrutable manner he was absorbed in Angad,
Who was absorbed in an unseen and invisible manner in Amar the immortal.

1 Hinduised Sikh chroniclers have invented a story that the Guru caused himself to be shut up in Patālpuri, and ordered Guru Har Rai to lock the door and not open it until the seventh day. This, according to Abulfazl, was deemed by the Hindus the most meritorious form of death, and so ignorant and superstitious persons have attributed to the Guru this form of suicide. Had it occurred, it would certainly have been recorded by Muhsan Fani among the other details given by him.

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The nectar trickled into the mouth of him who was called Ram Das, the destroyer of enemies:[1]

Guru Arjan by serving him bore his burden.

Guru Har Gobind the measureless churned the nectar,

And took his seat on eternal truth.

He strung the Word of the Ungraspable and Unknowable Spirit.

Under the Guru's instruction he filled what could not be filled, and dispelled doubt and fear.[2]

Another poet has composed the following on the same subject:

The first Guru established this custom—he became the Guru's slave and was called the Guru of his slaves (Sikhs).

Amar Das by serving Guru Angad was proclaimed the true Guru.

Ram Das by serving Amar Das as his servant pleased the Guru.

Guru Arjan obtained the nectareous fruit from Guru Ram Das whose nature was incomprehensible.

Guru Har Gobind, the superior being, caused Guru Arjan to hail him as Guru.

The Guru cannot possibly be concealed from those who have obtained some knowledge by his favour.

[1] That is, the deadly sins.

[2] Gur Dās, Wār III.

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BHAI GUR DAS'S ANALYSIS OF THE SIKH RELIGION

We have now arrived at a stage in the history of the Sikh Gurus and of the Sikh reformation when the religion of Guru Nanak may be said to have been consolidated by his genius, by the impress he left on his successors, by their general fidelity to his teachings and example, and by the piety and industry of Guru Arjan.

The first five Gurus were, as we have seen, all sacred bards. The last of them, in addition to copious original compositions of his own, collected all the hymns of his predecessors into one volume in order to be a guide to Sikhs for all time. The sixth, seventh, and eighth Gurus have left no written memorials of their teachings. It, therefore, appears fitting at this stage to give the analysis of the tenets of the Sikh religion which is contained in the Wars of Bhai Gur Das, who was a contemporary of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Gurus, and who was acquainted with them and their contemporaries, especially Bhai Budha, an aged Sikh who had survived from the time of Guru Nanak.

Gur Das's Wars are forty in number. Each war is divided into a varying number of pauris, and each pauri contains from five to ten lines. The language is old and very difficult Panjabi. The Wars from which the following extracts are taken are given in the notes.

The advantage of the society of the holy:—

Trees which grow near sandal are perfumed like sandal. If any of the eight metals be touched by the philosopher's stone, it becometh gold. As rivers, streams, and water-

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courses which fall into the Ganges become the Ganges, so do h the society of holy men save sinners and wash away the filth of sin. It saveth countless souls from hell, and associateth with itself hundreds of thousands of the lost. The holy see God in the midst of them.[1]

By associating with the holy the way of union with God is found in one's own home. To cherish the Guru's instruction is to obtain salvation.[2]

The elixir is beneficent and turneth baser metals into gold. The sandal-tree perfumeth other trees whether they bear fruit or not. Rain falleth everywhere whether the ground be good or bad. When the sun riseth, it diffuseth its beams through the warp and woof of the world. The earth hath the capacity of endurance. Though the ruby, jewels, gems, gold, iron, the philosopher's stone are all produced from it, it regardeth not outrages. In the same way the company of the saints conferreth on men indiscriminately benefits which cannot be estimated.[3]

The Sikh religion :—

The Sikh religion is distinct, and superior to other religions.

The faith of the Sikhs is fixed, and by it man is absorbed in God.

Hundreds of thousands of groups of Sikhs form one group and have no false pride, that is, they harbour not contempt for one another on account of pride of birth.[4]

The way of Sikhism is narrow ; it is sharper than the edge of a sword and finer than a hair. There is no creed equal to it in the past, present, or future. There is no second God ; there is only one God in this house.[5]

There is but one dot of difference between the holy and the unholy :—

There is but one step from the holy to the unholy. For instance, the word *maharam* (holy) by the addition of a point becometh *mujaram* (criminal). Sikhs, otherwise sensible, in a state of aberration ruin their minds by assisting

[1] Wār II. [2] III. [3] XI. [4] III. [5] IX.

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in superstitious ceremonies.[1] They who are subordinate to the Guru perform his service and keep their secrets to themselves.[2]

The unity of Sikhs :—

Where there is one Sikh there is one Sikh ; where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints ; where there are five Sikhs there is God.[3]

Sikhs must have faith in the Guru's words, and not allow their minds to wander.[4]

O Sikhs of the Guru, hear the Guru's instruction. Be wise within but simple without. Fix your attention on the Word and be wakeful. Be deaf to everything except the Guru's words. Behold the true Guru. Where there is not the company of the saints, the house is empty and dismantled. Utter the Guru's word Wahguru, and silently quaff the cup of love. Salute and be humble to the Sikhs. Sprinkle in thy house the water in which thou hast washed their feet. Deem the Guru's feet a lotus and thy mind a bumble-bee, and in this terrible ocean of the world keep thy faith distinct. The Guru is the true mediator to bestow salvation on man while alive.[5]

The Sikhs ponder on the words of the Ineffable, and abstain from praise and blame. Allowing the Guru's instruction to enter their hearts, they speak civilly and thus comfort one another. The Sikhs' virtues cannot be concealed. A man may hide molasses, but ants will discover it. At the same time, the Sikhs have great endurance. Sugar-cane though sweet is pressed in a mill, and so must Sikhs suffer while conferring favours on others.[6]

Worthy of praise are the hands of the Sikh who in the company of the saints doeth the Guru's work, who draweth water, fanneth, grindeth, washeth his feet, and drinketh the water therefrom ; who copieth the Guru's hymns and

[1] This is also translated—Sikhs associating with saints become enthusiastic in devotion, and restrain their minds from thinking of other objects of worship than the one God.

[2] XI. This is also translated—The Master's servants perform hard labour and never complain of it to others.

[3] XIII. [4] III. [5] IV. [6] VI

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playeth the cymbals, the mirdang,[1] and the rebeck, in the company of the holy, who boweth and prostrateth himself and embraceth a brother Sikh ; who liveth honestly, and who by his munificence conferreth favours on others ; who contented with touching the Guru as a philosopher's stone, toucheth nothing else, and layeth not his hand on another's wife or property ; who loveth another Sikh and embraceth the love, devotion, and fear of God ; and who effaceth and asserteth not himself.[2]

Blest are the feet of the Sikhs who walk in the Guru's way, who go to the Guru's door, and sit there with holy men, who search out the Guru's Sikhs and haste to do them favours, who run not in mammon's way, and who if they happen to possess wealth remain humble. Few are the slaves of the Commander, who do Him homage and thus escape from their bonds ; who adopt the custom of circumambulating the Guru's Sikhs and falling at their feet. The Guru's Sikhs delight in such enjoyments.[2]

The Sikhs erase the twelve tilaks of the Hindus, applied to various parts of the body, and apply in their stead the tilak of the Guru's instruction.[3]

Effect of the Guru's teaching :—

By the Guru's hymns the mind is satisfied and man reacheth his own home.[4]

The Sikh who receiveth the Guru's instruction is really a Sikh.[4]

By the Guru's instruction the four castes were blended in one society of saints. The Guru's disciples assumed one red colour like that of the betel made from four ingredients—betel-leaf, betel-nut, catechu, and lime.[4]

The true Guru, the real king, putteth the holy on the high road to salvation. He restraineth the deadly sins, evil inclinations, and worldly love. The Sikhs pass their time in remembering the Word with devotion, and therefore Death the tax-gatherer approacheth them not. The Guru hath dispersed the apostates and seated the guild of the saints in Paradise. By the spell of the Name he hath

[1] A small drum. [2] VI. [3] VII. [4] III.

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inculcated love, devotion, fear, charity, and ablutions. As the lotus remaineth dry in the water, so doth the Guru keep the holy man unaffected by the world. The Sikhs efface and assert not themselves.[1]

The Guru's instruction teacheth to praise Wahguru. The Veds know not and Sheshnag hath not discovered His secret.[2]

The Guru's Sikh becometh of the Guru's line, a supreme saint, and separateth falsehood from truth as the swan separateth water from milk.[3] The Guru then becometh a disciple and the disciple a Guru.[4]

There can only be dealings at one shop, the owner of which is the true perfect Guru. He taketh demerits and selleth merits in exchange, and he dealeth honestly. He maketh the simmal-tree bear fruit, and he turneth dross into gold. He perfumeth the bamboo, and changeth the crow into a swan. He showeth the sun to the owl, and maketh the shell more beautiful than pearls. His hymns which are before us are superior to the Veds and the Quran.[5]

The attributes of a disciple :—

To become a disciple is, as it were, to become dead. It cannot be done by words. A disciple must be patient, faithful, possess a martyr's spirit, and free himself from superstition and fear. He must be like a purchased slave fit to be yoked to any work which may serve his Guru. He must never be hungry, and never require sleep. He must be ready to grind and bring fresh water for his Guru. He must be ever prepared to fan and wash his Guru's feet. He must be a sedate servant and never laugh or cry. Thus shall he obtain the position of a darwesh, be absorbed in the relish of the Beloved, arrive at the goal of emancipation, and receive those congratulations which the Muhammadans bestow on one another on seeing the moon of the Id festival.[6]

[1] V. [2] IX.

[3] An oriental belief arising from the peculiar conformation of the swan's bill.

[4] XI. The eleventh Wār contains a list of the principal Sikhs up to the time of Gur Dās. [5] XIII.

[6] III. The Muhammadans are delighted to take food after the Ramzān fast.

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The pious man :—

To the pious man who treasureth in his heart the Guru's instruction and effaceth himself, God's will will naturally be grateful. He shall find his real home by associating with the saints and fearing and loving God. Blest the mother who bore him ; and profitable his advent into the world.[1]

Humility :—

He who is humble is dear to the Guru.[2]

He who is humble winneth, he who is proud loseth the game.[2]

A pomegranate seed like a speck of dust entereth the dust. It becometh a green tree, and rejoiceth in its red blossoms. One tree hath a thousand flowers ; its flowers and fruit are superior one to the other. From one seed there are hundreds of thousands of fruits, and in every fruit there is a seed. There is no deficiency in that fruit. The more its fruits are gathered, the more it beareth fruit and flowers. The Guru's religion teacheth to walk humbly, *thus shall all Sikhs become great.*[3]

There are hundreds of thousands of men high, intermediate, and low, but the holy man calleth himself the lowest of the low.[4]

The earth is the most humble of all, but in God's court it obtaineth greatness for its patience. Some weed or plough it, and some pollute it. The holy obtain the fruit of peace in the house of contentment. They efface and assert themselves not. Whether waking, dreaming, or sleeping deeply, they with love in their hearts remain absorbed in God. They remember the Guru's hymns in the association of the saints.[5]

The elephant is not eaten on account of its pride, and no one eateth the powerful lion. The goat is unhonoured, but obtaineth religious and secular distinction. It is eaten at deaths and marriages and accepted at feasts. Its flesh

[1] III. [2] IV.

[3] IV. In the fourth Wār Gur Dās gives several examples of humility.

[4] VIII. [5] XVI.

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is holy for worldly people, and strings for musical instruments are made from its entrails. Shoes which holy men wear are made from its skin. Trumpets and drums made from goat-skin afford pleasure by their music to the society of the saints.[1]

To call oneself the lowest of the low is the Guru's teaching, if any one act according to it. Sixty copper paise are equal to one silver rupee which is received with suspicion, *while the paise are not.* Ten rupees are equal to a gold coin which is received with more suspicion. For thousands of gold coins a diamond which is strung on a necklace is purchased, and that is received with still more suspicion. The Sikhs who fall at one another's feet and become the dust of one another's feet, are equal in thought, word, and deed to saints, and become freed from superstition and fear.[2]

There is sugar in a hornet's nest, bees swarm together and produce honey. Silk and satin are obtained from worms. Canvas is made from beaten hemp. Muslin cometh from cotton seed. The lotus with which the bumble-bee is enchanted groweth in the mire. There is a jewel in the cobra's head. The diamond is a stone. Musk is in the deer's body. The sword fashioned from steel is called bhagauti (goddess). Odour from the civet cat perfumeth courts. From lowly things the greatest advantage is obtained.[3]

Call thyself the lowest of the low, become a worm and be not conceited. Walk in the Guru's way, and let a thousand of you be contained in one worm-hole.[4] Wherever there is the smell of clarified butter and sugar, thither throng the worms ; so do Sikhs to hear the Guru's words. When sugar is spilled in sand, worms pick up the grains. Through fear of the bhringi [5] the ant dieth, but the bhringi reanimateth

[1] XXIII.

[2] The second, third and fourth lines of this pauri in the original mean that the humble man goes more easily and securely to heaven than he who holds a high position in this world, and whose actions are therefore more severely scrutinized. XXIII.

[3] XXV.

[4] That is, quarrel not with one another if shut up in a small space.

[5] Bhringi is the female of the large black bee.

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it, and maketh it a bhringi like itself.[1] He who receiveth the Guru's instruction feareth to do evil deeds. The Guru's instruction maketh him humble and again exalteth him. Thus do the Guru's Sikhs receive the reward of happiness.[2]

The Guru's Sikhs who have dispelled their pride are continent and praiseworthy.[3]

The Guru's religion and his teaching :—

Become pious by association with the saints and associate not with the evil. The Guru's religion conferreth happiness. Make not thyself miserable in other sects. Under the Guru's instruction abandon caste, acquire the excellent colour of tambol.[4] Behold the Guru's school and put no faith in the six schools. Rely upon the Guru's instruction. Be not led away by any other love. Act according to the Guru's words ; forsake not the way of humility, and, O ye pious, derive your pleasure from love and devotion.[5]

The religion of the Guru conferreth happiness ; the perverse wander in every direction.[5]

The Guru's hymn is the Guru's image, and is repeated in the company of the saints.[6]

How the Guru's Sikhs love the society of the holy:—

The people of the four castes observe the customs of their castes and tribes. The believers in the six books of the six schools perform six duties according to the wisdom of their respective spiritual advisers. Servants go and salute their masters, merchants deal in their own special merchandise, agriculturists sow different seeds in different fields, mechanics meet mechanics in their workshops—with such attention and love do the Guru's Sikhs associate with the company of the saints.[5]

Examples of hypocrisy and superstition :—

[1] If a Sikh were to die through fear of the Guru, the Guru would reanimate him and make him like himself.

[2] XXV. [3] XXXVIII.

[4] A compound of the four ingredients betel-leaf, betel-nut, catechu, and lime dyes the lips red; when the four castes are blended together in the Sikhs they assume an excellent colour.

[5] V. [6] XXIV.

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Into the practice of continence, austerities, hom, feasts, Hindu devotion, penance and gifts, hypocrisy largely entereth ; incantations and spells are plays on a large scale. The worship of the fifty-two heroes, of the eight joginis, of cemeteries and of places of cremation leads to great dissimulation. Men are employed in purak, kumbhak and rechak, in the performance of the niwali feat, and in the drawing up of their breath through the spinal marrow. Many employ themselves in sitting in the postures of the Sidhs, and obstinately abandon their homes. Hundreds of thousands of such tricks have I seen. The belief in the philosopher's stone, the jewel in the serpent's head, alchemy, miracles is all a matter of ignorance. Men are engaged in the worship of idols, gods, and goddesses, in fasting, uttering blessings and curses, but without the society of the saints and the repetition of the Guru's hymns even very good men find not acceptance. The superstitious have bound themselves with a hundred knots of falsehood.[1]

Paying attention to omens, the nine grihs, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, incantations, magic, divination by lines, and by the voice is all vanity. It is vain to draw conclusions from the cries of donkeys, dogs, cats, kites, malalis[2] and jackals. Omens drawn from meeting a widow, a man with a bare head, from water, fire, sneezing, breaking wind, hiccups, lunar and week days, unlucky moments, and conjunctions of planets are all superstition. If a woman who winks at every man try by deceit to inspire belief in her, how can her husband feel confidence ? The holy who reject such superstitions obtain happiness and salvation.[1]

People worship departed heroes, ancestors, satis, deceased co-wives, tanks, and pits, but all this is of no avail. They who enjoy not the company of the saints and the Guru's instruction, die and are born again and are rejected of God. It is the follower of the Guru who weareth God's name as his diamond necklace.[1]

The Guru's Sikhs lead a family life, but wearing a hair-

[1] V.

[2] *Malāli* is a black carnivorous bird, a little larger than a sparrow.

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tuft and a janeu, and putting the latter on the ear when performing offices of nature are all superstition. The Guru's Sikhs recognize divine knowledge and the advantage of meditation on the Supreme Being who filleth all creation. When they associate with the holy, they are held in honour and accepted in God's court.[1]

The holy man rejecteth the worship of fire with its seven colours, trampleth on the army of the Bhairavs and the manifestations of Shiv, and is not pleased with omens from the seven Rohinis,[2] the seven days of the week, and seven women whose husbands are alive.[3]

The thirteen offerings [4] made by Hindus at feasts for ancestors have led men astray in superstition. Hundreds of thousands of feasts are not equal to drinking the water in which a Sikh hath washed his feet. Hundreds of thousands of sacred feasts and offerings are not equal to putting one grain into a Sikh's mouth. A Sikh enjoyeth supreme happiness in satisfying another.[5]

The Sikhs reject superstition, rejoicing, and mourning :—

On the occasion of Hindu marriages lascivious songs are sung and trumpets played on the part of the bride and bridegroom, but not so among the Sikhs. People weep and utter lamentations for the dead, but the Sikhs on such occasions read the Sohila in the company of the saints. The Sikhs have no concern with the Veds or the books of the Moslems, and neither rejoice at a birth nor mourn at a death. In the midst of desires they remain free from them.[6]

[1] VI.

[2] Stars in the fourth lunar mansion specially worshipped by Hindu women to save them from widowhood.

[3] VII. The women indicated are the wives of the immortal Rikhis Marīchi, Atri, Pulah, Pulsat, Kritu, Angira, Vishisht. *Gurumat Sudhākar*.

[4] An umbrella, shoes, clothes, a ring, a waterpot, a cloth to sit on, five cooking vessels, a stick, a copper vessel for distributing water, corn, cooked food, cash, and a sacrificial thread. *Garur Purān*, chap. XIII.

[5] VII. [6] V.

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The Sikhs heed not omens on the right or the left. They retrace not their steps on seeing a widow or a bare-headed man. They pay not attention to the voices of birds or to sneezing. They worship not or adore gods or goddesses. They allow not their bodies or minds to wander. The Guru's Sikhs plant a true field and reap the harvest thereof.[1]

Woman :—

From a temporal and spiritual point of view woman is half man's body and assisteth to salvation. She assuredly bringeth happiness to the virtuous.[2]

The perverse compared to the offspring of a courtesan :—

A courtesan who hath many lovers committeth every species of sin. An outcast from her people and her country, she bringeth shame on her father's and mother's and father-in-law's families. She is ruined herself and ruineth others, and giveth them to eat of her poison. She is like the pipe which lureth the deer, or the lamp which burneth the moth, and is dishonoured in both worlds. She is a boat of stone which drowns its passengers. So are the minds of the perverse scattered and led astray by superstition in the company of the evil. And as a courtesan's son beareth not his father's name, so no one admitteth the ownership of the perverse.[2]

The condition of the courtesan :—

An abandoned woman leaving her father's and father-in-law's house becometh shameless, and washeth not away her evil reputation. Leaving her husband she enjoyeth her lover. How can she be happy when her heart is drawn in different directions ? She heedeth not advice, and is despised at assemblies of mourning and rejoicing. She weepeth when reproached and put to shame at every house. She is arrested for her sins, and punished by order of the court. She is neither dead nor alive, she suffereth misery ; she dwelleth not in her own house but searcheth for another

[1] XX. [2] V.

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to ruin it. In her dubious circumstances she weaveth for herself a garland of vice [1]

The man who adheres not to one religion is compared to a courtesan who has many lovers :—

The prostitute is a decorated and ornamented hell. She deceiveth by her airs and graces. As the hunter's pipe allureth the deer, so do her songs allure men to their destruction. She dieth an evil death, and obtaineth no entrance into God's court. As she adhereth not to one lover, so the evil person who followeth two religions is unhappy. He is like a bad rupee nailed to the counter. He is ruined himself and he ruineth others.[1]

The fate of the man who tries to follow two religions :—

The evil man who followeth two religions is unhappy, and is as useless as an ostrich which cannot fly, which cannot be laden, and which strutteth ostentatiously. The elephant hath one set of teeth for display and another for eating. Goats have four teats, two on their necks and two attached to their udders. The latter contain milk, the former deceive those who expect milk from them. So turning one's attention to two religions leadeth to disastrous failure.[1]

A guest remaineth hungry among several houses. When a thing held in partnership is lost, scant are the weeping and mental anxiety. When many Dums strike a drum, the discord pleaseth no one. The crow which wandereth from forest to forest is not held in honour ; how can it be happy ? As a prostitute's body suffereth from having many lovers, so they who worship others than the Guru are unhappy in their perversity.[2]

The religious and secular observances of the Sikhs :—

The Sikhs rising at the ambrosial hour of morning [3] bathe. Collecting their thoughts and gently meditating on

[1] XXXIII. [2] XXXIV.
[3] When three hours of night remain.

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the unfathomable One, they repeat the Guru's Japji. They then go into the company of saints, and sit with them. They become absorbed in remembering and loving the Word, and sing and hear the Guru's hymns. They pass their time in the love and service and fear of God. They serve the Guru and observe his anniversaries. They sing the Sodar in company and heartily associate with one another Having read the Sohila and made supplication at night, they distribute sacred food. Thus do the holy Sikhs gladly taste the fruit of happiness.[1]

The Sikhs eat little food and drink little water. They speak little and boast not. They sleep little and only in the night, nor are they entangled in worldly love. When they enter a beautiful house they covet it not.[2]

Adultery forbidden :—

A man who hath one wife is continent and calleth another's wife his daughter or his sister. To covet another man's property is forbidden to a Sikh, as the swine is to the Musalman and the cow to the Hindu.[1]

The ordinary secular acts of a true Sikh are equal to all the religious ceremonies performed by members of other religious denominations :—

The polite language of a Sikh is equal to a Hindu's devotion. A Sikh beholdeth God everywhere with his eyes, and that is equal to a Jogi's meditation. When a Sikh listeneth attentively to, or himself singeth, the word of God, that is equal to the five ecstatic sounds in the brain of a Jogi. When a Sikh doeth anything with his hands, that is equal to the obeisance and prostration of Hindus. When he walketh to behold the Guru, that is equal to an extremely holy circumambulation. When he eateth and clotheth himself, that is equal to the performance of Hindu sacrifice and offering. When he sleepeth, that is equal to a Jogi's suspended animation. A Sikh withdraweth not his thoughts from where he hath fixed them. When a Sikh leadeth a family life, that is equal to salvation while alive. A Sikh

[1] VI. [2] XX.

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hath no fear of the waves of the world's ocean, and avarice entereth not his heart. He hath passed beyond the region of blessings and curses and uttereth them not.[1]

Who are acceptable ?—

They who have restrained the five evil passions—lust, wrath, covetousness, worldly love and pride—and they who have embraced the five virtues—truth, contentment, mercy, honesty, and an understanding of the Granth—are acceptable.[2]

Vishnu's ten avatars and the ten parbs or festivals of the Hindus are unavailing :—

Vishnu hath uselessly assumed ten avatars ; he hath not shown unto man the one God who is invisible.[3] The ten Hindu festivals observed at places of pilgrimages are not equal to the Guru's anniversaries.[2]

The helplessness of the Hindu gods and of the expounders of the Hindu religion :—

Millions of Brahmas[4] have received the Veds without understanding a letter of them.

Millions of Shivs who sit in religious attitude recognize neither the form, nor the outline, nor the garb of the Creator.

Millions of incarnations of Shiv in human form have not obtained even the slightest knowledge of God.

Millions of serpents which repeat ever new names of God daily,[5] have not arrived at a knowledge of Him.

They who have lived long and enjoyed all the pleasures of life, the followers of the six schools of philosophy, and of

[1] VI. [2] VII.

[3] The eighth and the fourteenth days of the lunar month, the day when there is no moon, the day of the full moon, the first day of the solar month, the seventeenth of the astronomical yogas, the vernal equinox, the autumnal equinox, the eclipse of the sun, the eclipse of the moon.

[4] Brahma is here considered merely as an exalted demigod of the Hindus.

[5] The serpent Ananta on which Vishnu reposes is said to repeat a thousand new names of God daily.

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the sects of Hinduism, have not recognized the true Name. Having received gifts they all forget the Giver.[1]

The Hindu god Brahma cannot be accepted as a moral guide :—

Brahma used to preach to others, but on seeing the beauty of Saraswati, fell in love with her, and forgot his four Veds.[2]

Nor can man expect assistance from Ram or Krishan :—

O fools, ye have not remembered the Creator, and ye deem that things made by Him are God Himself.[3]

Why the feet are selected for reverence and obeisance :—

The head is above, the feet below, yet the head falleth on the feet in the act of prostration. They support the weight of the mouth, eyes, nose, ears, and hands. Q. What have the feet done that they should be worshipped to the exclusion of other limbs ? A. They go to the Guru's asylum and to the companionship of the saints They go to the best of their ability to do good acts. May the Guru's Sikhs wear my skin as shoes ! Very fortunate are they to whose foreheads the dust of the holy man's feet is applied.[4]

Scarcity of those who return good for evil :—

They who return good for evil are few in the world.[4]

The unity of God :—

As there is but one sun for the six seasons and the twelve months of the year, so the Guru's Sikhs only behold the one God.[2]

Guru Nanak's Guru :—

The Supreme Being, the All-pervading God is the divine Nanak's Guru.[5]

[1] XVIII. [2] XII. [3] XV. [4] IX.
[5] XIII. See also Sorath XI.

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His extent :—

Men have searched for God's limit, but have not found it. They who went to search for His limit have not returned.[1]

His court is upright and sincere :—

God's court is independent ; hypocrisy entereth not there.[2]

Prayers for the extension of Sikhism :—

May there be hundreds and thousands of Sikhs in every city and hundreds of thousands in every country ![3]

May the Guru's Sikhs become hundreds of thousands, yea, countless in the world, and may a Sikh temple decorate every place ![4]

An exhortation to the same effect :—

Having become learned in the Guru's wisdom, enlighten the world.[5]

The Sikhs externally and internally :—

The true Sikhs dress like kings and think not of mammon.[6]

Philanthropy :—

To do good to others is the mark of a saint.[6]

The advantages of conferring favours on Sikhs :—

To feed a Sikh with parched gram is superior to hundreds of thousands of homs and feasts, and to cause his feet to be washed is superior to assemblages at places of pilgrimage on the occasion of the ten Hindu festivals. To repeat to a Sikh the Guru's hymns is equal to hundreds of thousands of Hindu devotional exercises. No doubt or regret remaineth when man hath even a glimpse of the Guru. Such a man is unscathed in the terrible ocean, and feareth not its waves. He who embraceth the Guru's religion hath passed beyond the bounds of joy or grief for gain or loss.[6]

[1] XXII. [2] XXI. [3] XIII.
[4] XXIII. [5] XIX. [6] XIV.

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The Apostate :—

The apostate who hath renounced the true Guru becometh the slave of a slave. Without the perfect Guru he wandereth in many a birth.[1]

He who renounceth the Guru, who is the ocean of happiness, wandereth forlorn in the world. He is at one time dashed down by the waves, and at another burnt in the fire of pride. He is bound and beaten at death's gate and buffeted by Death's myrmidons. Man like a herdsman remaineth here but for four days, yet he calleth himself Jesus or Moses No one admitteth his own deficiency, but wearieth himself insisting that he is something great. The ocean-diver worketh and exhausteth himself often without recompense. Without the Guru there is painful strife.[1]

Current usages without the Guru's instruction are of no avail :—

Men who forget the true Giver beg from beggars. Minstrels sing martial songs, and praise the strife and contests of heroes. Barbers also sing songs. They who reward them for the sake of show die an evil death. Bards compose eulogies, recite them, and retail false genealogies It is proper for priests to ask for alms civilly. Faqirs who threaten to stab themselves if they receive not alms or who wear wings, may beg from shop to shop, but without the true Guru there is naught but weeping and lamentation.[1]

Inutility of Hindu places of pilgrimage :—

They who leave the pilgrimage of the true Guru and go to bathe at the sixty-eight places of the Hindus, sit in contemplative attitude like cranes, and rend and eat the animals in the water. Elephants may be washed, but when they leave the water they bespatter themselves with dust. The gourd sinketh not in the water, nor doth its bitterness depart at a place of pilgrimage. If a stone be washed in water, its hardness is by no means softened. The superstition of the perverse man departeth not. He

[1] XV.

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wandereth without house or home, and, being without the true Guru, cannot be saved.[1]

Ask not for a giver from whom thou shalt have to appeal to another. Employ not a worthless banker who will afterwards defraud thee. Serve not such a master as will render thee liable to Death's punishment. Engage not a physician who cannot cure the malady of pride. It is the filth of the body and not the filth of evil inclinations which is cleansed by bathing at places of pilgrimages. Why bathe at them? Disciples should love such a priest as will confer on them happiness and composure.[2]

True devotion is difficult for the worldly :—

Every one may see jewels, but few can appraise them. Every one may listen to songs and minstrelsy, but few know how to fix their attention on the Guru's words.[1]

The holy read the Guru's hymns with attention to their meaning.[3]

Few are they in the world who beheld Guru Nanak and listened to and obeyed his instruction.[4]

The perverse fail in self-reliance :—

Beasts and creatures without instinct are superior to the perverse. Man from being reasonable becometh unreasonable and looketh to another for help. A beast asketh not from a beast, nor doth a bird wait on a bird for assistance.[1]

The perverse prefer the poison of sin to the nectar of virtue, impure blood to pure milk :—

Vegetables in the forest bear fruit of many savours and perfumes. The mango, the peach, the apple, the pomegranate, the jaman,[5] the khirni,[6] the mulberry, the date, the pilun, the wild caper, the ber, the walnut—with these the cicala who eateth the akk is by no means pleased. It forsaketh ambrosial fruit and attacheth itself to poison. If a leech be applied to a female breast, it will not drink

[1] XV. [2] XXVII. [3] XIX. [4] XXIX.
[5] The *Prunus Padus*, bird cherry.
[6] The *Mimusops kauki*.

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milk but only impure blood, so the perverse man, even if he hear the Guru's hymns in the company of the saints, uttereth folly in his conceit. His love is deception and he obtaineth not a position in God's court.[1]

Truth :—

Devotion, penance, hom, feasts, fasting, austerities, pilgrimages, alms-gifts, the service of gods and goddesses, ceremonies, are all inferior to truth, and so are hundreds of thousands of devices. Acting truly is labelled above them all.[2]

Falsehood is as the bitter poisonous akk; truth is as the sweet mango. Truth is a king who sleepeth in peace; falsehood is a thief who wandereth without a home. The king awaketh, seizeth the thief, and punisheth him in his court.[3]

Truth is beautiful like a turban on the head. Falsehood is a polluted clout. Truth is a powerful lion, falsehood a weak lamb. Deal in truth and thou shalt gain. Why deal in falsehood which causeth loss? Truth is a current coin, falsehood is counterfeit copper. Hundreds of thousands of stars in a dark night afford light, but when one sun riseth they all disappear. In the same way falsehood disappeareth before truth. Truth and falsehood stand to one another in the relation of a stone to an earthen vessel. If a stone be thrown at an earthen vessel it is the earthen vessel which will break. If the earthen vessel be thrown at a stone it is again the earthen vessel which will break. In either case it is the earthen vessel that suffereth.[3]

Falsehood is an offensive weapon, truth a defensive armour. Falsehood is an enemy who ever looketh for his opportunity of attack, truth is a real friend who assisteth, Truth is a hero, falsehood amasseth what is false. Truth is immovable and on safe ground; falsehood standeth and trembleth on an insecure basis. Truth seizeth falsehood and knocketh it down. The whole world may see this. Falsehood which is deceitful ever aileth. Truth is ever safe

[1] XVII. [2] XVIII. [3] XXX.

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and whole. Truth ever appeareth true and falsehood false.[1]

The Sikhs ought to contract alliances with one another :—

Let the Guru's Sikhs contract alliances with the Guru's Sikhs [2]

The equality of the Sikhs and their distinctive salutation :—

When Moslems meet, their salute is 'Salam alaikum !' A Jogi saith 'Adesh !' and receiveth in reply 'Adpurukh Adesh !' A Sanyasi saith 'O namo !' while several sects utter 'Namo Narayan !' Men bow to Brahmans and receive blessings. But the Sikhs of the true Guru say 'Pairi pawana'—I fall at your feet—which is the correct salutation.[3] Thus the rich and poor, young and old, are on an equality. The saints exhale holiness as the sandal exhaleth perfume. There is no distinction among them.[4]

The universality of Guru Nanak's religion :—

The Ganges and Banaras belong to the Hindus, Makka and the Kaaba to the Musalmans, but Baba Nanak's praises are sung in every house to the music of cymbals, drums, and rebecks.[5]

Holy men have no caste and are not liable to caste defilement :—

As ghi is never impure, so the saints have no caste.[6]

Follow the example of a tree and return good for evil :—

It is the specialty of a tree that it returneth good for evil. He who loppeth its branches sitteth in its shade, and it returneth him good for evil. It giveth fruit when clods

[1] XXX. [2] XX.

[3] This was the salutation up to the time of the tenth Guru. He ordained that, when Sikhs met, their salutation should be, *Wahgurū ji ka Khālsa, Wahguru ji ki Fatah.*

[4] XXIII. [5] XXIV. [6] XXV.

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are thrown at it. When carved into a boat, it saveth him who carved it. The perverse who have not the endurance and generosity of trees, obtain not fruit, while for the worshipper countless fruit is produced. Few are the holy men who, like trees, serve God's servants. O God, the world is his slave, who hath the qualities of a tree.[1]

The custom of the world is to return good for good, but the custom of the Guru is to return good for evil.[2]

Even the holiest Hindus violate their own commandments :—

The ten sects of Sanyasis and the twelve sects of Jogis go to strange houses to beg, and eat the food of alms which is forbidden them.[1]

The fate of him who through pride rebels against God :—

If any one, having an overweening conceit of himself, rebel against a king, the traitor is put to death. He is not allowed a cot to bear him, a winding sheet, a funeral pyre, or a grave. If rupees be coined not at the mint, they are counterfeit, and the coiners wreck their lives. If any one write a forged order, it shall be to his loss, and he shall shed bitter tears. He shall be disgraced, ride on a donkey, and be defiled ; and he shall have to wash off the dust that falleth on him. If a jackal assume sovereignty, his voice will betray him, and his reign shall not last long. He who attacheth himself to other than God will have to abide in an evil place.[1]

The love of the disciple for his Guru should be superior to everything that has been said or sung of lovers in all ages and countries :—

The lovers Laili and Majnun are known in the four quarters of the world. The excellent epic of Sorath and Bija is sung in every direction. The love of Sassi and Punnu, though they were of different castes, is everywhere spoken of. The fame of Sohni who used nightly to swim the Chinab to go to Mahinwal is well known. Ranjha and

[1] XXVI. [2] XXVIII.

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Hir are renowned for the love they bore each other. But superior to all is the love the disciples bear their Guru. They sing it at the ambrosial hour of morning.[1]

Gur Das by familiar examples continues to describe the mutual love of the disciple and his Guru :—

Opium-eaters eschew not opium, but sit down together to eat it. Gamblers indulge in play and lose their stakes. Thieves abandon not thieving and suffer punishment when caught. Though men have sold their clothes, and remain naked to provide money for courtesans, yet are they obstinate in doing evil. Sinners commit sin and abscond to avoid punishment, but, contrary to all these, the Sikhs of the Guru, whose companionship is far from injurious, love their Guru, and he absolveth them from all their sins.[1]

Gur Das in his three hundred and twenty-third Kabit has given different expression to the same idea :—

A thief abandoneth not thieving through fear of punishment. The highwayman looketh for an opportunity of highway robbery. Even when a man, who is smitten with a prostitute, contracteth disease from her, he still hesitateth not to visit her. Even when the gambler hath lost everything, he refraineth not from gambling. A drunkard abstaineth not from intoxicants, but continueth to take them however much people censure him, and however much medical treatises may tell him of their evil effects. The base renounce not the sins to which they have once become addicted. Wherefore how can the holy renounce the companionship of saints ?

The love of the Sikh for his Guru is superior to that for all his relations :—

There are three degrees of relationship—first those of father, mother, sister, brother, and their offspring and alliances ; second, mother's father, mother's mother, mother's sisters, mother's brothers; third, father-in-law,

[1] XXVII.

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mother-in-law, brother-in-law, and sister-in-law, for whom gold, silver, diamonds, and corals are amassed.; but dearer than all is the love of the Guru's Sikhs for the Guru. This is the relationship which conferreth happiness.[1]

The eyes are not satisfied with beholding sights and exhibitions ; the ears are not satisfied with hearing praise or blame, mourning or rejoicing ; the tongue is not satisfied with eating what affordeth pleasure and delight ; the nose is not satisfied with good or evil odour; nobody is satisfied with his span of life, and every one entertaineth false hopes ; but his disciples are satisfied with the Guru ; theirs is the true love.[1]

Love none but the Guru ; all other love is false. Enjoy no other relish than his, for it would be poisonous. Be not pleased with any one else's singing, for listening to it would bring no happiness. All acts not according to the Guru's teaching are evil, and bear evil fruit Walk only in the way of the true Guru. In all other ways there are thieves who cheat and rob. The love of the Guru's Sikhs for the Guru causeth their souls to blend with the True One.[1]

The chakor loveth the moon and gazeth at it continually. The chakwi loveth the sun, and on seeing it is happy. The lotus is known to love the water, and showeth his smiling face therein. The peacock and the chatrik shout with joy on seeing the sable clouds. A husband is dear to his wife, a mother taketh care of her children ; so a disciple loveth his Guru and accompanieth him to the end.[1]

The fate of him who is not totally devoted to the Guru :—

He who seeth not the Guru is blind, even though he have eyes. He who listeneth not to the Guru's words is deaf, even though he have ears. He who singeth not the Guru's hymns is dumb, even though he have a tongue. Even though he who smelleth not the perfume of the Guru's feet have a nose, it is as if it were cut off. He who doeth not the Guru's work, even though he have hands, is without them, and waileth in sorrow. He in whose heart the Guru's

[1] XXVII.

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instruction abideth not, is without understanding and obtaineth not entrance into God's court. Let no one abide with such a fool.[1]

The Guru's spiritual liberality :—

The true Guru bestoweth the four boons which are spoken of even though the Sikhs ask not for them.[2]

The Sikh catechism :—

Q. What is a Sikh's ablution ? A. To receive the Guru's instruction and with it wash away the filth of evil inclinations. Q. What is a Sikh's badge ? A. A necklace of the Guru's words. Q. What is a Sikh's life ? A. To be dead while alive and to renounce pride. Q. What is a Sikh's duty ? A. To obey the order of his Guru.[2]

Covet not thy neighbour's wife or property, and indulge not in slander :—

When we see other men's wives beautiful, we should consider them as our mothers, sisters, and daughters. Another's property should be to the Sikhs as the swine to the Muhammadan and the cow to the Hindu. When the Sikhs hear slander of others, they should say 'There is none worse than ourselves.'[3]

A Sikh ought to be ashamed to hear slander of another. Even if a holy man have miraculous power, he should not use it.[1]

Acceptance of God's will inculcated :—

He to whom the Master's will is pleasing, is pleasing to the Master. He who obeyeth the Master's will is honoured. The Master causeth his order to be obeyed. Man is a guest in this world. Wherefore he should relinquish claims and cease to urge them.[3]

God is the True Guru :—

The supreme God, the perfect God, the primal Being is the True Guru.[3]

[1] XXXII. [2] XXVIII. [3] XXIX.

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Loyalty :—

Take not arms against thy sovereign.[1]

The loyalty of a man who hath eaten his master's salt is proved when he falleth for him in the field of battle. He who striketh off the heads of his enemies is known as the bravest of the brave.[2]

Even though some evil persons were saved, that is no excuse for committing sin :—

Even supposing Putana was saved because she was killed by Krishan when she sought to administer poison to him, that should not be deemed a good act. Even if the courtesan be held to be saved because she had taught her parrot to repeat God's name, that is no reason why a woman should go to a man's house for fornication. Even if Valmik who used to commit robbery was saved on meeting a holy man, that is no reason why one should fearlessly rob on the high-way. People say the huntsman who shot Krishan was saved, but that is no reason for snaring animals. Even if the butcher Sadhna was saved, a man should not recklessly take life. A boat may transport gold and iron, but they are not of the same colour or value. It is not right to hope for salvation by doing evil.[3]

The good and the evil contrasted :—

Enmity remaineth not in the mind of the good man, nor friendship in the mind of the bad man, as a line made in water quickly vanisheth. The good man forgetteth not friendship, nor the evil man enmity, as a line made on a stone is not readily effaced. Neither the desires of the evil man to do evil nor of the good man to do good are ultimately fulfilled. The good man doeth not good, nor the evil man evil.[3]

The difference between the holy and the unholy :—

Why should the branches of the bead-tree be compared with sweets? No one calleth the akk berries mangoes. Gilt jewels are not equal to gold. Crystal is not equal to

[1] XXXIV. [2] XXX. [3] XXXI.

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diamonds. Buttermilk and milk are both white, but of different quality and taste—so the holy and unholy are distinguished by their attributes.[1]

The difference between associating with a wise man and a fool :—

He who abideth with a sensible man will be satisfied with humble fare, but he who abideth with a fool will not be satisfied even with an empire.[2]

Associate not with a fool :—

A dog in anger biteth a man and he becometh mad. In affection it licketh him and he becometh disgusted. When charcoal is cool it blackeneth the hands, but when it is hot it burneth them. A snake which catcheth a musk-rat becometh blind if it let it go,[3] and leprous if it swallow it. If a tumour be cut it causeth pain ; and if it be allowed to remain it is unseemly. In the same way, if a family have a bad son, they suffer blame whether they abandon him or receive him. Contract neither friendship nor enmity with a fool. Remain aloof from both passions. In either camping-place there is misery.[2]

A female camel once swallowed a melon which stuck in her throat. A surgeon was called. He put a stone under the lower part of the camel's neck, and with another stone struck the upper part and thus crushed the melon. The surgeon's assistant, who saw the operation, gave out that he too was an accomplished surgeon, and set up in business on his own account. When an old woman went to him for treatment for some illness, he assumed that a melon had lodged in her throat also, and proceeded to cure her as his master had cured the camel. The result was that the inexperienced surgeon killed the old lady.

Gur Das tells the story as follows :—

A surgeon cured a female camel. He put one stone beneath the camel's neck and struck the upper part of the

[1] XXXV. [2] XXXII.

[3] The musk-rat scratches out its eyes.

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camel's neck with another, and thus broke the melon. His servant thought he had mastered the surgical art. He killed an old woman and there was general female lamentation. The people seized the pretended surgeon, and gave him a sound beating, upon which his senses returned to him. When he was questioned, he confessed the whole circumstance, and his imposture was then exposed. Sensible men took and expelled him, for a glass bracelet cannot rank with jewels. A fool has no sense. A bamboo could never equal sugar-cane. A fool hath only the body of a man ; he was created a brute.[1]

Associate not with the deceitful and the perverse:—

If a man enter a house of lamp-black his face will be blackened. If seed be sown in a barren field, there will be no produce. If a child swing in a broken swing, he will fall and kill himself. If a man who knoweth not how to swim, lean on the shoulders of another equally ignorant, how shall he cross a deep river ? Abide not with him who setteth fire to his own house, and then goeth to sleep. Such is the society of the deceitful and the perverse. A man is ever in fear of his life.[2]

Gur Das describes an uproar raised by the folly of fools :—

A man after bathing at a well forgot his turban and went home bare-headed. The women of his house were silly, and on seeing the unusual circumstance began to beat their heads as if a relation had died, for an Indian appearing bare-headed is a sign of mourning. He on seeing the women weeping began to cry aloud incontinently. Men and women hearing this assembled to mourn. A barber's wife asked in whose name she should mourn. The man's daughter-in-law said, ' Go and ask my father-in-law the name of the man who is dead.' There is an uproar raised in the company of fools like the cawing of rooks.[1]

The Hindus and Moslems may hate one another,

[1] XXXII. [2] XXXIV.

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though they have both sprung from a common stock :—

From the union of one couple two brothers were born, and these two brothers struck out two ways. The Hindus and the Muhammadans are both made out of the five elements, but two names are given to the same substance.[1]

It is not the fault of the Sikh religion if an occasional Sikh obey not the Guru's instructions and grow wicked :—

When *moth*[2] is parched over the fire some grains remain hard. This is not the fault of the fire. If one fruit out of a thousand go bad, it is not the fault of the tree. It is not the fault of water that it will not rest on a hill. If a sick man die from not observing the regimen prescribed for him, it is not the fault of the doctor. If a barren woman have no offspring, it is not her husband's fault. In the same way if an occasional perverse man accept not the Guru's instruction, it is his own and not the Guru's fault.[3]

The apologue of the jackal which fell into a dyer's vat applied to the boastful and hypocritical.

A jackal fell into a dyer's vat and was dyed. He went into the forest and pretended to be its king. The beasts waited at his door while he sat down in his glory. Intoxicated with falsehood and pride, he began to exercise his authority. But when he opened his lips to speak, he spoiled his disguise, as radish-eaters make themselves known by their belching. So the Mina who practiseth falsehood and disgraceful acts, was ruined at God's court.[4]

Pretended gurus are like children at play :—

On moonlight nights children play together.[5] They personate kings and subjects. Some take armies on expeditions, and some run away. They pay land revenue in potsherds. Being very fickle they leave off the play in

[1] XXXIII.
[2] *Moth* is an Indian pulse.
[3] XXXIV.
[4] XXXVI.
[5] This is specially the case before and after the hot season in India.

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an instant and run home. So they who, though possessing no merits, call themselves gurus. are counterfeit and evil.[1]

It is impossible to dispense with the Guru :—

The mice fashioned a bell to put on the cat's neck, but they could not do so. The flies resolved to bathe in ghi, but they never extricated themselves. Insects being short-lived have not time to divest themselves of impurity of birth ; if they did, how could they live ? The bhambiris [2] would live in the rainy season if they could, but they are killed by the rain. The kulangs would remain in the plains after Baisakh, but they cannot live in heat. People may say they can dispense with the Guru, but without him salvation cannot be obtained : men would wander in transmigration.[1]

Secret initiation is not necessary. Hindus of all sects believe that until a guru secretly communicates the word of initiation into the disciple's ear, salvation is not obtained. Gur Das on the contrary writes :—

Wahguru is the Guru's spell ; by repeating it pride departeth.[3]

Gur Das indulges in self-abasement :—

The owl is not pleased on beholding the sun or the chakwi the moon. The simmal-tree yieldeth no fruit, the bamboo groweth near the sandal but is not perfumed thereby. If you give milk to a serpent to drink, it parteth not with its poison, nor showeth it any gratitude. The bitterness of the colocynth departeth not, the tick clingeth to the cow's udder, but drinketh blood instead of milk. All these demerits reside in me. If any one do me a favour, I return it with an injury. Garlic hath never the perfume of musk.[4]

I am wicked and sinful ; I am an apostate and evil,

[1] XXXVI.

[2] Certain Indian insects which frequent pools and rivers in the rainy season.

[3] XIII. Gur Dās means that there should be no secrecy in the initiation of a Sikh.

[4] VI.

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I am a thief, adulterer, and gambler ; I covet my neighbour's house, I am a slanderer, unrighteous, dishonest, deceitful ; I deceive the country. I indulge in lust, wrath, pride, greed, and worldly love. I kill those who trust me ; I am ungrateful and unfaithful ; who will defend me ? The true Guru remembereth and pardoneth his disciples and singers.[1]

There is not, there was not, and there never will be such an ungrateful person as I. There is none so dishonest or so devoid of merit as I. There is nc such slanderer as I who have taken on my head the heavy sin of slandering the Guru. There is none so great an apostate as I who have committed the heinous sin of apostasy from the Guru. There is none so evil as I who have committed the sin of bearing enmity to him who is without it. There is no such treacherous friend as I who sit in a devotional attitude like a crane looking out for fish to devour. The great sin which I have committed in eating with those who do not obey the Guru's words departeth not. There is no such backslider as I who have renounced the Guru's religion and attached myself to a false one. I am called a disciple, but I meditate not on the Word.[2]

Filial duty inculcated :—

A child is conceived by the union of father and mother, and while in the womb the mother is full of hope. She abstaineth from delicacies, and is shy to appear in public. She putteth her feet cautiously on the ground. She carrieth for nine months and suffereth in giving birth to the dear boy. She then nourisheth him with great trouble, and must be careful in what she eateth and drinketh. She suckleth and cautiously giveth him infant's medicine. The parents provide him with clothing and food, and take thought for his betrothal and education. They entrust him to a tutor, and as in duty bound spend their earnings on him. The child should discharge this load of debt to the parents.[2]

Filial ingratitude reprobated :—

His parents are happy while performing the boy's be-

[1] XXXVI. [2] XXXVII.

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trothal. His mother cannot contain herself with joy, and she singeth festal strains. When the boy is married, she is delighted and singeth marriage songs. She voweth many offerings when her son bringeth his wife home. In return for all this the daughter-in-law ever giveth her husband bad advice, and slandereth her mother-in-law with the object of living separate from her. The son then becometh bad, forgetteth the countless favours conferred on him by his mother, and obligeth her to grind corn for the house. Few sons are dutiful as Sarwan.[1]

Filial ingratitude is the result of marriage :—

The wife the enchantress bewitcheth her husband. When he was born he forgot his God, and now that he is married he forgetteth his parents.[2]

A man should never under any pretext forsake his parents :—

He who forsaketh his parents to listen to the Veds, shall never know their secret. He who forsaketh his parents to perform penance in the forest, shall go astray in the wilderness. He who forsaketh his parents to worship gods and goddesses, shall lose the reward of his devotion. He who forsaketh his parents to bathe in the sixty-eight places of pilgrimages, shall find them a whirlpool to drown him. He who forsaketh his parents to give alms, shall be deemed without faith or knowledge. He who forsaketh his parents to fast, shall die and be born again and stray in superstition. Such a person knoweth nothing of God or the Guru.[2]

The Sikhs claim superiority to all races :—

The Sunni, the Shiah, and the Rafazi sects find favour with many, but they are all pagans and hypocrites and lost in superstition. The Christians and the Jews wander distraught in their pride. The Europeans, the Armenians, and the Turks are filled with vainglory. Faqirs dressed

[1] A man who most diligently served his blind parents. He was slain by mistake by Dasarath, Rām Chandar's father. XXXVII.

[2] XXXVII.

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in black, qalandars, darweshes, and twice as many more are not equal to one hair of a Sikh who hath dedicated himself to the Guru.[1]

Truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Muhammadans; both sects have gone astray :—

There are four castes of Hindus and four sects of Muhammadans in the world. The members of both religions are selfish, jealous, proud, bigoted, and violent. The Hindus make pilgrimages to Hardwar and Banaras; the Muhammadans to the Kaaba of Makka. Circumcision is dear to the Muhammadans; tilaks and janeus to the Hindus. The Hindus invoke Ram, the Muhammadans Rahim; but in reality there is only one God. Since they have both forgotten their sacred books, worldly greed and the devil have led them astray. Truth is hidden from both; the Brahmans and the Maulvis kill themselves by their animosities. Neither sect shall find salvation.[2]

The Hindus read the Veds; the Sufis and the Muhammadans the books of Islam. The Muhammadans abstain from food during the Ramzan and read Arabic prayers; the Hindus rack their brains over idolatrous worship and periodical fastings. The founders of the six Hindu systems preach each a different doctrine. The Hindus have ten incarnations, the Muhammadans the Merciful One. Both sects practise bigotry and violence.[3]

When Hindus and Moslems lay aside superstition, they form one body of Sikhs who quaff the cup of God's love and obtain final deliverance :—

They who are intoxicated with the cup of love in the Guru's private court, behold the Unseen One. The Sikhs spurn as well the hundred and eight-beaded rosary of the Hindus as the hundred-beaded rosary of the Muhammadans. The Sikhs, treating both rosaries alike, repeat not the name Ram or Rahim at every bead. The two sects united form one body of Sikhs, and are not then separately mentioned, so when one speaketh of the game of chaupar the pieces are

[1] XXXVIII. [2] I. [3] XXXIX.

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not spoken of. The Sikhs rejecting Shiv and his energy Durga arrive at their own home by means of the cup of God's love. Unaffected by the three qualities, they attain the fourth degree of salvation. Baba Nanak proclaimed the true Word, and, by causing the true Sikhs to fix their attention on it, blended them with the True One who is the true King to whom truth is pleasing.[1]

Extracts from Gur Das's *Kabit* against idolatry :—

As a virtuous woman ever thinketh on her husband and desireth not to behold another man ;

As the chatrik never longeth for lakes, rivers, or seas, but for cloud-drops, and singeth the praises of the Beloved ;

As the chakor in no way desireth to behold the sun, but in every way longeth for the moon, which is dearer to it than life ;

So do the Guru's Sikhs naturally refrain from worshipping other gods, but not insultingly or disdainfully.

If a man look at two mirrors no distinct reflection will be formed. If a man put his feet in two boats, he cannot reach the shore.

If a man go in two directions, his feet will be worn out ; if a man travel by two roads, he will be puzzled and forget where to put down his feet.

When there are two kings, the subject cannot be happy ; when a woman has two husbands, she cannot be chaste.

When a Sikh of the Guru accepteth the support of other gods, accursed is his life in this world, and hereafter punishment from Death shall await him.

According to the rules of society, the sacred books, and the teaching of divines, it is proper for a chaste woman to serve her lord in thought, word, and deed.

To the chaste woman repetition of idols' names, ablutions, alms, austerities, penance, pilgrimage, fasting, worship, and daily ceremonies are of no avail.

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Burnt-offerings, feasts, food offered to idols, the worship of gods and goddesses, the singing of hymns and visiting strange temples are all vanity of vanities.

So among the Guru's Sikhs One Prop is the best ; meditation, contemplation and remembrance of other gods is harlotry.

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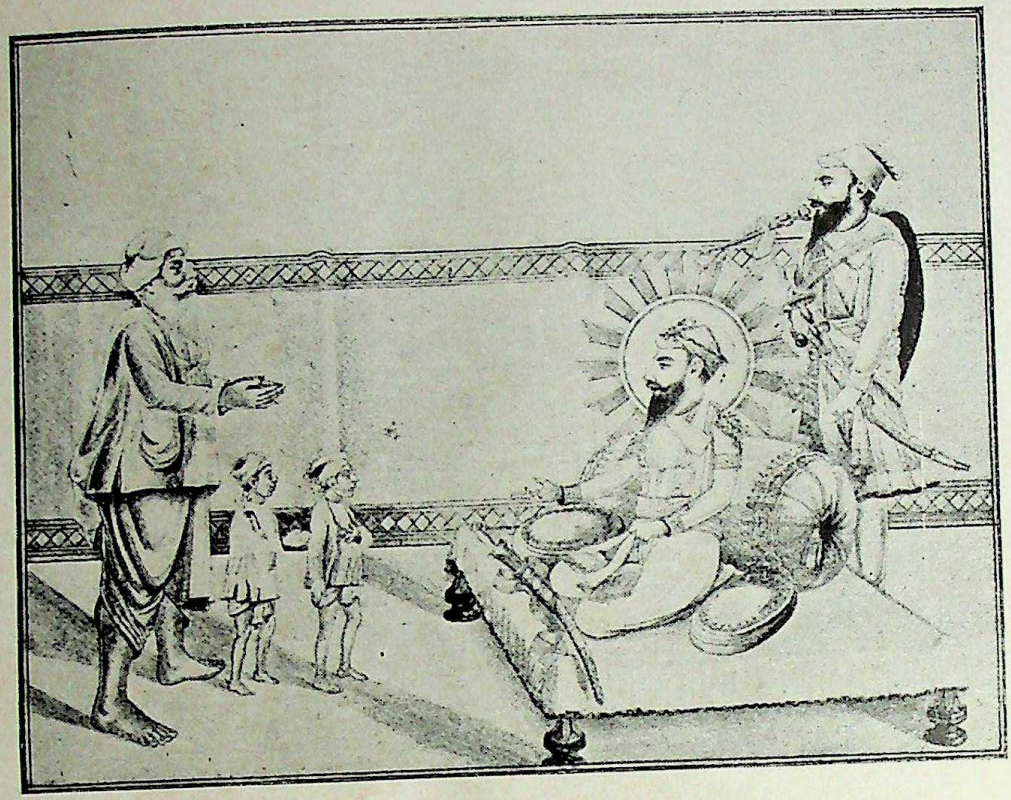

GURU HAR RAI BLESSING YOUNG PHUL

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LIFE OF GURU HAR RAI, THE SEVENTH GURU

CHAPTER I

WE have seen that Guru Har Gobind, the sixth Guru, had five sons, Baba Gurditta, Suraj Mal, Ani Rai, Baba Atal, and Teg Bahadur. Baba Gurditta, who predeceased his father, left two sons, Dhir Mal and Har Rai. Dhir Mal had proved disloyal and disobedient to his grandfather. Guru Har Gobind, wishing as far as possible to observe the custom of primogeniture, and seeing Har Rai steady, pious, and in every respect fitted for the Guruship, bestowed it on him with all due formality and ancient ceremony.

Guru Har Rai was born of Gurditta's wife, Nihal Kaur, *née* Natti, on the thirteenth day of the light half of the moon of Magh, Sambat 1687, A.D. 1631. He was very attentive to his devotions and ablutions, and loved to repeat to his disciples the following verses of Gur Das :—

Rise in the end of the night, instil into men's minds the merits of the Name and of charity.

Speak civilly, be humble, do good to others with the gifts of your hands.

Sleep, eat, and speak little ; receive the Guru's instruction.

Live on your earnings ; do good works ; even if you are great, be not conceited.

Day and night go and associate with the saints and sing with them the Gurus' hymns.

Regale your hearts with the pleasure which the true Gurus' words and instruction afford.

Amid hopes remain without hopes.[1]

[1] Wār XXVIII.

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The Guru employed every device that sleep might not overcome him, and prevent his matutinal devotions which were the object of his earnest solicitude. Although many rich men came to visit him, he made no distinction between rich and poor, and centred his hopes only in God. His food was very simple. He desired not dainty dishes, and thanked God for all His mercies. Whatever valuable offerings were made him he used to spend on his guests. He was always surrounded, as it were, by a halo of visitors, on whom he conferred delight.

During Guru Har Rai's stay in Kiratpur a man named Bhagtu of the Bairar tribe, who had given Guru Arjan great assistance in excavating his tank, waited on him, said he was a cultivator by trade, and asked for employment. The Guru engaged him to superintend the cultivation of his land. Once, as Bhagtu was employed as overseer of the Guru's reapers, they complained that he did not cause sufficient ghi to be put into their bread. At that time Bhagtu happened to see a man called Sangatia passing by with hides of ghi, and asked him to sell it, and he would receive payment on the morrow. Sangatia agreed; the ghi was purchased and distributed among the labourers. Sangatia went home, and, to his surprise, next morning found the hides he thought he had emptied filled with ghi as before. He returned to Bhagtu to inform him. Bhagtu offered him the stipulated price. Sangatia fell at his feet, and with thankfulness refused the money, telling him that the miracle wrought was the result of his kindness. Bhagtu replied that he himself had no power. Whatever merit he possessed was derived from the Guru. He invited Sangatia to go to the Guru and become his Sikh. Sangatia accordingly did so. The Guru initiated him, gave him the name of Pheru, and promised that he should have a kitchen of his own to supply the wayworn saint and stranger.

In the afternoon the Guru used often to gird on his

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sword, equip himself with his bow and arrows, mount his horse, and proceed to the chase. He maintained two thousand two hundred mounted soldiers. These he kept by his grandfather Guru Har Gobind's advice as a precautionary measure. The Guru took some of the animals he had obtained from the chase home with him, and freed and protected them in a zoological garden, which he caused to be made for the recreation of his followers.

In the evening the Guru used to hold his court, listen to hymns sung by his choir, and then give divine instruction. The advantages of devotion are briefly put by Guru Arjan.

Learn the Word, my beloved, which is our support in life and in death.
By remembering the one God your faces shall ever be bright and happy.[1]

The Guru used to select suitable passages from the Granth Sahib to recite to his followers, such as:—

Make effort, ye very fortunate, remember God the King;
Nanak, by remembering Him ye shall have all happiness, and your troubles, pains and doubts shall disappear.[2]

The Emperor Shah Jahan had four sons Dara Shikoh, Shuja Muhammad, Aurangzeb, and Murad Bakhsh. Dara Shikoh, who was the heir-apparent, was very dear to his father. Aurangzeb who was very cunning, clever, and ambitious, aimed at succeeding to the throne. He administered tiger's whiskers in a dainty dish to his eldest brother, who became dangerously ill in consequence. The best physicians were consulted, but could not devise a remedy. The patient's illness daily increased. The Emperor, filled with anxiety, sent for diviners and astrologers from every country, propitiated pirs and faqirs, and had recourse to all known charms, spells, and incantations, but without avail.

[1] Rāmkali, Ashtapadi. [2] Āsa Chhant.

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When the wise men were all assembled, they arrived at the very obvious decision that, until the tiger's whiskers were removed from Dara Shikoh's bowels, there was no hope of recovery. They were of opinion that if a chebulic myrobalan weighing fourteen chitanks[1] and a clove weighing one masha could be produced and administered to the patient, he would be restored to health. For these articles the Emperor searched everywhere in his realm, but in vain. At last the prime minister, who had heard the fame of the Guru, was informed that the required simples were in his storehouse. Although the Emperor was hostile to the Guru, yet as the Guru's house was a mine of sympathy and compassion for all, there was no doubt that he would grant the articles required. In order to show the Guru's duty in such a case, the prime minister quoted the words of the fifth Guru :—

The Guru embraceth him who seeketh his protection ; this is the function of the religious teacher.[2]

The prime minister represented to the Emperor, ' It becometh thee now, O sire, to forget thy former feelings of enmity, and entreat the Guru to grant thee what is required and thy wishes shall be immediately gratified. In the words of a Panjabi proverb, ' Self-interest causeth barley to be ground, even if it be wet.' [3] Shah Jahan found it necessary to humble himself before the Guru, and accordingly addressed him the following letter :—

' Thy predecessor, the holy Baba Nanak granted sovereignty to the Emperor Babar, the founder of my dynasty ; Guru Angad was exceedingly well disposed to his son the Emperor Humayun ; and Guru Amar Das removed many difficulties from my grandfather Akbar's path. I regret that the same

[1] A chitānk is five tolas or two ounces.
[2] Bihāgra Chhant.
[3] Wet Indian barley is ground with more difficulty in a hand-mill than any other Indian grain.

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friendly relations did not subsist between Guru Har Gobind and myself, and that misunderstandings were caused by the interference of strangers. For this I was not to blame. My son Dara Shikoh is now very ill. His remedy is in thy hands. If thou give the myrobalan and the clove which are in thy store-house, and add to them thy prayers, thou wilt confer an abiding favour on me.'

A noble took this letter to the Guru who was then in Kiratpur and presented it in darbar on the morning after his arrival. The Guru was pleased that the Emperor had such confidence in him as to write him such a friendly letter, and consented to give the necessary medicines. He quoted a line from the fourteenth slok of the Asa ki War,

Why should they who come with hope depart disappointed?

'Behold,' said the Guru, 'with one hand man breaketh flowers, and with the other he offereth them, but the flowers perfume both hands alike. Although the axe cuts the sandal-tree, yet the sandal perfumeth the axe. The Guru ought, therefore, to return good for evil.' The myrobalan and clove were weighed, and, as if God had so ordained, found of the required weight to cure the Emperor's beloved son and heir-apparent. It was explained that these medicines would cause the hardest substance taken into the stomach to be digested. To these articles the Guru added a pearl which was to be ground and used as a subsidiary remedy. The Guru was in the position of a tree which, though cut with a sharp axe, feels no anger and imputes no blame to the wood-cutter, but ministers unto his wants.

The Emperor was naturally very pleased, forgot all his enmity to the Guru, and vowed that he would never again cause him annoyance. The medicine was administered and effected a speedy and complete cure.

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Chapter II

A pious lady continually prayed that the Guru might eat bread cooked by her hands. One day she gained four paise by spinning, and bought wheaten flour and pulse for the money. She baked two cakes and took them to a spot by which the Guru used to pass daily. There she began to rack her brains how to procure access to him. Could she succeed in this, he would certainly take compassion on her old age and eat from her hands. The Guru, having by his supernatural power become aware of her desire, mounted his horse, and on his way to the chase, went joyfully to the spot where she was waiting.

At the moment when she was reduced almost to a state of despair the Guru arrived, and asked her for some of the bread she had prepared. He said it would be very late when he returned from the chase, and he desired food to fortify himself until then. The Guru partook of the bread on horseback, without washing his hands, and said he had enjoyed it as if it were the most dainty food. The woman paid the Guru compliments for his humility in visiting her and accepting her hospitality. The Guru in return gave her spiritual instruction, and cut off the shackles of her transmigration.

The Sikhs were astonished that the Guru had taken food from a strange woman, and eaten it on horseback too without washing his hands. They asked him why he had done so. He gave no answer, but continued his hunting excursion. Next day they prepared sweet cakes with great attention to cleanliness, and took them to the forest with the Guru, so as to obviate any necessity he might be under to take food that might possibly be unclean from the hands of a person who might be of low caste. In due time the Sikhs offered the Guru the cakes they had prepared. The Guru said, ' O Sikhs, I ate food from that woman's hands because she was holy. This

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food which you have prepared with attention to ancient ceremonial is not pleasing to me. It is written in the Granth Sahib :—

He whose deeds are pure is called a holy man,[1]

from which it appears that salvation depends on good acts and not on the food which is eaten.'

The Sikhs replied, 'O true king, yesterday thou atest two cakes on horseback from the hands of an old woman whom thou knewest not. There was no consecrated space and the food was in every way impure. To-day we have with great labour prepared and baked cakes for thee ; no impurity attacheth to them, and yet thou rejectest them. Be kind enough to explain the reason. We made a representation to thee yesterday on the subject but received no reply.'

The Guru gave the following explanation—'The woman with great devotion and faith prepared food for me out of what she had earned from the sweat of her brow. On this account the food was very pure, and I partook of it. The Guru hungereth for love and not for dainty food. In the matter of love for God no rule is recognized.

'Ye remember how Guru Nanak avoiding the society of the great and the wealthy, went to the house of Lalo who was a carpenter, abode with him, and lived on his coarse fare. It may therefore be easily understood that attention to culinary rules and exclusiveness in eating are of no avail without real devotion. It is not what man eateth that pleaseth God. It is man's devotion that is acceptable to Him.'

On hearing this discourse the Sikhs' doubts vanished. They replied, 'O true king, grant that the love of God may arise in our hearts. Although we have in ourselves no merits, yet thou who hast vouchsafed us thy protection, art responsible for our safe keeping. By thy favour our boats shall reach the haven of the blest.'

[1] Sukhmani.

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During this colloquy the Guru and his party penetrated a deep forest. The Guru, seeing a black buck issue from the thickets, chased him on horseback at full speed and prevented his escape. The animal was caught and taken to the Guru's zoological gardens. Men who had come long distances to see the Guru were pleased with his tenderness to animals, particularly to deer, which the kings of old used to sacrifice at their feasts.

One day as the Guru was hunting he saw a wounded snake crawling with difficulty. It was tortured by worms which it tried to shake off by wriggling and shaking its body. The Guru not only put the animal out of its pain, but granted it salvation. The author of the *Suraj Parkash* states that its spirit in the form of a bright light was seen to issue from its body and soar to heaven. The Sikhs asked the Guru what light it was. The Guru replied, 'This serpent was in somewhat the same state as the python seen by my grandfather in Malwa. This serpent had been a pandit in a previous age, who used to falsely vaunt the power of the Veds. He asserted that he himself was God, but his conduct in no wise justified such a boast. He used also to make injurious reflections on the Guru's hymns, saying, 'What is a hymn in the vulgar dialect?' He did not know that Guru Nanak's compositions were superior to the Veds. The pandit's soul passed into this serpent, and the worms have been causing him to suffer for the deceit he practised on men. There were, however, some good acts to his credit from previous births, and on this account he hath met Guru Nanak's followers and obtained salvation. As Guru Arjan hath said :—

> By association with the saints man hath no travail ;
> There is no necessity to toil in their company :
> On beholding and meeting them man becometh happy.[1]

[1] Sukhmani.

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'Carefully remember that, however much you read Vedantic literature, it will be a source of misery unless you love God. Guru Arjan hath also said :—

Though one be very beautiful, of high birth, clever, a divine in words and wealthy ;
Yet shall he be deemed as dead, O Nanak, if he have no love for God.[1]

'Wherefore, O my Sikhs, believe in the words of Guru Nanak, worship God, and boast not of your Vedantism. He who, possessing no divine knowledge, calleth himself a guru shall have no happiness, but on the contrary terrible suffering. The disciples of a false guru shall lose their human birth in this world. A guru who possesseth no holiness shall with his disciples endure terrible suffering. Wherefore, O my Sikhs, listen unto me, never consume any portion of offerings. They will not assist you in distress, but, on the contrary, lead you into the power of Death, whose punishment shall wring from you loud lamentations. Perform honest labour, serve the saints, and I shall everywhere be your succourer. As Guru Nanak hath said :—

They who eat the fruit of their labour and bestow something,
O Nanak, recognize the right way.[2]

A deficiency in your weights or want of equality in your scales must be avoided. Ever abide firm in your faith.'

'The Sikhs then asked the Guru to give them further instruction in the Sikh religion. He replied, 'You must read the Granth Sahib, and not worship any inanimate object. When a Sikh dieth, sacred food should be prepared and distributed after reading the Sohila. There should be no mourning, but hymns of the Gurus should be sung, and the Granth Sahib should be intoned. No gods or

[1] Bāwan Akhari. [2] Sārang ki Wār.

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goddesses should be deemed succourers of man. Reliance must be placed on the immortal God alone.'

A devout Sikh called Bhai Gonda abode with the Guru. He was a saint in thought, word, and deed. The Guru was very much pleased with his sincere devotion and said, 'O Bhai Gonda, go thou to Kabul, instruct the Sikhs there in the worship of the true Name, and preach the Sikh faith. Feed holy men and pilgrims with the offerings thou receivest, and send what remaineth for the maintenance of my kitchen. These are thy duties, and I am confident that thou wilt discharge them.'

Although Kabul was a foreign country and there was danger from Muhammadan bigotry in residing there, yet Gonda cheerfully accepted the task imposed on him. On arriving there he built a Sikh temple and carried out all the Guru's instructions. In other respects the following lines of Guru Arjan, which he was accustomed to repeat, served him as a guide :—

Meditate in thy heart on the Guru's image ;
Regale thy mind with the Guru's word and spell.
Put the Guru's feet into thy heart,
And ever bow to the Guru the Supreme Being.[1]

One day while Gonda was repeating the Japji, he fancied he was clinging to the Guru's feet. He was in such a state of abstraction that he became quite unconscious. He grew as absorbed in the sight of the Guru as a drop of rain in the ocean. The Guru by his occult power knew what was passing in Gonda's mind, and sat firmly on his throne keeping his feet together. When dinner was announced, as usual at mid-day, he made no response. When the announcement was repeated about an hour afterwards, he still remained silent. A third time after a longer interval dinner was announced, and the cook asked permission to serve it up, but even

[1] Gaund.

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then the Guru spoke not. When several Sikhs were on the point of making a representation to him, he broke silence and said, 'Brother Sikhs, Bhai Gonda is in Kabul. He is in thought, word, and deed, a saint of the Guru. He to-day hath clasped my feet. How can I withdraw them from him? And how can I go to take my dinner until he hath let them go? I am therefore waiting until the conclusion of his meditation and obeisance.' Bhai Gonda did not awake from his trance before twilight, and it was only then the Guru felt free to take his repast.

When afterwards the Sikhs had an opportunity of interrogating Gonda they found the Guru's words verified and his acts explained by Gonda's reflections and movements during the state of trance. The Sikhs then were thoroughly convinced of the Guru's greatness, and said that they themselves were poor ignorant people. As Guru Arjan has said:—

The glory of the saints is special to the saints:
My brethren, there is no difference between God and His saints.[1]

And again:—

Know that God and the Guru are one.[2]

The Sikhs said, 'The advantages of Guru Nanak's religion are indescribable, and whoever leaveth it and strayeth to other sects, is greatly unfortunate, for he thereby loseth his priceless human birth.'

Once as Sikhs came great distances to the Baisakhi fair and made offerings according to their means, men and women circumambulated the Guru like bumble-bees hovering round a lotus-flower. The Guru inquired if there were any of his Sikhs who, having established a kitchen according to his means, shared his food with others. He received a reply that two or three Sikhs had come, who had established kitchens in several villages and distributed their food among

[1] Sukhmani. [2] Gaund.

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the Guru's followers. The Guru ordered them to be called, and asked them on what principle they had established kitchens, and whether they entertained all Sikhs on the same terms as their relations. One Sikh replied—'When a Sikh is kind enough to visit me at the time of distribution of food, I first satisfy him and then myself.' A second said, 'I cook and distribute food with my own hands.' A third said, 'I wash the feet of Sikhs and drink the water therefrom, for it is written in the Sukhmani :—

Wash the feet of the holy men and drink the water therefrom.'

A fourth Sikh replied, 'Whatever thine orders are, O true king, they shall be obeyed. I wipe Sikhs' shoes, and place them before them as they are departing.'

The Guru interposed. 'It is superfluous to say any more. I desire to know if ye feed a Sikh who presenteth himself after the time fixed for distribution of food.' The Sikhs requested the Guru to explain his meaning more fully. He said, 'O Sikhs, when food is distributed and there is none left, what do ye do if a hungry Sikh afterwards present himself?' The Sikhs replied, 'We do not serve food after the appointed time, and on that account no doubt some Sikhs go away disappointed.' The Guru rejoined, 'Ye ought to keep additional food ready, feed your guest, and not send him away disappointed. In the course I recommend there is great merit. I shall be well pleased with those who adopt it, and they shall enjoy happiness here and hereafter. Moreover, it is written in the Granth Sahib :—

The true Guru is delighted when his disciple taketh food.[1]

'He who through laziness and pride dismisseth a Sikh disappointed, shall gain no advantage from his past or present acts. Farid hath said :—

[1] Guru Rām Dās, Gauri.

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All men's hearts are jewels ; to distress them is not at all good :

If thou desire the Beloved, distress no one's heart.

'There is also a Persian expression attributed to God even by the Muhammadans :—

I can allow you to destroy a temple or a mosque,
But to break another's heart is an act that cannot be sanctioned.

'The temple and the mosque may be repaired or renewed, but not the broken heart.' The Sikhs said, 'Only he on whom the Guru looketh with favour obtaineth such wisdom. We possess little wisdom, and have erred. It is by thy favour all our troubles are removed. Thy words are like the juice of nectar, mines of knowledge, arrows to destroy worldly love and hate, or guides to salvation.'

Two hill Rajas went with a strong force to the Guru under pretence of paying him a complimentary visit, but in reality to obtain tribute from him, and remove him from their country. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Kiratpur they encamped near a tank. The Guru on hearing of their arrival promptly sent them supplies of every description.

The Rajas presented themselves the next morning at the Guru's levée, but while doing obeisance to him retained guile in their hearts. The Guru, by his occult power, knew their designs, and represented to them that faqirs were never called upon to pay tribute. If they desired anything from him he would give them divine instruction, which would be more advantageous than any sublunary wealth.

The Rajas on hearing this found their business with the Guru at an end. They both stood up, then prostrated themselves before him, and begged to be put on the right way, for they had seriously erred. They confessed that they had come with evil intentions, but they would never again harbour thoughts

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to the Guru's detriment. The Guru replied, 'Show not your pride to the Guru. Go and rule your kingdoms, oppress not your subjects. If ye do, the Creator will show you His anger, and consign you to hell. Adhere to your own wives, drink not wine, sleep not on the top stories of your palaces out of reach of your subjects. Let it not be that, while they are complaining below, ye are enjoying yourselves above. The subjects are the root, the Rajas the branches of the trees. Whatsoever king oppresseth his subjects applieth the axe to his kingdom. Construct tanks, wells, bridges, and schools, and extend religion through your kingdoms.' The Rajas much edified by this discourse, took leave of the Guru and returned to their states.

Chapter III

There was a Sanyasi called Bhagwan Gir, who, in order to obtain spiritual consolation, went to visit the Guru in Kiratpur. The Guru advised him to proceed to Dehra Baba Nanak and join the Udasis there. This was tantamount to ordering Bhagwan Gir to relinquish his sect, for the Sanyasis worship Dattatre, while the Udasis have as their guru Sri Chand, the eldest son of Guru Nanak.

The Mahant at Dehra Baba Nanak at that time was Mihr Chand, the great-grandson of Guru Nanak. The Guru commended Mihr Chand as a man of piety. Bhagwan Gir acted on the Guru's advice. He prostrated himself before Mihr Chand, and received from him initiation, and the name Bhagat Bhagwan, or saint of God. Bhagwan Gir then travelled in various countries as a missionary, but without any success. He was not wanting in energy or eloquence, but no one would heed him or listen to his exhortations. Disheartened he returned to Mihr Chand to report his failure.

Mihr Chand told him that, if he had desired to

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become a priest, he ought to have received initiation from Guru Har Rai who was the real Guru, and to have solicited his orders before proceeding on his mission. It was, however, not yet too late. Bhagat Bhagwan might even now go to the Guru and crave his blessing. On appearing before the Guru, Bhagat Bhagwan began to weep and repent of his error in not having asked his permission before he had set up as a teacher. The Guru cheerfully pardoned him, and said that he had now become acceptable in God's court. The Guru directed him to go to Hindustan and reform its people. He was not to hide his light, but put it in a conspicuous place to illumine men's minds. The Guru promised that he should be everywhere well received, and that his preaching should be heartily accepted. Bhagat Bhagwan proceeded on his mission and irrigated with the water of his instruction the dried and shrivelled hearts of his Hindustani hearers. His disciples are now prosperous land-owners in the north of India.

One day his Sikhs inquired of the Guru whether those who read the Gurus' hymns without understanding them derived any spiritual advantage therefrom. The Guru gave no reply at the time, and next morning went a-hunting. On a level plain on his way he saw pieces of a pot which had held butter. The sun was melting the butter on the potsherds. The Guru took one of them in his hand and said, 'Ye see, my Sikh brethren, these are old potsherds, but when they are heated, the butter that hath adhered to them rapidly melteth. As the grease adhereth to the potsherds, so do the Gurus' hymns to the hearts of his Sikhs. At the hour of death the Gurus' instruction shall assuredly bear fruit. Whether understood or not, it hath within it the seed of salvation. Perfume still clingeth to the broken vase. The meaning of this parable is, that whoever daily readeth the Gurus' hymns shall assuredly obtain peace. And even though he do not fully understand

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them, God will undoubtedly assist him. Guru Ram Das hath said :—

The Word is the Guru, and the Guru is the Word, and in the Word is the essence of ambrosia.[1]

'Guru Arjan too hath said :—"God will not destroy your labour."[2]

'That is, even though ye understand not, God will accept your prayers. God never in the slightest degree spoileth a good act, so why should daily repetition of our hymns be wasted?' The Guru's questioners were satisfied and their devotion increased.

By his mother Natti's advice the Guru went to Kartarpur to meet his elder brother Dhir Mal. The Guru remained with him some time, the greater part of which he spent in giving religious instruction to the crowds who flocked to see him.

The Guru became a great centre of attraction at the Baisakhi festival in Kartarpur. Hymns were sung in concert such as :—

O Guru, may I behold thee and live![3]

On that occasion Bhagtu returned with several Sikh friends to visit the Guru. He was now old, his hands trembled, and a cane supported his tottering steps. The Guru having received him with great respect and seated him near him, asked him when he was going to marry, that is, when he was going to become Death's bride. The Guru had in mind the following verse of Shaikh Farid :—

The soul is the bride, Death the bridegroom ; he will marry her and take her away.

The Guru receiving no answer repeated the question. Bhagtu believed that the Guru was bantering him, and went home without giving a reply. While there he reflected—'The Guru never speaketh

[1] Nat Ashtapadi. [2] Kedāra Chhant. [3] Guru Arjan, Sūhi.

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in vain. His words ever prove true, and, though I am old, it is incumbent on me to marry and verify the Guru's words.'

Bhagtu set out again to meet the Guru. On the way he saw a girl scaring birds off a field of bajra,[1] and decided to marry her if she gave her consent. He then addressed her, 'O fair one, I desire to fulfil the words of the Guru and marry thee. Pardon me for the proposal. Be these birds and trees our witnesses.' The girl was astonished at his words, and felt so alarmed and abashed that she could make no reply. Bhagtu, however, decided to go through the form of a marriage ceremony with her, and instead of the actual circumambulations of the bride moved his cane, which did duty for her, round a blade of bajra, representing the Granth Sahib. This ceremony over, Bhagtu continued his journey, leaving the girl in her bajra field to wonder at his eccentricity. When he reached the Guru the same question as before was put to him. He then mentioned his marriage on the way with the sole object of fulfilling the Guru's words. The Guru explained, 'I merely desired to ask thee thine age or, in other words, when thou wert likely to die and perform real marriage. Tarry with me now, and I will assist thee to the utmost of my power. She whom thou didst marry in misconception of my words, shall abide in virtue and continence; and the children of thy former wife shall call her mother and be obedient to her.' This event occurred in the beginning of the cold season when bajra ripens. Bhagtu lived until the end of the following April.

The manner of his death was as follows:—He contracted a severe dysentery. Several Sikhs went to visit him in his illness. They used to say to him, 'Thou hast often cured others; why not cure thyself?' He would reply, 'O Sikhs, entertain no such idea. The Guru in this world putteth an end to the

[1] A cereal largely cultivated in the Panjāb, the *Penicellaria spicata*.

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sorrows of his Sikhs. In the realm of death no pain is felt. Some of my followers used to steal cattle, and give me their milk, but it was a stolen nutriment. For drinking it I have suffered in this world, but my pain shall end here. My suffering hath purified me, and I shall take my journey to the next world in happiness.' Then uttering 'Wahguru' his life issued from his body as painlessly, in the words of the chronicler, as a garland of flowers falls from an elephant's neck.

The Guru ordered a sumptuous bier and sent for musicians to sing the Gurus' hymns to rebeck accompaniments on the occasion.

The true Guru hath caused my cargo to arrive in safety.
The heated caldron hath become cold; the Guru hath given me the cooling Name.[1]

The Guru decided to set fire with his own hands to Bhagtu's funeral pile, but the masands endeavoured to dissuade him. He silenced their remonstrances by telling them that Bhagtu, born to his parents in their old age, was the result of Guru Ram Das's prayer, and therefore worthy of all honour. He was a real Sikh and dearer to the Guru than the Guru's own relations. That was why he would kindle his pyre with his own hands.

On one of the Guru's preaching tours he stayed at Mukandpur in the present Jalandhar district. He there drove a bamboo shoot into the ground in memory of his visit; and it still survives as a stately tree. Thence the Guru went to the country of Malwa and visited the tank near Nathana where Guru Har Gobind had fought. There Kala and Karm Chand, two brothers of the Marhaj tribe, came to him to complain that the people of the Kaura tribe would not allow them to live among them. Upon this the Guru sent for Jait Pirana, the head of the Kaura tribe, and endeavoured to induce him to give five

[1] Guru Arjan, Māru.

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ploughs of land to the complainants for their maintenance. Jait replied with a Panjabi proverb, 'Gras daiye, bas na daiye'—that is, give a morsel to eat, but not land to live upon—and represented that the complainants' tribe could never subsist on five ploughs of land. The Guru replied, 'Guru Nanak will shed his blessing on the land, so that it will suffice for the Marhaj tribe.' Still Jait refused.

The Guru informed Kala and Karm Chand of the failure of his negotiations with Jait, and advised them to leave the place next morning, tarry where night overtook them, take possession of the land around them, and call it Marhaj. Thither too Jait followed them and warned them off. They refused to leave and quoted the Guru's order. Kala went to the Guru to tell him of their second failure to establish a permanent residence. The Guru, seeing his friends' difficulty, recommended forcible resistance to Jait and his people. Kala represented Jait's strength and the hopelessness of a struggle with him. The Guru encouraged Kala to secure a habitation, and said that he himself would aid him and his party. This occurred in the Sambat year 1707, A. D. 1650.

The rival tribes engaged in combat. Jait drew his sword on Kala but missed him. Kala in return cut Jait transversely through the body, as if the passage of his sword had been marked by Jait's sacrificial thread. This ended the warfare. After Kala's party had settled in the land a second difficulty arose. Their neighbours would not intermarry with them. Here again the Guru interposed. He recommended the Sikhs who visited him to form marriage alliances with the Marhaj people. The Guru remained for some time at Nathana preaching to the people, and Kala and his friends frequently waited on him.

The Guru by his diligent and earnest preaching made many disciples. His hearers abandoned the worship of cemeteries and cremation grounds, and embraced the simple worship of God. There Kala

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and his two nephews Sandali and Phul, sons of Rup Chand, went to visit him. Phul was borne on Kala's shoulder, and Sandali held Kala's finger as he walked. When the children arrived in the Guru's presence, Phul put his hand on his belly. The Guru asked why he did so, and Kala told him. Phul could not speak himself, and the only way he had of describing the pangs of hunger which he felt was to slap his belly. The Guru took compassion on him and said, 'He shall become great, famous, and wealthy. The steeds of his descendants shall drink water as far as the Jamna; they shall have sovereignty for many generations, and be honoured in proportion as they serve the Guru.'

When Kala reached home, and his wife heard of the Guru's benediction, she upbraided her husband for not having taken his own children to the Guru. 'They also should in that case become kings. Now our sons shall have to pay tribute to our nephew.' Kala replied, 'Destiny is very powerful. I knew not that the Guru would bestow such abundant blessings.' Kala's wife then put pressure on him to take his own sons to the Guru, and teach them to strike their bellies in token of hunger. When Kala and his sons appeared before the Guru, and the children enacted the part in which they had been instructed, the Guru demanded an explanation. Kala said he had thus acted in obedience to his wife's orders. The Guru replied, 'The parents of these children are alive, but at the same time they shall have their own cultivation, eat the fruit of their toil, pay no tribute, and be dependent on no one.' This prophecy has been fulfilled. Their descendants own twenty-two villages called the Bahia, which pay no land revenue.

Phul had six sons, from the eldest of whom, namely Tilok Singh, the Rajas of Nabha and Jind are descended. Phul died in Sambat 1740, A. D. 1689. From Phul's second son, Ram Singh, the Maharaja

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of Patiala is descended. These three are known as the Phul ke Raje, or Phulkian chiefs. The state of Patiala is now the largest, but it was the Raja of Nabha who in ancient times bore the title of Chaudhri, then an office of power, responsibility, and honour.

Chapter IV

We now return to the story of the girl who guarded the bajra field, and whom Bhagtu so unceremoniously wedded. She went and told her father that an eccentric old man had pretended to marry her, and she described all the strange proceeding. At the same time she vowed she would consider him her husband, and marry no one else. Her father inquired who the strange bridegroom was, and soon learned that it was no other than the saint Bhagtu. Father and daughter took no further action at the time. She remained in her father's house and continued to work in his fields. It became known in due time that Bhagtu was dead, and that he had left two sons, Gaura and Jiwan, by a former wife. Gaura the elder soon became the Raja of Bhatinda. To him the girl's father addressed himself with a view to procure her suitable maintenance. Gaura sent for her, received her with the greatest respect, and treated her as his own mother.

Gaura visited the Guru when he was at Nathana. During his stay Jassa, the Guru's chauri-bearer, said to him, 'Marry me to thy second mother, Bhagtu's virgin widow, who is now in thy house. My wife is dead. I am a widower, and the marriage of a widower and widow would be very suitable.' Gaura felt insulted at the proposal, and bided his opportunity to take revenge. He found it one day while they were both hunting with the Guru. The Guru had advanced in front of the party when Gaura drew his sword and killed Jassa. When the Guru heard of it, he forbade Gaura to enter his presence.

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After this the Guru returned from Nathana to Kiratpur. Wherever he went he was followed by Gaura, who hoped to find an opportunity of soliciting his pardon, and a retractation of his curse. When the Guru arrived in Kiratpur, Gaura encamped a mile distant. For six months the Guru remained in Kiratpur, and was ever shadowed by Gaura. When the Guru again proceeded to Malwa, Gaura followed him. As the Guru was proceeding along the Satluj, he met some Muhammadan troops who were marching from Lahore to Dihli. One of the officers inquired the name of the party and was informed that it was Guru Har Rai and his bodyguard. The officer was already aware that it was the Guru's grandfather, Guru Har Gobind, who had killed his grandfather, General Mukhlis Khan, at Amritsar, and he determined on taking life for life.

While the officer was thus inquiring and cogitating the Guru passed on. The officer then waylaid the Guru's wives who were following, and attempted violence. Now came Gaura's opportunity to perform signal service for the Guru with the object of obtaining his pardon. The Guru had been forbidden by his grandfather Guru Har Gobind to engage in warfare, but Gaura might fight for him and defend his family. Gaura had his own troops. They set on the Musalmans and fought valiantly until night closed the combat. The Musalmans escaped under cover of the darkness, and the Guru's wives succeeded in escaping their brutality. When the Guru heard of Gaura's gallantry he at once sent for him Gaura was not allowed time to wash his face and hands, but was ushered stained with blood into the Guru's presence. The Guru learned from him the events of the battle and pardoned him. After this Gaura was glad to return to his own territory. The Guru then marched to Kartarpur and discontinued his projected tour to Malwa.

A Brahman of Kartarpur had obtained a son as

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the result of a vow that he would make him a tithe-paying Sikh of the Guru. The child, however, died during the Guru's stay. The Brahman took the corpse with loud lamentations to the Guru's door, and there sat down beside it. He said, 'If my son revive not, I will die myself.' The Guru remonstrated with him on his dissatisfaction with the will of God. 'The boy's life was complete. When the oil is at an end, how can the lamp burn? Guru Nanak hath said :—

If a boy die amid his youthful sports,
People will weep and say he was a merry boy.
He who gave him took him, the weeper erreth.
What can be done if he die in the ripeness of youth?

There is this difference—his friends and relations will mournfully speak of him as theirs.[1]

Accursed in the world are they who weep for the loss of worldly things.[2]

'O Brahman, it would have been worse had the boy died after marriage. Thou wouldst suffer misery from continually seeing his widow in thy house. The world is, as the Guru hath said, a chamber of lamp-black, and thy son hath died before becoming defiled with it.'

However much the Guru preached, the Brahman only learned one lesson, namely, that he himself should die. The Sikhs took compassion, and interceded with the Guru for him—'Cherisher of the poor, thou art potent to break and to mend. The Brahman hath now for a day and night lain prostrate at thy door. Hungry and poor he too will die in thy presence.' The masands also went and pleaded for the Brahman—'Great king, if this child revive not, people of other creeds will make various remarks to our discredit.' The Guru replied, 'Is there any among you who now make these repre-

[1] He will have more relations and friends to weep for him the older he grows.

[2] Māru Solha.

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sentations, sufficiently philanthropic to bestow his own life on the Brahman's son ? '

On hearing this the necks of the hearers sank into their bodies. The Guru put the question three times, but received no reply. Within less than half an hour Jiwan, Bhai Bhagtu's younger son, drawing a winding-sheet over him, said, 'O divine Guru Nanak, I will take this boy's death on myself, and give my life to him.' Saying this, he whose name was life—Jiwan—entered eternal life, and the Brahman's son arose repeating the spell of the true Name. While the people were wondering, the Guru said, 'Blest is that Sikh who for the sake of another's life hath not spared his own.' When the Bairars, the tribe to whom Jiwan belonged, heard of his self-sacrifice, they hastened to appear before the Guru to express their displeasure—'Great king, Jiwan was only eighteen years of age, and had but recently brought home his bride. She is pregnant, and who will cherish her now ? He hath but just entered the fair, and this is his fate.' The Guru said, 'A son shall be born in his house whom you shall call Sant Das. His offspring shall greatly increase and people many villages.' It may be mentioned that his descendants now occupy a tract in the Firozpur district called Chak Bhai. After this the Guru returned to Kiratpur.

The Emperor Shah Jahan kept near him his eldest son Dara Shikoh whom he loved. His second son Shujah Muhammad he made Governor of Bengal. Aurangzeb the third was appointed governor of the Dakhan, and Murad Bakhsh the fourth received the province of Gujrat. Their ambition, however, was not satisfied. They each sought to become Emperors, and for this purpose amassed wealth and armies in their respective provinces. In doing so they practised great oppression. They used to make the Rajput Rajas stand with clasped hands in front of them and bring their daughters to them for their

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enjoyment. Thus was a stigma attached to the Hindus like the spot on the moon. The Rajput princes had to obey in everything, or they would have had to don the poisoned skins of tigers and die.

When Shah Jahan had reigned for many years, he contracted the germs of disease and showed no signs of recovery. No one but Dara Shikoh was allowed to approach him. A rumour then spread that His Majesty was dead, and this afforded a good opportunity to thieves and highway robbers to exercise their self-elected calling. There was general confusion far and near, and evil fate fell on the community. Dara Shikoh intercepted letters and petitions to his father, and passed on them such orders as he thought expedient. People were afraid to go outside their houses. No complaints were listened to. The Emperor's sons became rebels, and assumed sovereignty in their own provinces. In every village men's minds were unsettled like a boat in a whirlpool.

It was ascertained that Shujah Muhammad had arrived at Banaras from Patna. When Dara Shikoh heard of his movements, he sent for Raja Jai Singh and ordered him to march against him. Jai Singh proceeded with all haste towards Banaras. He halted at Bahadurpur and Shujah Muhammad went forth to give him battle. Shujah Muhammad's troops were defeated with great slaughter and he returned to Bengal pursued by Raja Jai Singh. The latter restored tranquillity in the districts of Patna and Manger, and dried the weeping eyes of the populace.

Dara Shikoh dispatched Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur to preserve order in the Dakhan. He gave him special instructions to punish Aurangzeb if he strove to make himself independent, and bring in chains Murad Bakhsh who had shown a disposition to usurp sovereignty. Jaswant Singh having received command of a large army, proceeded on his expedition. Before his arrival in the Dakhan Aurangzeb and Murad had united their armies. Jaswant Singh's men fought valiantly, but could not

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succeed against numbers and were obliged to retire. Aurangzeb was enraged that Dara Shikoh should have sent an army against him, and he at once prepared to retaliate and if possible seize the reins of empire.

Prior to the departure of Jaswant Singh to the Dakhan, Shah Jahan and his son Dara Shikoh had resided in Agra. During Jaswant Singh's absence they removed to Dihli for the benefit of Shah Jahan's health, the climate of Agra not being suitable for him. After Jaswant Singh's defeat Dara Shikoh put his father under restraint, and then made preparations to oppose Aurangzeb's progress. The Emperor cautioned Dara Shikoh to beware of Aurangzeb who was deceitful and vindictive, but the warning was of no avail. Dara Shikoh proceeded with great pomp and rejoicing to oppose Aurangzeb. He pitched his camp at Samugarh near the margin of the river Chambal, and there awaited his brother's approach. Aurangzeb soon appeared at the head of his own and Murad's armies, and there ensued a determined battle. Aurangzeb succeeded in capturing several of Dara Shikoh's nobles. Dara Shikoh himself fled from the field, and only halted in Dihli where he entrenched himself in the fort.

Aurangzeb proceeded to Agra to seize his father who by this time had returned there. The old man was very ill, and in this condition was imprisoned by his undutiful son. Aurangzeb also imprisoned his brother Murad Bakhsh though he had assisted him to vanquish Dara Shikoh. He then proceeded to Dihli with his own and Murad's armies, and Dara Shikoh's fugitive battalions. Dara Shikoh, fearing that the Dihli nobles would assist his brother and that he himself would be captured, directed his steps to the Panjab, taking with him his faithful adherents and all his wealth and valuables.

Aurangzeb then issued a proclamation that no one should assist or receive Dara Shikoh on pain of his highest displeasure. The result was that Dara Shikoh wandered an exile from town to town and

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village to village. In this extremity he decided on visiting the Guru, who had sent him the healing cloves and myrobalans. He was, in the first place, grateful to the Guru, and, in the second place, his favourite priest Mian Mir had been loud in the Guru's praises. Dara Shikoh dispatched the following letter to the Guru. 'O saint of the world, supremely pious, by meeting whom God's light shineth on man, pure image of God, it is through thy favour man obtaineth salvation. My heart longeth to behold God, but only those to whom thou showest favour can do so. I desire to meet thee and by the fulfilment of this wish to remove my doubts. If I may fall at thy feet the wish of my heart will be fulfilled, but the duties of empire leave me no leisure and entangle me like a fish in a net. My priest Mian Mir hath praised thee, and since then I have desired to meet thee. Regard me with a look of affection. The Emperor forced empire on me, but I told him my heart desired not greatness. I was, however, obliged to obey my royal father's mandate. Mercifully assist me!'

To this letter the Guru replied, 'O Prince, thou art the object of God's grace, since the holy saint Mian Mir showeth thee favour. In the desire to tread in God's way and know thyself thou hast obtained spiritual empire. Aurangzeb, who is unmindful of God, may obtain worldly empire, but shall suffer without respite in hell-fire. Fear not; be confident; salvation shall be thy portion. Thou rulest over the eternal sovereignty of religion which will last for ever. Great is thy good fortune since thou lovest God's name, and hast met Him who is unequalled and indescribable. Ever blest is thy devotion. Wherefore be happy that thou hast obtained thy salvation. This world is a play and transient in its nature; be not enamoured therewith.'

Dara Shikoh proceeded to Kiratpur in the hope of obtaining the Guru's assistance, but found him absent. The prince then sent him a second letter which reached him in Khadur. The result was that

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the Guru and the prince had an interview on the right bank of the Bias. On this occasion the prince made large offerings to the Guru. The prince had been a diligent student of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions, and had adopted opinions which belonged to the enlightened era of Akbar. He put the Guru some questions and placed before him some of his theological doubts and difficulties. The Guru complimented him on his spiritual knowledge, and then gave him instruction in the Sikh religion, such instruction as has often been repeated in the preceding pages. The Guru added, 'It is often the duty of kings to take arms and engage in battle, and either die themselves or kill their enemies for the acquisition of wealth and territory. Wherefore collect an army and obtain as many allies as possible. Go to Lahore, fortify thy position, fight when necessary, and obtain victory. God assisteth those who assist themselves. Once thou inflictest defeat on Aurangzeb, thou shalt have many Rajas for thine allies. They now know thine excellent disposition, and will declare themselves on thy side when they are convinced that their action is safe. Thou hast now no resource but the arbitrament of battle. All the kings of India are subject to the emperor who ruleth in Dihli, and if thou recapture it not, thou shalt have no abiding-place, for the master of that city shall be master of India. Therefore thou must struggle to collect troops for battle and prevent the establishment of Aurangzeb's authority.' Dara Shikoh on receiving this encouragement asked the Guru to grant him faith in God, and said, 'I do not require a fleeting temporal empire. I merely desire spiritual perfection. I will fight when compelled by my enemies to do so and endeavour to obtain victory. What God desireth is unalterable.'

The Guru and the prince retired to their respective tents for the night, and next morning the prince was informed that Aurangzeb's army was pursuing him. He then departed for Lahore requesting the Guru to

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impede its progress as much as possible. Dara Shikoh was pursued with great vengeance and hostility by his brother's army to Lahore, Multan, Bhakhar, and Gujrat in the present Bombay presidency. He was finally captured through the infamous agency of a Pathan named Jiwan who betrayed him. He was sent to Dihli, where his political conduct and his heterodox opinions were charged as offences against him. In the hope of softening his brother's heart he addressed him the following letter :—' My brother and my emperor, all hail ! I congratulate thee and thy children on the empire thou hast obtained. I have no worldly desires myself. I only want a nook to dwell in and a female servant to cook and fetch for me so that I may pray for thee.' Entreaties never availed with Aurangzeb. Dara Shikoh was condemned by a jury of Muhammadan priests and executed on the plea of apostasy by his brother's orders. The Guru's words had made such an impression on his heart that he never uttered a sigh of pain or distress in his last moments. It is said that three hundred and seventy Muhammadan priests signed the order for his death. One man, named Sarmad, resolutely refused to sign it, and thus incurred Aurangzeb's gravest displeasure.[1]

1 *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rās IX, Chapters 22, 23. Sarmad was a man of thought, learning and enterprise. Originally a Jew, he nominally accepted Islam. He left his native country, Kashan, and emigrated to India as a merchant and physician. He found a patron in Dara Shikoh, whom he nominated as the rightful successor of Shah Jahan. Sarmad used to sit by the roadside dressed in unfashionable raiment, and preach to the populace doctrines not in accordance with the rigid Moslem orthodoxy of Aurangzeb. It became well known that Sarmad instead of repeating the orthodox creed of Islam used to repeat a formula which did not acknowledge Muhammad as the prophet of God. On account of this, his friendship for Dara Shikoh, and his general unconventionality, Aurangzeb ordered that the 'long-tongued unbeliever' should die. His execution took place three years after the murder of Dara Shikoh. He was buried in the precincts of the great Jamma Masjid in Dihli.

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Chapter V

Aurangzeb was now secure on the throne of Dihli. He kept his father a prisoner in Agra until he died. Dara Shikoh was dead, Shujah Muhammad had fled, and Murad Bakhsh was a prisoner with his father. Aurangzeb having acquired a bigoted Muhammadan training set himself to uproot the Hindu religion. He began with the temples and idols in the sacred city of Mathura, known even to the Greeks of the age of Alexander as a Hindu place of sanctity, and destroyed there every vestige of Hindu worship. He then destroyed the temples and idols in other parts of India. He pulled down the temple of Brahma in Pushkar and threw its materials into the neighbouring lake. He demolished seven hundred temples in the state of Ajmer. He then proceeded to Banaras, the great stronghold of Hinduism, where he found ample materials for his destructive fury. Wherever his iconoclastic zeal prevailed he built Muhammadan mosques. Whenever two or more men had a suit or a contention, it was always decided for the party who became Muhammadan.

Meantime complaints were made to Aurangzeb against the Guru. The Guru, it was said, had met Dara Shikoh, blessed him, and assisted him in opposing the Emperor; and it was also reported that he was preaching a religion distinct from Islam, and performing miracles in evidence of his divine mission. The Emperor was accordingly advised to send for him and convert him to Islam unless he could clearly establish his religious pretensions by the performance of miracles at the royal court. When the Guru was once converted, hundreds of thousands of Hindus would follow his example. Moreover, the Guru, who had been a friend of the Emperor's enemy, Dara Shikoh, could never become his friend.

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The Emperor accordingly addressed the following to the Guru :—' Guru Nanak's house was the house of holy men. He treated friend and foe in the same way, but thou hast supported Dara Shikoh in his effort to obtain sovereignty. I have captured and put him to death, so he hath in no way benefited by thine assistance. But let bygones be bygones, and let us now be friends. Come to me. I am now enthroned as Emperor. I have a great desire to behold thee. Wherefore thou shouldst come to me without delay.'

The Guru replied, ' I have no business with thee that thou shouldst have summoned me. I am not a king who payeth thee tribute, nor do I desire to receive anything from thee, nor do we stand in the relation of priest and disciple to each other, so wherefore hast thou summoned me ? So far from my having conferred empire on Dara Shikoh, it was the eternal throne and umbrella of religion I conferred on him. He had no wish for terrestrial empire. The empire he hath obtained is imperishable. It is only he whom God loveth who can be like Dara Shikoh. If thou have any doubt as to the empire Dara Shikoh hath obtained, meditate on him as thou goest to sleep, and thou shalt have a vision of the reality.'

The Guru's words proved true. Aurangzeb one night saw his brother seated on his throne. Celestial maids were dancing round him. Sandal, attar of roses, and other perfumes exhaled from them, and garlands of flowers adorned their persons. Aurangzeb dressed in dirty clothes in the style of a pariah was carrying a basket of filth. Rain fell at that moment and the filth overspread his features. Then up came a slave-driver and struck him such a blow with a stick that he fell on his face. Upon this the Emperor awoke and began to reflect. ' The Guru sent this dream to terrify me. Now what is to be done ? I will not abate a jot of my efforts against him. I will straightway send an army to capture him and bring him

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before me.' Next morning, on awaking, the Emperor called one of his nobles and said, 'If Guru Har Rai will not come of his own accord, then arrest and produce him before me. If he struggle against his arrest, then write to me, and I will send a strong force with sufficient munitions of war to thine assistance.'

The noble, seeing the difficulty of the enterprise before him, left the royal presence. Go, however, he must, but his object was never accomplished. On the road he ate some badly cooked food which induced indigestion and caused his death. At that time a company of Sikhs arrived from Dihli to behold the Guru. They informed him of all the unsuccessful efforts made by the Emperor to arrest him, and they expressed their apprehension that some harm would befall him. The Guru replied, 'At the time of my obtaining the Guruship, my grandfather said that any person who strove to do me injury should vanish like hail before the fire.' The Guru then quoted from Guru Arjan :—

God is the Lord of all creation ; He specially assisteth His servants.[1]

The Muhammadan priests counselled the Emperor not to use any harsh language in his summons to the Guru, but write to him in an apparently friendly manner. When the Guru arrived, the Emperor could treat him as he pleased. This advice the Emperor accepted, and wrote as follows :—'O holy Guru, thou art in the place of Guru Ram Das, who was universally known as the Guru of the world and lord of miracles. He visited my ancestor the Emperor Akbar and was on friendly terms with him, so kindly come thou too and grant me a sight of thee. Show me thy miracles and tell me of the ways of God.'

The messenger duly arrived in Kiratpur and presented the Emperor's letter. The Guru consulted

[1] Gūjari.

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his Sikhs as to the expediency of going to Dihli, and putting himself into the Emperor's power. His counsellors gave their opinion, 'Take care that matters go not from bad to worse. The Emperor is very obstinate. On the other hand, thou possessest miraculous power, and he on whose head thou placest thy hand can accomplish everything. Therefore in our humble opinion it is better for thee to go. But thou art a searcher of hearts, and knowest best.'

The Guru replied, 'What you counsel is politic, but I have registered a vow that I will never look at the wicked Emperor Aurangzeb. In the first place, I have no business with him. Secondly, he is very deceitful and treacherous. Thirdly, he hath imprisoned his father and put to death his brother Dara Shikoh, who was a great saint, and believed in the All-pervading Spirit. Fourthly, the Emperor, who is so cruel and bigoted and murdereth holy men, is every one's enemy.'

Ram Rai, son of the Guru, arrived while the subject was under discussion. The descendants of the Guru were all assembled, and every one was giving his opinion. Some said 'Yes', and some said 'No'. Upon this Ram Rai gave it as his opinion that some one should certainly go to the Emperor, otherwise their position would be one of great difficulty, as the Emperor would not be put off with excuses. Upon this the assembly turned towards Ram Rai and said, 'Thou art the Guru's elder son and capable. Go thou and settle this matter, otherwise there will be great trouble. Aurangzeb hath quite determined to carry his design into execution. If thou go not, there will be a huge conflagration. It is not on any account proper to quarrel with the ruler of the period.' Upon this Ram Rai said that if they all wished it, he would go himself to the Emperor and effect a satisfactory settlement with him. Guru Har Rai accordingly gave him permission to depart.

The Guru on the departure of his son Ram Rai

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for Dihli, enjoined him in all his words and actions to fix his thoughts on God, and everything would prove successful. He also impressed on him the propriety of not countenancing any objections the Emperor might make to the Granth Sahib, but of replying to him patiently and to the purpose. The Guru continued, 'The Emperor Jahangir told my great grandfather Guru Arjan, that certain passages reflecting on the Muhammadans ought to be expunged, but he indignantly refused, and said he would never alter or abridge the writings of the Gurus. He suffered much in consequence, but he never flattered any one.' Ram Rai was then instructed to rely on the divine power of the Gurus, and not in any way recede from the principles of his religion.

Ram Rai made preparations for his journey, and next morning with Gurdas[1] and Tara (great-grandson of Bhai Bahlo) and others took leave of the Guru and set out on his journey. When in due time they reached Dihli, the Emperor was informed by one of his staff that Guru Har Rai had not come himself, but had sent his son Ram Rai who might be subjected to the same trial as had been intended for his father. The Emperor then decided that, if his object in making trial of the Guru were not fulfilled by the Guru's son, he would send for the Guru himself.

It is said that Ram Rai performed several miracles in Dihli. The Emperor sent him poisoned robes which he wore unscathed. At one interview the Emperor had a sheet spread over a deep pit so that Ram Rai might fall into it, but the sheet, it is said, would not give way, and Ram Rai was miraculously preserved.

By the Emperor's order a meeting of Muhammadan priests was held for the purpose of interrogating Ram Rai on the subject of the Gurus' hymns. The Emperor opened the conversation, 'Ram Rai, your Guru Nanak hath written against the Moslem religion. In one place he hath said :—

[1] This is not the author of the Wārs.

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Mitti Musalman ki pere pai kumiar ;
Ghar bhande itan kian, jaldi kare pukar,[1]

the translation of which is :—

The ashes of the Muhammadan fall into the potter's clod ; Vessels and bricks are fashioned from them ; they cry out as they burn.

' What say you the meaning is ? '

Ram Rai began to reflect that it was with great difficulty he could please Aurangzeb. If he became sulky, then all his miracles would be of no avail. He therefore determined to alter the line of Guru Nanak, in order to gratify the Emperor. He thus altogether forgot his father's parting injunctions, and said, ' Thy Majesty, Guru Nanak wrote, ' Mitti beiman ki ', that is, the the ashes of the faithless, not of the Musalmans, fall into the potter's clod. The text has been causelessly corrupted by ignorant persons and thy Majesty's religion and mine defamed. The faces of the faithless and not of the Musalmans shall be blackened in both worlds. When alive they shall burn, and when dead their ashes shall be defiled.' All the Muhammadan priests were pleased with this reply. The Emperor then conferred a mark of favour on Ram Rai and dissolved the assembly.

The Sikhs of Dihli lost no time in reporting Ram Rai's perfidy to his father. Their envoy swiftly proceeded to Kiratpur, informed the Guru of the pomp and honour with which Ram Rai had been received in Dihli, and detailed the miracles he had exhibited. They then explained how he had made an alteration in a line of Guru Nanak in order to please the Emperor, and asked the Guru how far this was to proceed.

The Guru was much distressed at the insult to Guru Nanak and the Granth Sahib, and said, ' The words of Guru Nanak are unerring arrows. Great priests, holy men, and miracle-workers revere his words.

[1] Āsa ki Wār.

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Guru Nanak was a sovereign who established his empire over men.' The Guru then passing in review the whole of Ram Rai's conduct since his arrival in Dihli, his treachery to his faith, his unnecessary exhibition of miracles, and his long absence, decided that he was not fit for the Guruship. 'The Guruship,' said the Guru, 'is like a tigress's milk which can only be contained in a golden cup. Only he who is ready to devote his life thereto is worthy of it. Let Ram Rai not look on my face again. Let him abide with Aurangzeb, and amass money at his court. In the words of Guru Amar Das :—

Let him who is worthy sit on the king's throne.[1]
The face of the liar shall be cursed ; the true saint only shall be magnified.' [2]

When Ram Rai, who remained in Dihli, heard of his father's decision to exclude him from the succession, he began to repent and grieve :—'Alas ! why have I done such an evil deed ? To flatter a false monarch I have altered a word of the divine Guru Nanak, not one iota of whose writings is inaccurate.' While Ram Rai said this in his heart, he began to boast to the world at large—'It is of no consequence. What care I for the Guruship ? I have lakhs of rupees, I have endless Sikhs and followers. The Emperor is now a sincere friend of mine. Why should I desire the Guruship ? I will seize it by force after my father's death. I will now hold my court in Dihli. What care I for anybody ? I have hundreds of thousands of brave men at my disposal to support me.' Thus stating the pros and cons of his position and tossing his opinions from side to side as if they were a magician's ball, he gave himself airs as if he had been already appointed governor of a province.

Prior to the departure of Ram Rai for Dihli a Sikh came from a distance to see the Guru, and asked him which of his sons should succeed him.

[1] Māru ki Wār I. [2] Bilāwal ki Wār.

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It is said that he suggested the following test—' Take a needle to where my two sons are reading the Granth Sahib by turns. Try to insert the needle into the couch on which the sacred volume is supported. The couch which is most softened by the reading shall receive the needle. If thou but prick it, the needle will enter of its own accord.' The Sikh took the needle and first tried to pierce the couch when Ram Rai was reading, but it failed to enter. He waited until it was the turn of the Guru's youngest son, Har Krishan to read, and after a brief delay inserted the needle. It is said that it at once entered the couch which had become soft as wax by the force of Har Krishan's devotion.[1]

The Sikh went and informed the Guru, but at his request kept private the result of the trial. The Guru then said, 'The immortal God hath given thee answer. What impression will not Har Krishan's voice make on soft minds since it produceth such an impression on hard wood ? It is only he whose words have such power who is fitted for the Guruship.'

Chapter VI

After Ram Rai had resided in Dihli for some time he decided he would go to Kiratpur to endeavour to induce his father to reverse his decision regarding him. ' The rope may be rotten, but the twist had not yet left it '—that is, though his hopes were little, yet his desire for the Guruship remained. He took leave of the Emperor and proceeded to a spot twelve kos from Kiratpur. There he pitched his tent, and wrote to his father for permission to visit him. He said he had suffered for his sins and desired to implore the parental forgiveness. The Guru replied, ' Ram

1 This parable is now understood by the Sikhs to mean that Rām Rāi's reading of the Granth Sāhib produced no impression on the Sikh, while the devout manner in which Har Krishan intoned the sacred volume softened the Sikh's heart.

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Rai, thou hast disobeyed my order and sinned. How canst thou aspire to become a holy man? Go whither thy fancy leadeth thee. I will never see thee again on account of thine infidelity. If I appoint thee Guru, what thou hast done to-day others will do to-morrow.'

Ram Rai on receipt of this letter proceeded to Lahore where he was well received. Apart fronr being the eldest son of the Guru and a reputed thaumaturge, he was also supported by the Sikhs through policy, for it was believed that he possessed the confidence of the Emperor. On this account men who had previously not been Sikhs, now became his disciples and espoused his cause.

Ram Rai in process of time wrote to his uncle Dhir Mal to request him to intercede for him with his father. 'Tell him that it is not a good thing to uproot a household. It is not proper to bestow the Guruship on my younger brother Har Krishan. On this some very severe comments will be made. When Prithia was superseded in favour of Guru Arjan, what troubles arose! Let not this happen again. I am besides on very good terms with the Emperor Aurangzeb. and I shall certainly complain to him.' Dhir Mal took this letter to the Guru's mother and persuaded her to accompany him to the Guru, who by this time had returned to Kartarpur, in the hope of prevailing on him to pardon Ram Rai. Dhir Mal and the Guru's mother both pleaded earnestly and with their own natural eloquence expanded Ram Rai's arguments.

The Guru replied, 'What I have done is not at all unusual, Guru Nanak having made trial of his sons gave the Guruship to a disciple. Guru Angad and Guru Amar Das, having also made trial of their sons, did not appoint them to succeed, but gave the Guruship to their servants. After full consideration I have arrived at the conclusion that Ram Rai was blinded by the love of pelf when he so far forgot himself as to

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alter a word in a hymn of Guru Nanak to please the Emperor. What was done in the beginning will also be done now.'

Dhir Mal was not to be easily balked. He kept continually pressing Ram Rai's claims on the Guru, so the latter, in order to avoid an altercation with his brother resolved to leave Kartarpur, and return to Kiratpur. There is an Oriental proverb that swans remain not in the mire ; so the Guru could not abide in evil association. He formed his plan overnight, set out next morning, and arrived in due course in Kiratpur where he gave a splendid banquet to his people.

On one occasion when some Sikhs singing hymns from the Granth Sahib visited the Guru, he happened to be lying on his couch. On hearing the hymns he immediately arose. When asked the reason he said, 'Hear, my beloved Sikhs, the Guru is embodied in compositions whose sanctity is immeasurable and unrivalled. The Guru's instruction is a raft to cross over the fiery ocean of the world. It conferreth happiness on the true Guru's Sikhs, and removeth sin from the hearts of the readers. It may be called a lion to frighten the deer of avarice, or an elephant to break down the great tree of sorrow. It produceth divine knowledge and dispelleth ignorance. He who payeth respect to the Guru's hymns shall without further effort cross over the terrible ocean of the world, for great is their efficacy. Were I not to show reverence for the Guru's hymns, my Sikhs would not do so, and without such reverence bliss could not be obtained. That is why I rose from my couch.

'The Sikh who acteth according to the Guru's instruction, shall obtain the supreme dignity. It is only he who hath no devotion or faith, who reverenceth not the Guru's words. Without reverence devotion is not obtained, and without devotion there is no holiness. Without holiness how can there be

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deliverance? And without deliverance the soul shall be subject to further transmigration and shall not be absorbed in God. It is incumbent on the Sikhs to obtain happiness by pondering on the Guru's words. Pilgrimage, fasting, sacrifice, and painful austerities are of no avail. The Guru's saint is my Sikh, and delighteth in the Guru's hymns. Be assured that he who doth not, is no Sikh of mine.' The Guru's example to rise when the sacred volume is read is still observed by his followers.

The Guru feeling his end approaching again thought of his successor. He had always felt that as Ram Rai, who was plotting and struggling for the Guruship, was unworthy, it must be left to some holy person. He remembered the wisdom of Kabir:—

Do now the work of to-morrow; and if thou do it now, do it at once.

Nothing can be done hereafter when Death standeth over thy head.

The Guru having thus resolved summoned a great council of his Sikhs at which the descendants of his predecessors attended. The occasion was celebrated with a banquet, great rejoicings, the songs of many minstrels, and the music of many rebeck-players. The Guru seated his second son Har Krishan, who was still a child, on a throne in the centre of the assembly. He then placed a coco-nut and five paise before him, circumambulated him three times, and had a tilak or patch put on his forehead. The whole company then rose and did obeisance to the young Guru. Guru Har Rai enjoined all his Sikhs to consider Har Krishan as his image, to put faith in him, and they should obtain salvation. Thus was the ceremony of Har Krishan's installation complete.

Guru Har Rai closed his eyes in divine pleasure and went to his final rest on Sunday the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Kartik, Sambat 1718 (A. D. 1661).

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GURU HAR KRISHAN

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LIFE OF GURU HAR KRISHAN, THE EIGHTH GURU

CHAPTER I

GURU HAR KRISHAN, the second and younger son of Guru Har Rai and his wife Krishan Kaur, was born on the ninth day of the dark half of the month of Sawan in Sambat 1713 (A.D. 1656). The reason why his brother Ram Rai was superseded has already been given. Har Krishan, though appointed Guru at the age of five years and three months, gave promise of a docile spirit and acute intellect. According to a Hindustani proverb, the nature and ultimate size of a tree can be judged by its sprouting leaves, so this child gave early indications of being worthy to succeed to the high dignity of his line. It is said that even at that early age Guru Har Krishan used to give his Sikhs instruction, resolve their doubts, and lead them on the way to salvation. Sikhs came from all quarters to visit him, and he sent preachers in every direction to fulfil his father's pious object to propagate and extend the faith.

Ram Rai was at the Emperor's court in Dihli when his younger brother was appointed to the Guruship in Kiratpur. On hearing of it be became very envious. He said, 'I first came here by my father Guru Har Rai's order. This powerful Emperor hath so appreciated me that he hath given me much wealth. I have moreover extended the faith, and yet my father hath deprived me of the Guruship and conferred it on my younger brother.' Although Ram Rai's conscience told him that he had done wrong, yet, in the words of the chronicler, jealousy stopped the ears of his intelligence.

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The masand Gurdas who attended on Ram Rai, noticing his troubled state of mind said, 'There is no need to be sad. Thou hast many disciples in this part of the country. Even the great Emperor himself holdeth thee in honour. Of what consequence is Guru Har Rai's neglect of thee?' Ram Rai replied, 'Knowest thou not that when the Sikhs of this country learn that the Guruship hath been given to my younger brother, they will turn away from me and go to him?' Gurdas was ready with an expedient, 'Send thy masands in every direction to proclaim thee Guru, and say that whoever boweth to any other shall be accursed. By this device people will reverence thee as Guru Har Rai's rightful successor. If, on the other hand, people reverence Guru Har Krishan and make him offerings, that needeth not disturb thy mind. He is thy younger brother begotten of a Guru and entitled to maintenance.'

Ram Rai did not approve of the latter, but he did of the former portion of Gurdas's advice, namely, to have himself proclaimed Guru. He then assembled the masands, ordered them to go in every direction, proclaim his succession, and bring him the offerings of the faithful. Ram Rai reflected not on the words of Kabir :—

> Where there is covetousness there is death ; where there is forgiveness there is God Himself.

The object of the Guruship was to save the world, to give instruction in the true Name, and to blend men with their Creator, but Ram Rai thought it a means of amassing money, and for this among other reasons his father had set him aside. The masands followed the example of Ram Rai, and applied themselves, not to spread the religion of the Gurus, but to accumulate wealth for their pleasures.

The disciples whose guru is blind act blindly themselves. The masands began to beat and plunder

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poor Sikhs, and threatened with the Guru's curse all who resented their conduct. Ram Rai's desire to collect large offerings was not fulfilled. The masands became proud and rebellious, and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves. They treated Ram Rai as a nonentity, for they deemed that all the Sikhs were in their own power, and that they could appoint to the Guruship whomsoever they pleased. Ram Rai found himself completely at their mercy, and was obliged to act according to their dictation.

After much reflection Ram Rai decided on laying his case before the Emperor. On obtaining an audience he thus addressed Aurangzeb, 'Sire, my father hath gone on high, and my younger brother hath taken possession of his throne, his property, and offerings. This misfortune hath befallen me on account of my obedience to thee. My father was opposed to thee on that account, and at his death ordered my younger brother never to be reconciled to thee and never to look upon thy face. Now I pray thee to summon him to Dihli, and order him to exhibit miracles as I have done.'

Aurangzeb, who was himself the incarnation of deceit, instinctively knew what Ram Rai was plotting, but yet his conscience at first moved him to give good counsel, 'O Ram Rai, thou art amply provided for. Why annoy thy younger brother? He is also thy father's son.' When Ram Rai further pressed his plaint, it occurred to Aurangzeb that he might avail himself of Ram Rai's displeasure for his own religious and political purposes. He said to himself, 'I want to convert all the Hindus to Islam, but I apprehend failure in the Panjab, for there the people greatly reverence the Guru, and, if they rise against me, I shall have great difficulty in effecting my design. I have already several times considered how I can induce the Guru to accept the Muhammadan faith. It was on that account I summoned Guru Har Rai.

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He sent his son to me, and I have him now in my power. There is yet another brother, of whose resistance to my designs I am equally apprehensive; but if I succeed in bringing him here, I may bribe him into acquiescence. If he obstinately resist, I will set both brothers at variance, and they shall die by mutual slaughter. In this way my faith will quickly spread in the Panjab, and I shall gain heaven by my success in converting the infidels. The Sikhs will never suspect that I have put both brothers to death. I shall kill the snake without breaking my stick.'

Aurangzeb having contrived this tortuous and wicked plan, called Raja Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) who happened to be at court and ordered him to summon Guru Har Krishan the successor of Guru Har Rai. 'I wish to see him,' said the monarch, 'be careful that he be treated with all respect on his journey.'

Ram Rai was delighted on hearing of the order to summon his brother—'If my brother disobey, the Emperor will send an army to destroy him. If, on the other hand, he come here, it will be in disobedience to our father's final order never to appear before Aurangzeb; and he will then be deemed a greater sinner than I. If he run away through fear of the Emperor, I will then go and, establishing myself as Guru, take possession of Kiratpur.' Aurangzeb was as much delighted as Ram Rai at the decision that had been arrived at, though for quite a different reason.

Raja Jai Singh who had previously heard the Guru's praises was pleased at the prospect of making his acquaintance, and of listening to his instruction. He was very glad that such a bigoted man as the Emperor had ordered the Guru to be summoned with the high respect due to his spiritual position. The Sikhs of Dihli also, who were displeased at Ram Rai's proceedings, manifested their satisfaction at the hope of seeing the real Guru among them, and

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begged the Raja to inform him that not only the Emperor but the Sikhs of Dihli were thirsting to behold him.

Raja Jai Singh sent a high official with orders that he was to invite rather than summon the Guru, and escort him to the imperial capital with all pomp and ceremony. The Raja knew that Ram Rai and the Guru were at variance, but he never suspected that the Emperor harboured any evil designs.

When the high officer deputed to summon the Guru arrived in Kiratpur and delivered his message, the Guru knew that Ram Rai had instigated the Emperor to summon him, and said he would give a reply on the morrow. When the Guru, after breaking up the assembly in which the officer had been received, went to his house, he found his mother, his Sikhs, and his masands very sad. On inquiring the cause, his mother said that she was in perplexity as to what advice to give him, whether he should proceed to Dihli or not. He was a child, he had no father to take counsel with, his elder brother, a man of great craft and worldly experience, bore him enmity, and it was difficult to say what plan should be adopted. The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, what cause is there for anxiety? Whatever Wahguru hath decided shall take place. Why be anxious regarding it? What can poor mortal do if he have not God's succour? I hold my father's opinion that it is better for me not to go to Aurangzeb or hold any intercourse with him.' The Guru's mother rejoined, 'Thou speakest aright, but the Turks hold sway. The Emperor is obstinate and violent. If thou refuse, an army may be sent to fetch thee, in which case there would be sanguinary fighting and many lives lost.'

Next day the Guru sent for the officer and said, 'My brother is with the Emperor, I do not know that I can do anything for His Majesty by accepting his invitation.' The officer replied, 'It is at thy brother's

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suggestion the Emperor hath sent for thee, but he is very anxious to behold thee himself also, and the Sikhs of Dihli hunger for a sight of thee. Wherefore come with me and please them all.' The Guru rejoined, 'I will go by all means where I shall be received with love, but it hath been imposed on me as a duty not to look on the Emperor's face. Write and tell Raja Jai Singh that, if the Sikhs of Dihli want me, I will go to them, but if the Raja desire me to meet the Emperor, I must decline the invitation.' The officer then represented that Raja Jai Singh had promised to call the Guru to Dihli, but had not promised to bring him before the Emperor. The officer would, however, write to Raja Jai Singh, and obtain precise information as to what was intended.

When an answer arrived the officer hastened to communicate it to the Guru—'Raja Jai Singh humbly requesteth the Guru to come to Dihli, so that he and the Guru's Sikhs may behold him. The Guru may act as he pleaseth regarding an interview with the Emperor. If the Emperor force an interview on him, Raja Jai Singh will foil his intention by diplomacy.' The Guru hearing this said, 'It is well. I will set out the day after to-morrow.'

The Guru duly set out from Kiratpur. On the way he waited for some Sikhs who had come thither after his departure. Among them were the halt, the maimed, the leprous, &c., all of whom he cured by the imposition of hands. In the same way he waited on the road for other Sikhs who had come from distant countries to see him. Much time was thus spent, and Raja Jai Singh's messenger had to remonstrate. On arriving at the village of Panjokhara near Ambala, the Guru made a boundary of sand and ordered that no Sikh should cross it after his departure, so that he might be able to expedite his journey. He said, 'Let any Sikh who desireth to see me stand here and make his supplication, and he shall obtain

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his wishes.' He left some of his disciples there to give instruction. There is now a temple on the spot in memory of the Guru's visit.

Chapter II

While the Guru at Panjokhara[1] was meditating on God, a Sikh came and told him of a proud Brahman who was in the neighbourhood. The Brahman had asked the Guru's name, and learned that it was Sri Har Krishan. Hearing this the Brahman became very angry and said, 'The poet of the Bhagavat Gita, whom none can equal, called God merely Krishan, and the Guru calleth himself Sri Har Krishan, as if he thought himself superior to Krishan. If he be such a Guru, let him come and translate the Gita with me.' The Guru replied to his informant, 'The eyes of understanding are very good, but the cataract of pride so blindeth them that they cannot see God's way. The proud think all persons beneath them.'

The Sikh, however, prevailed on the Guru to allow the Brahman to come to him. When the Brahman came he did not salute the Guru, but unceremoniously sat down in his presence. He then said, 'Thou who callest thyself Sri Har Krishan, must be greater than the god Krishan. Translate the Gita for a little while with me.' The Guru replied, 'The Brahmans of the present day are not deeply read. They are great talkers and arguers, and are deteriorating every day; and in the future they will have even less religion than they have now. What the Brahmans know is not real knowledge, and they are strangers to God. I have not read the Gita, and were I to translate it with thee, thou wouldst say I was some rich man's son who had had a private tutor, whereas I should translate by my spiritual power. Go and bring some ignorant rustic to discuss

[1] Pandit Tara Singh's *Gur Tirath Sangrah*

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with thee, and when thou hast vanquished him, I will speak to thee.' The Brahman went and brought an ignorant water-carrier called Chhajju from the nearest village. The Guru looked him full in the face and said, 'Thou hast become a great divinity scholar. Now discuss the meaning of the Shastars with this Brahman.' The Brahman and the water-carrier accordingly began to discuss, and the water-carrier gave such learned replies, that the Brahman stood in astonished silence. The questions and replies related to Hindu theology.

The pandit became convinced that the Guru had infused his supernatural power into the water-carrier. He accordingly begged the Guru's pardon for the unceremonious manner in which he had approached him. The Brahman added, 'Thou art really the holy god Krishan. Make me thy disciple.' The Guru did so and discoursed to him on humility.

Raja Jai Singh went forth with bare feet to meet the Guru. The Emperor sent large presents on the Guru's arrival and expressed a wish to see him. In reply to the Emperor's message the Guru said, 'My elder brother is with the Emperor, and is ready to do whatever he desireth. I cannot meet the Emperor. My father with his dying words told me that my elder brother would transact all political affairs with His Majesty, and I had better not meddle with them. My mission is to preach the true Name. There is no one who can be so affectionate as a brother, and there is no one who at the same time can be a greater enemy. Witness the treatment of his brothers by the Emperor himself. Ram Rai beareth me great enmity, and were the Emperor on receiving me to show me any favour, Ram Rai would become still more hostile, and grave dissensions in families had better be avoided. For this and other reasons my father forbade me to meet the Emperor.'

When this speech was reported to the Emperor,

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he was astonished that a child of seven years of age could have uttered it. He said the Guru must be some person possessing supernatural power, and nothing could be gained by annoying him. Such good thoughts however merely flashed across Aurangzeb's mind for a moment. They were but the lightning shining through black clouds on a dark night, which quickly vanishes and leaves the landscape in greater darkness than before. Aurangzeb bided his time, for he knew the Guru must grant him the desired interview.

Crowds of Sikhs thronged to see the Guru and receive spiritual consolation from him. There was then a plague raging in Dihli, and those afflicted with it, who sought the Guru's mediation, were all healed. Ram Rai finding the Sikhs falling away from himself, and flocking round the Guru, became greatly incensed and said to himself, 'The evil I intended for him has turned out to his advantage. I must now contrive some other expedient that he may not be able to oppose my designs.'

The following day the Emperor's son was announced. The prince said that his father desired to see the Guru. The Guru replied that he had already given his reason for not seeing the Emperor, and he repeated what he had said before, namely, 'Ram Rai who is at court will transact with the Emperor any political or administrative business that may be necessary. If the Emperor desire any religious instruction, I will dictate it to thee and thou mayest write it in Persian characters. When he understandeth and acteth according to it, the blessing of Guru Nanak shall light on him, and he shall be happy.'

The Prince was astonished at this reply and said the Guru might write down his instruction for the Emperor. The Guru then dictated the following hymn of Guru Nanak for the Emperor's edification :—

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If the True God dwell not in the heart,
What is eating, what clothing,
What fruit, what clarified butter and sweet molasses, what fine flour and what meat ?
What clothes, what a pleasant couch for billing and cooing,
What an army, what mace-bearers and servants, and what palaces to dwell in ?
Nanak, except the true Name all things are perishable.[1]

The prince took this hymn to his father who was much impressed with it, and his eyes for a moment opened to the truth, but the desire of converting the Guru to Islam and prolonging the enmity between the two brothers again blinded him.

The Emperor once said in the course of private conversation to Raja Jai Singh, 'Thou and others highly praise the Guru and say he possesseth miraculous power. Hast thou ever put him to the test ? If thou have not done so, then do so now, and if thou find he possesseth any superhuman power, then let me know.' Raja Jai Singh replied, 'It is difficult to put such persons to the test. Dealing with them is highly dangerous for they may utter curses instead of blessings, but I will, however, as thy Majesty ordereth, contrive some means of proving him.' Jai Singh then went home and in consultation with his head queen contrived a plan to test the Guru. She was to dress herself as a slave, and sit with slaves behind the other queens when the Guru visited Jai Singh's palace. If the Guru recognized her, then it might be considered a proof that he really was what his followers deemed him to be.

The Guru by his supernatural power knew the plot laid for him, and became very sad at being expected to show to the world what saints and holy men conceal, namely, miraculous power ; so when Jai Singh went to conduct him to his palace, he at

[1] Mājh ki Wār.

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first refused to receive him. On pressure, however, the Guru admitted Jai Singh to his presence. Jai Singh told him in a very respectful manner that his queens desired to see him. When the Guru complied with Jai Singh's invitation, he found a large female assemblage ready to receive him. The Guru touched the front queen with a wand and said, 'Thou art not the head queen.' In the same way he touched the other ladies of the zanana and rejected them all. At last he touched the head queen whom, notwithstanding her disguise, he recognized at the back of the assembly and said, 'Thou art the head queen.' She was very pleased at being recognized in her menial attire. The Guru then said in reference to the trial made of him by Raja Jai Singh: 'Guru Nanak will ever confer happiness on those who have unswerving faith. He will ever abide with them and assist them, and God will love them both in this world and the next. He whose mind is perplexed with doubts is not a true believer. He who through pride deemeth himself very exalted must like a lofty peak on the surface of the earth ultimately have a fall. Devotion, which is like rain, resteth not on lofty places. There the field of God's love germinateth not, and the harvest of salvation is not gathered.' Upon this Raja Jai Singh and his queens admitted the Guru's sanctity.

Chapter III

On the fourth day of the dark half of Chet, the day after the above occurrence, the Guru was seized with fever. His eyes were seen to grow red, his breathing became very rapid, and the heat of his body was felt at a considerable distance. His mother Krishan Kaur sat by him and began to lament, saying, 'My son, why art thou intent on thy death? Thou hast only lately been seated on the Guru's throne, thou art still a child, and it is too soon for thee to depart. Mayest

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thou enjoy the full term of life, have a family, and then go to God! Why at this tender age turn thy thoughts away from the world?'

The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, it is natural that thou shouldst feel this paroxysm of love, but have no anxiety for me. It is our duty to accept the will of the Almighty. As Guru Arjan hath said:—

The Master may gather the crop whether it be green, half-ripe, or ripe and fit to be cut.

The reapers[1] make preparations, bring sickles, and arrive *on the ground.*

They cut the crop as it is measured out to them when the Owner giveth orders.[2]

'When it is the Husbandman's pleasure He cutteth down the crop. There is no rule as to whether it must be green or half ripe. What torture Guru Arjan suffered, and yet he uttered not a groan! Why should we mourn for the body when it is God's will that it should depart. What is to-day, and what to-morrow? Whatever God doeth is for the best.'

The Guru, however, thought it proper to go outside the city to the margin of the Jamna in order to breathe a purer atmosphere. He pitched his camp near Raja Jai Singh's army. Raja Jai Singh himself lived in the city, and on hearing that the Guru had left it, sent an officer to ask if he had offended him in any way. The Guru explained the reason of his change of residence.

Prior to the officer's return Raja Jai Singh informed the Emperor of the manner in which he had tested the Guru. The Emperor then became still more anxious for an interview, and again ordered the Raja to procure it for him. When Raja Jai Singh returned to his palace, he heard of the Guru's illness. He then went to inquire after his health, and also to discuss with him the subject of his inter-

[1] Death's myrmidons. [2] Sri Rāg.

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view with the Emperor. The Guru was, however, too ill to give any definite reply.

Next day small-pox asserted itself. Its unmistakable pimples appeared on the Guru's body. With it a very violent fever raged and unconsciousness ensued. Sikh writers minutely describe the effects of the small-pox on the Guru's tender and handsome person, and the pains he suffered. A man suffering from small-pox wriggles like a fish on hot sand. If he desire to lie down, he cannot do so. On whichever side he lies, he is pained and writhes in anguish and torture, which, as the chronicler piously remarks, may God not inflict even on an enemy! The Guru, however, uttered no cry of pain, but continued to repeat God's name.

During his illness every one was ordered to repeat the hymns of the Granth Sahib for the occasion. The Guru continued ill for several days. At last his condition grew desperate. He knew his end had arrived, and he invited all who desired to behold him for the last time to present themselves. Raja Jai Singh, masand Gurbakhsh, and many others went to his bedside. Gurbakhsh with clasped hands thus addressed him—'Great king, the preceding Gurus before their departure entrusted their Sikhs either to servants or sons. Thou being so young art going to leave us without a Guru. How can the Sikhs endure such a calamity? Cherish thy simple Sikhs,. and, when thou hast a son who is fit for the Guruship, then mayest tnou depart, not now.'

The Guru replied, 'Be not anxious. The Creator will do what is best. My death cannot now be averted. The glory of Guru Nanak's throne shall increase day by day. Gurus may die, but their hearts, that is, the Granth Sahib, shall remain with you. It containeth instruction, divine knowledge, and the Guru's spell. It will satisfy all men's desires. Read it and act on its counsels, and Guru Nanak will ever assist

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you. Wherefore waver not, but ever turn your thoughts towards the immortal God. Salvation is obtained through Guru Nanak's mediation. Put faith in him, and remember his words.'

The Sikhs understood from the Guru's language that he was about to die. They began to mourn his untimely fate and to reflect that there was none so competent as he to give them divine instruction. He on seeing their anxiety thus addressed them—'This world is transitory. To fix your minds on it, to indulge in rejoicing or mourning, and to impute blame to God are all highly sinful acts. We ought all to accept God's will and deem his pleasure as our own. Whatever he doeth is for the best. As Baba Nanak hath said in the Japji—

What pleaseth Thee, O God, is good.

This body must one day perish. What mattereth it whether it perish now or after the fullness of years? He who obeyeth God's will renounceth pride and other deadly sins. He remembereth the true Name, crosseth over the world's terrible ocean, and is for ever emancipated from its troubles.'

Here the Guru's strength failed him. He became silent and closed his eyes. After a short time he opened them and gazed affectionately on his Sikhs. Raja Jai Singh again appeared with the Emperor's reiterated request for an interview. To this the Guru gave the same reply as before, and expressed a desire that the Emperor should fix his attention on the hymn he had written for him.

Next day the Sikhs went in a body to behold their Guru. Gurbakhsh again addressed him, 'Great king, Ram Rai is on good terms with the Emperor here. In the Panjab there is Dhir Mal, as also other Sodhis who claim the Guruship. They are only waiting for thy death to assert their claims. Simple Sikhs will fall into their toils, and intelligent Sikhs will suffer in the midst of the ensuing troubles. In

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this manner this tree of Sikhism, which hath been hitherto cherished, will wither away. Every one will be a guru in his own house, and several sects of opinionative and heterodox Sikhs will arise. Be pleased to appoint some one like thyself for our salvation.'

The Guru replied, 'Why be anxious? The tree planted by Guru Nanak's holy hands shall never wither. Droughts, storms, and heat may prevail, but that shall never fade. There shall be twofold and fourfold miracles, and one Guru shall be blended with another.'

On this the Guru called for five paise and a coconut. He took them, and not being able to move his body, waved his hand three times in the air in token of circumambulating his successor, and said 'Baba Bakale', that is, his successor would be found in the village of Bakala. When he could again speak he ordered the minstrels to sing the Gurus' hymns and repeat God's name.

When midnight had passed and there was no indication of the Guru's recovery, his mother, Krishan Kaur, who sat by his bed, looked at his handsome face, became very sad, and broke forth into lamentation—'What shall I do alone in the world having lost my dutiful son and my kind husband. Where shall I find them, and how shall I live without them?' The Guru said in reply, 'Mother dear, feel no anxiety, the greater part of thy life hath been spent in happiness. Pass the remainder in God's service. Guru Arjan hath said:—

Where the physician cannot succeed, where there is neither sister nor brother, God alone assisteth.

What He doeth cometh to pass, He washeth away the filth of sin; remember that Supreme Being.[1]

By remembering God thou shalt arrive at such a superior position that thou shalt never know

[1] Māru.

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sorrow and never be separated from us.' The Guru's mother was much consoled by this speech. The Guru's final order was that none should weep for him, but all were to sing the Gurus' hymns. In the midst of the hymns and the repetition of God's name, the Guru breathed his last on Saturday, the fourteenth day of the light half of the month of Chet, Sambat 1721 (A.D. 1664). His body was cremated on a plain called Tilokhari south of Dihli on the bank of the Jamna, where his cinerary tomb is still preserved. A temple was subsequently built at the place where he had resided when in the city.

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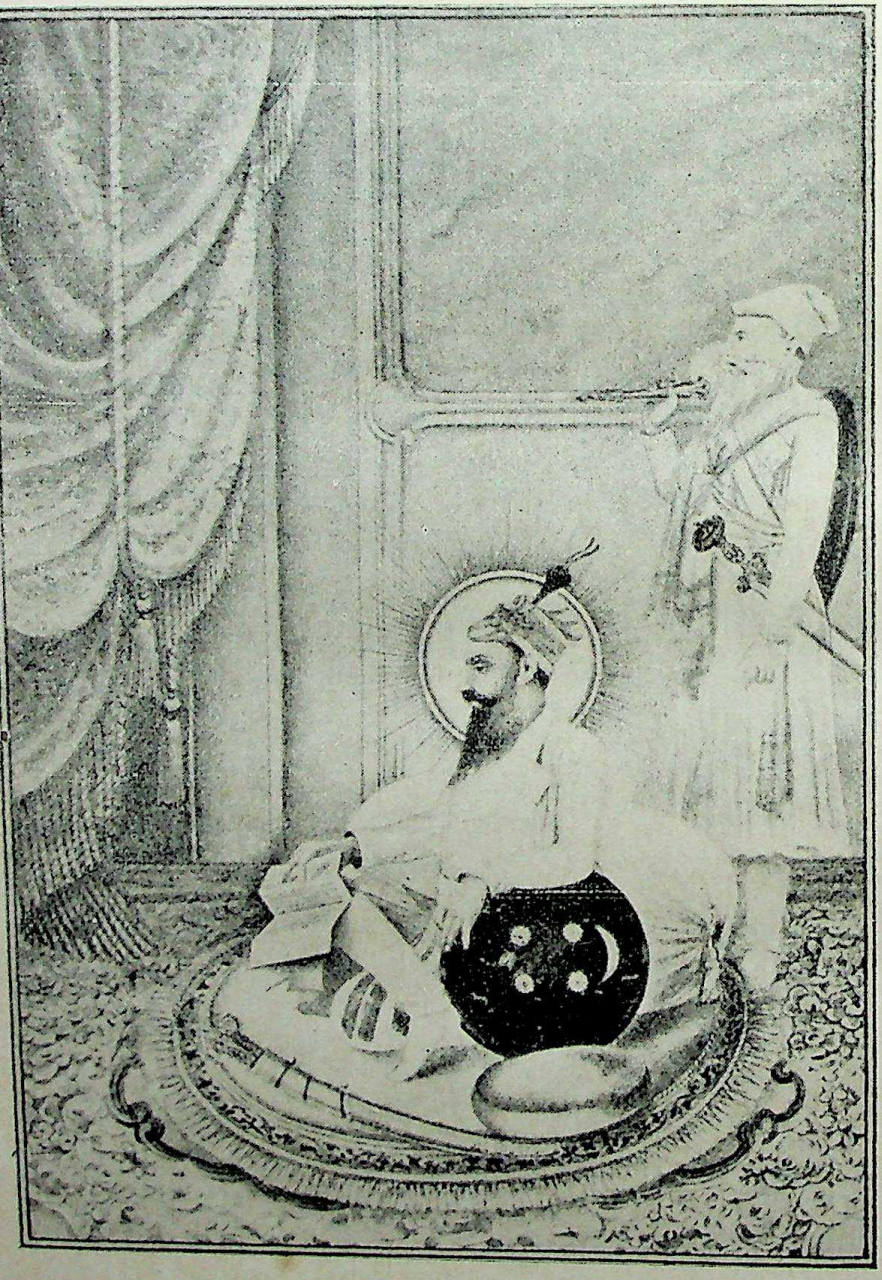

GURU TEG BAHADUR

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LIFE OF GURU TEG BAHADUR, THE NINTH GURU

CHAPTER I

GURU TEG BAHADUR, youngest son of the sixth Guru, Har Gobind and his wife Nanaki, was born in what is now called Guru ke Mahal, Amritsar, in the Panjab on Sunday, the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Baisakh, a watch and a quarter before day in the Sambat year 1679 (A. D. 1622).

Immediately after the child's birth Guru Har Gobind with five Sikhs went to see him. On contemplating him the Guru knew that his son would be a great hero, powerful to endure the sword, and so he called him Teg Bahadur.[1] He prophesied that the boy should have a son who would develop a third religion distinct from those of the Hindus and Musalmans, and who would also destroy the reign of tyranny in Hindustan.

When Teg Bahadur was five years of age, he used to indulge in trains of thought, during which he would speak to no one. His mother Nanaki inquired of his father why he tolerated this conduct on the part of his son. Guru Har Gobind consoled her by telling her that Teg Bahadur should become a Guru, prove very powerful, and sacrifice himself for the Sikh religion.

Teg Bahadur was, as already stated, married to Gujari, daughter of Lal Chand, a native of Kartarpur in the Jalandhar District. After the death of Guru Har Gobind, Teg Bahadur with his mother and wife went to live in Bakala, where Guru Har Krishan subsequently said his successor should be found.

[1] Bhāi Nand Lāl calls the ninth Guru Tek Bahādur, that is, a powerful prop of the weak.

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When the Sodhis of Bakala heard of the last words of Guru Har Krishan, twenty-two of them claimed the right to succeed him. These self-made gurus forcibly took the offerings of the Sikhs who came to see the real Guru, with the result that true worshippers suffered great hardship for a considerable time. At last a Sikh called Makkhan Shah of the Labana tribe came from Gujrat in the Dakhan [1] with an offering of five hundred gold *muhars* which some time previously he had vowed to make to the Guru on escaping shipwreck. . What was his surprise when he found that twenty-two Sodhis had installed themselves as gurus ! In this state of confusion and uncertainty he resolved to make trial of the pretenders. He visited them all, and made them offerings of two gold *muhars* each. None of them knew that he had brought five hundred *muhars* for the real Guru. Every one of them extolled himself, and said the others were hypocrites and deceivers. He thought of the words of Guru Arjan in the Sukhmani :—

> Goodness shall not even approach him
> Who calleth himself good.

And again :—

> He who considereth himself lowl
> Shall be deemed the most exalted of all ;

and he came to the conclusion that these twenty-two men only claimed to be gurus in order to plunder the Sikhs.

He then inquired if there were any one else in Bakala who claimed to be the Guru. He was told there was another man popularly called Tega, son of Guru Har Gobind, who dwelt there in silence and retirement, but had no ambition to undertake the onerous duties of the position. The masands told Makkhan Shah that if he desired to interview Tega

[1] Sukha Singh's *Gur Bilās*, Chap. I.

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he might go with them. Makkhan Shah on arriving at Teg Bahadur's house requested an interview. Teg Bahadur told his servant to inform Makkhan Shah that if he wanted to see him he must come alone. When he presented himself unaccompanied by the masands, Teg Bahadur reflected that as he had saved Makkhan Shah from shipwreck, so he must now disclose himself. 'Makkhan Shah hath made trial of all the pretenders,' thought Teg Bahadur, 'but found not the true Guru, and no pretender hath been able to satisfy him by telling him the object of his visit. If I now conceal myself from him he will lose faith in the Gurus. He hath placed great reliance on the last words of Guru Har Krishan, "Baba Bakale", and if his desires be not fulfilled, he will die. Moreover he hath come from a great distance. It is therefore on every account necessary that I should receive him and tell him his thoughts.'

Makkhan Shah was highly pleased on obtaining permission to interview Teg Bahadur, and concluded that he must be the true Guru of whom he had been in search. On being ushered into his presence, what did he see? The Guru was in deep contemplation holding his senses under complete restraint. Makkhan Shah, however, fell at his feet, and placed his offering of two gold *muhars* in front of him. When the Guru saw the two coins and found Makkhan Shah seated near him, he said, 'How now, O Sikh, thou art trying to wheedle the Guru by presenting him with two gold *muhars*? Where are the five hundred gold *muhars* thou didst promise when thy vessel was sinking.' Makkhan Shah was delightfully surprised—'O Great King, it is true. When my vessel full of merchandise was sinking, I invoked Guru Nanak, and vowed I would offer him five hundred gold *muhars* if it ever reached the shore. Makkhan Shah prostrated himself before Teg Bahadur, hailed him true Guru and searcher of hearts, and presented him the five hundred gold *muhars*

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of his vow. He then ascended a house-top and, waving a flag, proclaimed from there, 'I have found the Guru! I have found the Guru!!' On hearing this the Sikhs assembled from every quarter, and with all due formalities and observances placed Teg Bahadur, then in his forty-third year and the very image of Guru Nanak, on the Guru's throne. On being installed he conferred robes of honour on his Sikhs. The twenty-two false gurus hid themselves as darkness vanishes before the sun's rays.

Dhir Mal, the eldest son of Gurditta, seeing the offerings made to Guru Teg Bahadur and the honours he received, became violently jealous. One day he communicated his feelings to his masand, Sihan, who bade him be of good cheer, and promised that he would put a bullet through his enemy. The masand accordingly took about a score of men to kill the Guru. He fired and the bullet struck his intended victim, but did not prove fatal. The masand seized the opportunity to pack up and take away the Guru's movable property. The Guru in his affliction retained his composure and evenness of mind. He felt no pleasure at access of wealth, nor grief at its departure, or at the bodily harm caused him, but was happy in the contemplation of God's goodness.

When Makkhan Shah heard of this occurrence from the Guru's mother, he with the Sikhs proceeded in a body to the Guru to condole with him. They found him absorbed in contemplation. Then with loud cries they went off to Dhir Mal's residence. He closed his door against them, but they burst it open, seized him and his accomplices, and tying his masand's hands behind his back, took him off to the Guru. They also recovered and restored to the Guru all the property which Dhir Mal and his men had taken away. Not only that, but they took Dhir Mal's own private property also, including the Granth Sahib, and placed all at the Guru's disposal.

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The masand professed great contrition, and with much show of humility bent his head on the Guru's feet. He said he had erred and asked pardon for his offence. 'I am under thy protection; have mercy on me; O cherisher of the poor, hear the prayer of a sinner. Though I am a bad son, it is incumbent on thee, who art to me a father, to preserve mine honour.'

The Guru on seeing the masand so humbled and distressed ordered him to be released. Makkhan Shah remonstrated, and said that the man had only met his deserts. The Guru however was firm, and ordered all the property taken from Dhir Mal to be restored to him. He preached to Makkhan Shah and his Sikhs that the holy Guru Nanak gave them the wealth of the Name which was sufficient for all their wants—'In anger man committeth evil deeds. He loseth at once his senses and his religion. When anger springeth up in a man's heart, what crime is there he will not perpetrate? He thinketh nothing of sinning against his parents and his holy Guru. He taketh the life which he ought to protect, and uttereth nothing but harsh language. He will not refrain from any act even though he sacrifice his life in its execution. There is no greater sacrifice than life, and yet the foolish person will deliberately make it. The angry man's soul burneth if he obtain not his desires. He cannot eat or sleep. Day and night he is tortured by his passion, and formeth endless plans for its gratification. In this way he passeth his time in misery.

'To exercise forgiveness is a great act. To exercise forgiveness is to give alms. Forgiveness is equal to ablutions at all places of pilgrimage. Forgiveness ensureth man's salvation. There is no virtue equal to forgiveness. Wherefore generously exercise it. Never abandon this virtue, but ever preserve it in your hearts. You are ordered in the Granth Sahib to lay up the wealth of the Name, so

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that it may accompany you in this world and in the next. This wealth is only found in the companionship of good men, and cannot be obtained by any other means. My followers possess this wealth which is superior to all jewels and gems. The saints hoard it day and night. It cannot be purchased, no thief can steal, no fire consume, no water drown it, whereas worldly wealth is generally accumulated by sin. Thieves can steal it, pickpockets purloin it, kings seize it, fire burn it, and earth rot it. At the hour of death this sinful wealth only causeth regret, and, through man's desires being fixed on it, his soul falleth into terrible hell.'

Chapter II

The Guru spent some time at Bakala communicating similar instruction. In the month of Magh, Sambat 1722, he went to Amritsar to bathe in the sacred tank, and behold the paradisal temple of Guru Ram Das. He bathed, but the ministrants[1] of the sacred edifice closed the doors of the Har Mandar against him. He saluted it however from without, then went beyond the precincts, and rested on a spot where now. is a stone platform dedicated to him. He said it was they who were rotten within, who had through greed of offerings entered the temple.

The Guru then went and sat on a common near the spot where now is a cattle-market, and on which is erected a *damdama*, or resting-place, in his honour. When the inhabitants of Amritsar heard what had occurred, they went in a body to him, and with great humility prayed him to return and revoke his prophetic curse, because it was his holy ancestors who had founded the edifice. The Guru denied

1 Then called Mutasadis or clerks, but now known as Pujāris or receivers of offerings.

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that his words bore the significance of a curse. He had merely stated the condition in which the ministrants then were, and in which they should remain.

Meanwhile a company of Sikhs came from the village of Walla, and with great humility prayed him to go and live with them and bless their village, a prayer to which the Guru graciously acceded. On leaving Amritsar the Guru was escorted by the women of the city. On seeing their devotion he said, 'God's love and devotion shall ever abide among you.' In commemoration of the Guru's visit a fair called the Kothe da Mela is held yearly at Walla on the day of the full moon in the month of Magh.

Having communicated religious instruction to the inhabitants of Walla, the Guru returned to his favourite Bakala. Here too he was not allowed to abide in peace, for the old jealousy and enmity of the Sodhis had revived. He therefore decided not to remain there, but proceed in the direction of the river Bias. On arriving at its margin he saw some of his men carrying the Granth Sahib and said to them: 'You surely have not brought any of Dhir Mal's property with you?' They replied that they had returned everything they had taken from him except the Granth Sahib which they had brought with them. He became angry that they had taken any of Dhir Mal's property and ordered the Granth Sahib to be restored to him. The Guru upon this crossed the river.[1]

Meanwhile the Guru pursuing his journey arrived at the village of Hazara situated not far from Kartarpur, where a memorial Sikh church was subsequently built in commemoration of his visit. The next day he reached Durga near Nawashahar where also an edifice was erected in his honour. The

1 Bhāi Santokh Singh states that the Guru entrusted the Granth Sāhib to the river and informed Dhīr Mal, whereupon the latter went and took possession of it.

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Guru thence proceeded by very easy stages to Kiratpur. There again he was plagued with the jealousy of the Sodhis, and sought rest on some land about six miles distant, which he subsequently purchased from the Kahlur Raja. He there laid the foundation of the city of Anandpur in the month of Har, Sambat 1722 (A. D. 1665).

On hearing of the founding of the city, Dhir Mal and the Sodhis became still more envious of the Guru, and determined to ruin him. Of this the Guru was duly warned by his people. He merely said in reply that he himself entertained no envy or jealousy of any one. 'He who is angry with the Guru without cause shall obtain his deserts. I do not desire to annoy any one. The Guru's love and kindliness are at the disposal of all. I have received Guru. Nanak's order to cause the true Name to be repeated throughout the world.'

The Guru at that time had another cause of disquietude. The Sikhs of Dihli sent a messenger to inform him that Dhir Mal had instigated Ram Rai to complain again to the emperor regarding his supersession. The Guru dismissed the messenger, and told him to put the minds of the Dihli Sikhs at ease. He at the same time wrote to them, 'What can a thousand enemies do to those on whose side God the great Guru is? Kings and emperors are all in His power. No one can be touched except by His will.'

The Guru determined to change his abode, as well to give instructions to his Sikhs as to avoid annoyance from his relations. On hearing of his intention the people of Anandpur waited on him. They represented that they had all come thither through reliance on him, and yet he was now going to leave them. They had left their homes for the twofold advantage of being able to see the Guru and derive material profit from their change of residence. The Guru preached to them in reply to their representations—

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'This world is transitory. You ought never to fix your hearts on it. Profit and loss, weal and woe, rejoicing and mourning, which come according to God's will, ought to be equally endured. Perform the duties of your religion, and repeat God's name. Meditation on God's name is the only means of salvation in this world. Wherefore ponder on it, give alms and practise ablution, serve saints with your mind, body, and wealth ; speak civilly to every one, but keep your thoughts fixed on God. A great being shall be born who shall come to abide here, and contribute to the extension and importance of this city. I have only sown the seed ; he shall shade this place like an overspreading tree.'

On the 15th of Maghar, Sambat 1722, the Guru set out on his tour from Anandpur. His first long halt was at Mulowal in the Patiala State. On arriving there the people complained to him that they could only obtain drinking water from a great distance. There was a well near, but its water was brackish and unwholesome. He told them to repeat God's name over it, draw water therefrom, and they should find it pure and sweet. From that day the well has yielded sweet water. It is still known as the Guru's well.

The Guru then proceeded to Handiaya, where there was a severe epidemic of fever and great consequent mortality. The inhabitants went to put themselves under his protection and implore him to save them. Upon this the Guru uttering the true Name, threw a glance of favour on them and healed them of all their maladies. Having given them the usual religious instruction he proceeded slowly to Dhilwan.

Thence the Guru proceeded to the villages of Khiwa and Bhikki. In the latter lived a man called Desu who was a disciple of Sakhi Sarwar, He, however, went to see the Guru. The Guru, on seeing a piece of bent iron hanging from his

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neck, asked him what it was. He said it was an article that satisfied all his necessities. It gave him corn, money, and clothing, and he worshipped it every day. 'I offer a breakfast of bread and sweets,' said he, 'to Sakhi Sarwar. The priest having read a blessing and set aside a portion thereof returneth me the remainder, which I distribute among the people after satisfying myself.' The Guru on hearing this said that Desu, a Hindu, did what a true-born Musalman would never do, and he was ruining his prospects both in this world and the next. The Guru then gave him spiritual instruction and he became a Sikh. At parting the Guru presented him with five arrows in memory of the occasion.

On arriving at home Desu fell ill. His wife said it was all the result of his having forsaken Sakhi Sarwar and taken the Guru's arrows with him. She pressed him to return the arrows and resume his religious allegiance to the Baloch Pir. At first Desu stoutly refused, but afterwards consented. His wife then broke the arrows and threw the pieces away. After some days Desu died, leaving a son called Gainda. Gainda's brother-in-law committed a murder, and was killed by Gainda. The other brothers-in-law then joined and killed Gainda. And Gainda's son was poisoned by his relations for the sake of his property. Desu's death and the tragic fate of his relations were popularly attributed to his desertion of the Guru.

The Guru then proceeded to Maur on the Southern Panjab Railway, where he was awaited by a great concourse of people to whom he preached the true Name. He induced the people to sink a well. It should be buttressed with baked bricks when an opportunity offered. The Guru thence went to Maisarkhana, and thence to Talwandi Sabo, now known to the Sikhs as Damdama. He thence travelled to Kot Dharmwala and was everywhere

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received with affection by the people. During his journey he was pursued by two thieves, one a Musalman and the other a Hindu, who watched day and night for an opportunity to steal his horse. While the Guru wearied with travel lay asleep on a dark night, the thieves, it is said, saw from their place of concealment a tiger issue from a lonely forest and make three prostrations before the sleeping Guru. The Musalman thief became afraid and said to the Hindu, 'The Guru whom a carnivorous animal not only toucheth not, but boweth to, must be some wonder-worker.' The Musalman would therefore never steal his horse, but would go home. The Hindu thief could not avoid recognizing the Guru's power, but at the same time remained fixed in his resolution to commit the theft. On awaking in the morning the Guru heard of the theft, and in reply to his men said that the horse and the thief would be found standing on a certain spot to the north of his camp. He accordingly sent his servants, and ordered them to bring the horse and the thief before him. The Guru asked the thief why he had stolen the horse, and why he had remained standing with the animal instead of running away. The thief told him all that had occurred prior to the theft, and added that when he had mounted the horse he became blind and could not see his way. He had travelled several miles but could not find the road, and therefore halted at the place where he was arrested. In his contrition he afterwards climbed a *jand* tree, broke off a portion of a branch, and impaled himself on the stump. The place is now called Sulisar. Thus did the thief gather the fruit of his sins. Such is the punishment, as saith Shaikh Farid, that awaiteth those who perpetrate evil deeds.

The Guru then proceeded slowly to Dhamdhan in the Bangar tract, now a station of the Southern Panjab Railway. It is related that the Guru pre-

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sented the Chaudhri of the village with funds to construct a well and a dharmsal for the reception of travellers. The inhabitants at that time largely subsisted on plunder, and the Guru was anxious to wean them from that mode of livelihood. One of them took milk to the Guru which he refused a being the produce of theft and violence.

The Guru was accompanied by a Sikh called Mihan who was totally devoted to his service. He drew water, brought firewood from the forest, and performed the most menial offices for him. He always kept a cushion on his head for lifting burdens. It was continually wet from water dripping on it, and his head in consequence soon festered. One day as he was on the point of depositing a pitcher of water which he had brought, his cushion and turban fell off when maggots were seen to issue from a sore in his head. The Guru's mother and wife observed this, and brought it to the Guru's notice. The Guru sent for Mihan, gave him a robe of honour, and promised him that he should be a Mahant, or superior of a religious order. The Guru then put his hand on his head, and its pain and sores disappeared. Upon this, Mihan obtained a knowledge of God and of the past, present, and future. The Guru presented him with a bullock of the famed Nagauri breed and a drum and banner to grace his new position.

The Guru then proceeded to Tekpur also called Baharjakh. He abode there for three days in the house of a carpenter who conducted him as far as Kaithal. Thence he proceeded to Barna. The Guru there took occasion to preach against the use of tobacco. 'Save thy people from the vile drug, and employ thyself in the service of Sikhs and holy men. Rely on the Guru who is the protector in both worlds. He giveth his hand and saveth from affliction. When thy people abandon the degrading smoke and cultivate their lands, their wealth and

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prosperity shall greatly increase, and they shall want for nothing. They shall possess cows and buffaloes in abundance, and they shall be respected by the world, but when they inhale the vile vegetable, they shall grow poor and lose their wealth.' Bhai Santokh Singh, author of the *Suraj Parkash*, gives his own testimony after a visit to the village of Barna, that, as long as the people abstained from tobacco, they were happy, but that those who indulged in its use became idle and lost all their property. Men spent money on tobacco which they ought to have applied to the purchase of grain to live on or sow in their fields. Bhai Santokh Singh baptized several of their descendants according to the rites prescribed by the tenth Guru, and did all in his power to induce them to abstain from the pernicious stimulant.

Chapter III

The Guru proceeded to Kurkhetar (Thanesar) on the occasion of a solar eclipse. He was received with the greatest distinction by all the holy men present, to say nothing of his own numerous followers. During his stay there he preached the true Name. Then he went to Bani Badrpur where he contributed a bag of rupees for the excavation of a well. Thence he crossed the Jamna and hunted on the way. He shot some animals which he strung to his saddle and took to the town of Kara Manak,[1] where lived an eminent saint called Maluk Das. Having heard that the Guru killed animals, he refused to receive him. It is said that, as next day the saint was laying food before his idol, he found it to his horror changing into meat. He felt that this must have been a miracle wrought by the Guru to bring him to his senses, so he thought it proper

[1] In this itinerary we follow the author of the *Sūraj Parkāsh*, who wrote his work at Kaithal, near the towns and villages mentioned.

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to go and bow before him. He mentally argued, however, that if the Guru had the preternatural power attributed to him, he would first send for him. The Guru knew what was passing in his mind, and sent his servants and a palki to fetch him. He went to the Guru, received initiation and instruction, and became one of his most devoted followers.

The Guru on his missionary tour visited Agra, Itawa, and Priyag. While at Priyag, Nanaki, the Guru's mother, approached him with a request of the highest importance. She said that all her desires had been fulfilled, but there was yet one remaining. She remembered that her late husband Guru Har Gobind had promised that a great being should be born in the house of Guru Teg Bahadur, and she was awaiting that event. The Guru replied that all her desires should soon be fulfilled, and she should have a grandson who would save the true religion. She had only to meditate continually on Guru Nanak. The Guru remained six months at Priyag, during which time his wife Gujari, to the great joy of his mother, became pregnant.

The Guru next proceeded with his family to Banaras. He rested in a house which he called Shabd ka kotha, or the mansion of the Word. It is in that part of the city known as Resham Katra. He there received the usual honours from his followers. Over the spot on which he rested a raised platform has since been erected, and the place is now known at the Bari Sangat or the Great Society. The Guru's shoes and coat are still preserved in memory of his visit. He thence proceeded to the river Karmnasha, so called because it was believed that all the good acts of a man who bathed in it would be forfeited. The Guru scorning that tradition bathed in its waters, and affirmed that the river could never wash away the result of good deeds.[1]

[1] It is said that Rāja Trisanku of the Solar dynasty, having killed a Brāhman, was purified by a saint, who collected waters from all the

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The Guru then went to the village of Sarasrawan, where lived a very devout and truthful disciple popularly known as Chacha Phaggo. He had built a very beautiful mansion with a stately portico and a large hall of entrance. He was perpetually asked by his neighbours why he had built such a large building, and especially such a large portico and entrance chamber. He said his object was that when the Guru paid a visit he should not have the trouble of alighting, but could enter the mansion on horseback. Within it he had placed a superb couch for the Guru to lie on. Chacha Phaggo kept the building locked so that the couch might not be soiled. Every morning he used to perfume it and then close the doors, declaring that he would not live in the edifice himself until the Guru had once entered it, and hallowed it with his footsteps. People laughed at him, and asked what hope there was that the Guru, who resided in the Panjab, should ever visit his village. Chacha Phaggo disregarded such banter, and maintained that the Guru would certainly come and fulfil his desires, as Guru Nanak went to the house of Lalo; and therefore he had made arrangements for a suitable reception. It turned out, as Chacha Phaggo had anticipated, that in due time he had the happiness of entertaining the Guru.

The Guru thence departed for Gaya. There the Brahmans visited him in a body, and explained the virtues of that famous place of pilgrimage. They made no mention of Budha having made his great renunciation and penance there—events never men-

streams in the world to wash away the sin. These waters after the purification collected in the spring from which the Karmnāsha river issues.

A more probable cause of the evil reputation of the river is that it once formed the boundary between the Aryan colonies of the north and the aborigines of the south, and all Aryans who crossed it were said to have passed beyond the pale of religious merit. Travellers who still cross, take care that not a drop of its water touches their bodies.

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tioned for centuries by ordinary Hindus. They said if barley rolls were offered at Gaya for the souls of ancestors, they would immediately go to heaven, even though they had already entered hell. Upon this they pressed the Guru to give them money for the ceremony. The Guru refused to satisfy their cupidity. He exhorted them to meditate on God and instructed them in divine knowledge. Having exposed the hypocrisy and deceit of the Brahmans, he taught his Sikhs how to remain for ever free from their toils. He then recited for their edification the hymn in Rag Asa composed by Guru Nanak at Gaya, the second Ashtapadi of the Sukhmani, and the following hymn of Kabir :—

Nobody obeyeth his parents when alive, yet he giveth them feasts when dead ;

Say how shall the poor parents obtain what the ravens and the dogs have eaten.

Let some one explain to me what kushal [1] means ;

The world dieth talking of kushal ; how ever shall kushal be obtained ?

Men make goddesses and gods of clay, and offer them living sacrifices.

As your lifeless gods, so your deceased, who ask not for what they want themselves.

You kill living things, and you worship lifeless things ; at the last moment great *shall be your suffering*.

You know not the worth of God's name, and you shall be drowned *in the sea* of terror.

You waver [2] and know not the supreme God ; wherefore you worship gods and goddesses.

Saith Kabir, you have not thought of the Unknowable, and you have become entangled in the deadly sins.[3]

[1] *Kushal*, comfort or happiness. The word is uttered by the Brāhmans after being feasted at the shrādhs, to denote that the manes for whom the ceremony is performed are happy. The word is also used to express the thanks or satisfaction the Brāhmans feel when they have filled their bellies on such occasions.

[2] You feel no certainty in your devotion. [3] Gauri Kabīr.

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After this the Guru dismissed the Brahmans and departed in disgust from their place of pilgrimage.[1]

The Guru in the progress of his mission arrived at Patna, then as now a strong Muhammadan centre. Crowds of both sexes hearing of his religious fame went to behold him and make him offerings. They warmly invited him to abide with them, give them religious instruction, and render them happy. The Guru replied: 'Wherever is the congregation of saints, there it is God's order for me to abide.'

There lived in Patna a Sikh confectioner, called Bhai Jaita, who through humility always wore soiled clothes. Noticing this the Sikhs thought that he never bathed, and they twitted him on the subject. He told them they might go to his house, and see if he did or did not. They accordingly sent two of their body disguised as travellers. He received them, washed their feet, performed every menial service for them, and gave them bed and supper. A watch and a quarter before day Bhai Jaita arose, and performed his sacred ablutions. He then meditated on God and the Guru till daybreak, after which he went to his shop to attend to his business. On hearing of Bhai Jaita's devotion, the Guru went to stay with him, while the Sikhs prepared a magnificent mansion, the present local Har Mandar, for the reception of the head of their religion.

When the Guru after some time had completed his instructions, he, knowing the future, said one day to his mother Nanaki: 'Remain here with thy

[1] There is a little Sikh temple on the site of the edifice in which Guru Teg Bahādur lived when he visited Gaya. We found there one man who could read the Granth Sāhib, but who did not understand it. The principal ministrant wore the sacrificial thread of the Hindus. Within the temple were little statues of Krishan, Rādha, Baldeo, and other idolatrous articles of worship. On the outer wall of the temple were represented Guru Nānak, his sons and his attendants. In friendly proximity to them were representations of Hanūmān, Rām Chandar, and his consort Sīta.

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daughter-in-law; I must depart.' His mother replied, 'Thou knowest my love for thee; I cannot live for a moment without thee, and now thou art going to leave me.' He represented to her that many Sikhs were waiting for him in a distant land, and he must go to them. His wife, Gujari, seeing that the Guru's mother's remonstrances were of no avail, then began to ply her own entreaties—'O Guru, thou art leaving me alone in this foreign country. I have no peace when I behold thee not. What shall become of me?' On hearing these words the Guru remained thoughtful for some time, and at last replied—'The prophecy of my father, Guru Har Gobind, is now about to be accomplished. A son shall soon be born to thee, who shall be great and powerful, extend the faith, establish Sikh supremacy, root out the wicked, and destroy the enemies of truth and true religion. Wherefore remain thou here to give him birth. Thou wouldst suffer great hardship in travelling, so be happy here. I shall soon return after having made a tour through Bengal.' The Guru's wife felt the force of these words, and remained silent.

After this conversation the Guru performed his devotions and went to sleep. He arose next morning some hours before day, and engaged in worship. As his minstrels began to chant the Asa ki War, an envoy arrived with many offerings from Ram Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) in Rajputana and fourth in descent from Raja Man Singh, who had been a distinguished general under the Emperor Akbar. The envoy related the object of his mission: 'The Emperor Aurangzeb hath ordered my master to send a military expedition to the Kamrup country.[1] Thy name is cherisher of

[1] 'Rām Singh, who succeeded Mirza Rāja Jai Singh, had the mansab of four thousand conferred upon him, and was sent against the Assāmese.' Tod's *Rājasthān*, vol. II, 'Annals of Amber', chap. i. The Sikh accounts of this expedition are not attested either by the Muhammadan historians or by the annals of Rājpūtāna. It was not

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those who seek thy protection. Wherefore mercifully assist my master that he may conquer Kamrup, and remain thou in Patna until he arrive in person to offer thee homage and solicit thy succour.' The Guru granted both requests, but at the same time kept the future in view.

Raja Ram Singh soon appeared accompanied by his ministers and a large retinue of soldiers. He proceeded on the afternoon of the day of his arrival to make a state visit to the Guru, and on arriving in his presence made his prostrations, presented his offerings, and begged the Guru's protection. The Guru quoted for him from the Sukhmani :—

The king of the whole world would be unhappy,
But he would become happy by repeating God's name.

And again :—

Where there are very great difficulties,
God's name will at once save thee.

The Guru then invited him to state the object of his visit. He spoke as follows :—' O true Guru, we Rajas of Hindustan were subject to the Emperor Akbar. The king of Kamrup alone became a rebel, and defied his authority. The Emperor then expressed his desire that some brave general should take an army and conquer that country. When the Emperor's wishes were communicated to his bravest Muhammadan officers, none of them volunteered for the expedition. On the contrary they represented that even with the greatest bravery it would be impossible to carry out the Emperor's design. There was, however, they represented, among the Hindu Rajput chiefs one man, Raja Man Singh,

Rāja Bishan Singh, whose regal dignity was, according to Tod, only for a short period, who went on this expedition. He was, according to the annals of Jaipur, only four years of age when Guru Teg Bahādur was executed. There was no Rāja Bishan Singh of Jodhpur; and Mān Singh was not killed in the expedition he undertook to Kāmrūp under the emperor Akbar.

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who might be sent on the perilous errand. If he perished in the attempt, no matter, there would be only one enemy the less ; and if he were victorious, it would be so much the better. The Emperor would have one more country subjected to his authority.

'Akbar was pleased with this suggestion, and next day in public darbar informed Raja Man Singh, who he said was the first of all his brave Rajput princes, that he had appointed him to lead the expedition. The Raja had no choice but to accept the post, and as soon as possible proceeded with the Emperor's army against the rebellious king. The tents of Man Singh's army extended for miles on the frontier, and, notwithstanding the spells and incantations of the inhabitants of Kamrup, was completely successful.[1]

'Now again the inhabitants of Kamrup and Asam have proved rebellious to authority. The Emperor recently sent Mir Jumla to subdue them but, though at first successful, he was obliged to relinquish his victories. His cavalry was cut off, a pestilence destroyed his infantry, and he himself perished of exposure and fatigue before he had reached Dhaka (Dacca) on his return journey.[2]

'Aurangzeb's advisers have suggested that he should send me. They say if I conquer the country, it will be an addition to his sovereignty ; and, if I be killed, the Emperor may annex the whole of Rajputana. The Emperor accordingly sent for me, and ordered me to go and subdue Kamrup. On hearing this I went home, and told my mother and queens of the order I had received. They became alarmed, and asked me if I desired an untimely death. They represented that there was none so brave as

[1] *Āin-i-Akbari*, XXX, 30, and Tod's *Rājasthān*.

[2] *History of India*, by Elphinstone, whose account is based on Khāfi Khān and Bernier. See also *Mīr Jumla's Invasion of Asām*, by Shahāb-ul-dīn Talāsh.

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Mir Jumla, and if he perished what hope was there for me? Of all the generals who had been sent on that errand none except Raja Man Singh had ever returned. Then I too saw the danger of my position. It was certain death to command the invading army, and it would be equally fatal for me to disobey the Emperor's orders.

'My principal queen then came to my assistance with her advice. She said, "My father's family were Sikhs of Guru Nanak. On Guru Nanak's throne is now seated Guru Teg Bahadur. Go and ask for his protection and support, and thy prayer shall not be in vain. Guru Arjan hath said: 'Embrace him who seeketh thy protection. This is the duty of the religious teacher.'

'"The Guru can fulfil the desires of all creatures and grant deliverance even to the lowest animals. The Guru's father, Guru Har Gobind, secured the release of fifty-two Rajput kings confined in the fortress of Gualiar by order of the Emperor Jahangir. Since then all Rajas are Sikhs, and reverence the holy Guru. We too are the Guru's Sikhs. Thou hast forgotten the favours conferred on us by the Gurus, and therefore art thou unhappy."

O Guru, on receiving this cheering advice from my queen, I was consoled and regained my peace of mind. Hence I have come from distant Rajputana to seek the protection of thy holy feet.'

The Guru smiled and directed the Raja to continually meditate on God's name. 'God's name,' as Guru Arjan hath said, 'is medicine for all diseases. Guru Nanak will assist thee, and thou shalt conquer Kamrup.'[1]

Raja Ram Singh was overjoyed on hearing this

[1] From a map attached to a 'Report of Bhutān and adjacent countries', by Captain Pemberton (1838), it appears that Kāmrūp once comprised the whole of the present district of Goālpāra and Kāmrūp between the state of Bhutān on the north and the river Brahmaputar on the south. The Asām of old times lay south of the Brahmaputar.

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promise from the Guru, and having offered a prayer distributed sacred food to the whole company. His faith was confirmed, and he received initiation as a Sikh by the ceremony of *charanpahul*. On the following day he had a further request to make the Guru, namely, that he should accompany him in his expedition, in which case victory would certainly incline to his side. The Guru agreed, bearing in mind that, while accompanying the Raja, he would have an excellent opportunity of preaching to his Sikhs, and extending the Sikh religion throughout the countries traversed.

Chapter IV

The Guru offered words of consolation to his mother and wife, and, entrusting them to his brother-in-law Kripal Chand, bade them an affectionate farewell. He then set out with the Raja. Wherever he went he was received with great honour by the people, to whom he communicated religious instruction, and on whom he enjoined devotion to the Deathless Being. He and the Raja marched through Munger, Rajmahal, and Maldah. In the latter place was a *dharmsal*, but its ministrants did not come to visit him. He was informed that they had all gone to a fair in the village of Pandua, but that on their return they would pay him their respects. He replied that he could not meet those who went to such idolatrous gatherings. In Maldah the Guru met only one Sikh, a confectioner, who begged him to go and take refreshment in his house. The Guru did so, gave him instruction, and blessed him.

In the morning the Guru set out with the Raja. Their next halt was in Dhaka. There resided a masand called Bulaki whose mother had vowed that, if the Guru ever visited the place, she would seat him on a beautiful couch she had pre-

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pared, dress him with cloth she had spun herself, and give him a dainty meal prepared by her own hands. The Guru knowing her heart's desire went without other guidance straight to her residence. He called to her from outside, whereat she was overjoyed, ran forth and placed her head on his feet. She took him within, and lavished on him all the attentions which she had previously vowed. The Guru said he had come to visit her on account of her pure devotion, and invited her to ask him a favour. She replied that the only favour she craved was to be allowed to remain ever near him. He rejoined that she might behold him whenever after ablution she deeply meditated on God, directed her love to His lotus feet, and repeated His true name.

Bulaki informed all the Sikh inhabitants of the Guru's arrival. They came in crowds to do him honour, and receive his instruction and benedictions. The Guru on seeing their enthusiasm, said that Dhaka was the storehouse of his faith. He suggested to the Sikhs to build a *dharmsal* in their city where God's praises should be ever sung, for Guru Nanak had ordained that singing God's praises was the highest form of worship. The Guru also directed them to hold meetings on the anniversaries of the Gurus, and ever worship the Deathless Being.

As the Guru was about to depart, masand Bulaki's mother came to visit him again. She begged that he might remain a few days longer in their midst. He replied that he had much to do elsewhere and must proceed. He directed her to worship *Wahguru* and serve the saints, and she should be happy. She sent for a painter, and had a picture of the Guru made. She hung it over the couch on which he had sat. Thus she was able to behold the Guru whenever her secular avocations admitted.

The Guru and the Raja then set out for the city of Rangamati on the right bank of the Brahmaputar.

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There the Guru took up his quarters, and the Raja and his host followed his example. When the king of Kamrup heard of Raja Ram Singh's arrival to attack him, he vowed that he would destroy him and his army. He began to make incantations and spells, but none succeeded. As ignorance pales before knowledge, so did the sorcerers fail and grow weary of their efforts The king of Kamrup then sent for all the women of his land who were famous for their magical skill. They too could not succeed against the Guru. The king then felt convinced that there must be some divine personage with the invading army who thwarted the efforts of all sorcerers. He went to worship at the temple of the goddess Kamakhsha, offered her sacrifice, and received a blessing from her priests. He then set about making immediate preparation to defeat Raja Ram Singh.

He thought of a novel plan of hostilities. It was to divert a tributary of the Brahmaputar by making a huge dam across it and turning it on Raja Ram Singh's army. The Guru apprised the Raja that a great torrent should come that night and his army was in danger. The Sikhs in Raja Ram Singh's service removed their tents, but several Musalmans who did not believe in the Guru or heed his warning, were swept away.

The king's mother saw in a vision the goddess Devi, who thus addressed her :—' O mother, Guru Nanak hath taken birth in this age. On his throne is now seated the ninth Guru, Teg Bahadur. He is here with Raja Ram Singh who hath become a disciple of his. Nowadays the Guru is sovereign. No one hath strength to oppose him. Go, make obeisance to him, and ask pardon for thy sins, and thy rule shall be everlasting ; otherwise it shall perish.'

The dowager queen communicated this order of the goddess to her son, and he accordingly prepared to

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go to interview the Guru. He took with him an escort and presents, and, crossing the tributary of the Brahmaputar previously referred to, proceeded to the Guru's tent. After prostration he said that he had come by order of the goddess to pray for pardon and protection. He begged the Guru not to allow him to fall into the power of the Moslems. The Guru replied that Raja Ram Singh was a very religious man. He told the king to fear not ; his empire should be permanent ; he ought to meet Raja Ram Singh, and hold no communication with the Muhammadans. The king was delighted with this speech, and begged the Guru to set foot in his city, bless it, and take Raja Ram Singh, but no Muhammadans with him. The Guru without making him any promise dismissed him.

The Guru then went among Raja Ram Singh's troops, and preached the blessings of peace. He quoted from Guru Nanak's ' Sidh Gosht ' :—

A holy man renounceth enmity and hostility.

Raja Ram Singh's army had no intention to prolong the enmity, and declared themselves willing to accept the Guru's advice.

The Guru then sent for Raja Ram Singh himself, told him the whole conversation with the king, and asked him to beat the drum of victory. The Raja was delighted with the Guru's negotiations. He said that the news was like the water of life dropped into a dying man's mouth. The Guru then told him to prepare to cross the tributary of the Brahmaputar with him, and take care that he took no Muhammadans in his train as their presence would be offensive to the king of Kamrup. The Guru and Raja Ram Singh crossed the river with an escort of a thousand Rajputs. They were received in a friendly manner by the king who advanced to meet them. The Guru sat down placing the royal disputants on either hand, and effected a reconciliation

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and an interchange of friendly offices between them. By his influence they both exchanged turbans in token of life-long amity. Raja Ram Singh made large presents to the Guru while the king of Kamrup asked him for some souvenir which he might look at and worship in his absence. The Guru took his bow and arrow and, aiming at a pipal-tree, drove the arrow through and through it. He told the king that he might always remember him by the mark on the tree. The Guru then gave him instruction to repeat the true Name, serve the saints, and, if ever he encountered a difficulty, address his supplication to the immortal God and rely on the words of the Guru. He should not even by mistake worship cremation-grounds, cemeteries, temples, or goddesses, and he should ever associate with the virtuous. The Guru driving a dagger into the earth then addressed himself to both kings: 'Let all the land on this side of the dagger belong to the Emperor, and all on the other side to the king of Kamrup, and let both monarchs forget their enmity.' This they both agreed to, and thus was the serious quarrel adjusted and bloodshed avoided.

At Dhubri, the capital of Kamrup, the Guru informed Raja Ram Singh's officers that Guru Nanak had visited the place and rendered it holy by his footsteps. Guru Teg Bahadur then requested that each soldier should bring five shieldfuls of earth to raise, in memory of the founder of the Sikh religion, a mound which could be seen at a great distance. The whole of Raja Ram Singh's army joined in the work, and it is said to have been accomplished in a few hours. The Guru then had a pavilion erected at the top. Some of the Guru's followers remained in Kamrup, and their descendants are now found both in Dhubri and Chaotala.

The Guru spent a few days on the cool and pleasant bank of the great river. Crowds hearing of his fame came long distances to see him, and obtain from

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him the fulfilment of their desires. He was held in great honour throughout the whole country, and his reputation having reached Raja Ram of Asam, that monarch came to do him homage. The Raja had no offspring and earnestly desired a son. He brought his two wives, and they made obeisance to the Guru. The Raja congratulated himself on being so fortunate as to obtain a sight of the great priest and leader of the Sikhs, and asked him for religious instruction. This request was granted, and the king was delighted. He proceeded next morning to wait on the Guru, but, when it came to making his request, he felt abashed. The Guru knowing the working of his mind encouraged him to speak. He then asked the Guru to grant him the boon of an heir to his throne, as he had been hitherto deprived of the fruit of this world. He said, addressing the Guru : 'O great king, bring this sinking craft to shore.' In reply the Guru took off his signet ring, stamped its impression on the Raja's thigh, and thus addressed him : 'O king, the impression of my seal shall be on thy son's forehead. By this know that it is Guru Nanak who hath mercifully granted thee offspring. Make thou thy son a Sikh of the house of the Guru.' After this the Raja drank the water in which the Guru's feet had been bathed, thus became a Sikh, and returned happy to his capital.

At this juncture a messenger arrived from Patna to inform the Guru of the birth of his son. On hearing this Raja Ram Singh inaugurated great rejoicings. Guns were discharged, the best musicians exhibited their skill, and copious alms were bestowed on the poor.

On the birth of the child the Sikh historian remarks : 'It hath ever been usual that, when God seeth His people suffering, He sendeth a saviour of the world.' Guru Gobind Singh afterwards, in his Vichitar Natak, described the circumstances of his birth. He was born three hours before sunrise on

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the seventh day of the light half of the month of Poh, in the Sambat year 1723 (A.D. 1666). It is stated that on Guru Teg Bahadur's departure to Asam with Raja Ram Singh, he directed his wife Gujari to give the name Gobind Rai to a son who should be born to her in his absence.

Chapter V

At the time of Gobind Rai's birth there lived in the city of Kuhram a Saiyid called Bhikan Shah. On the young Guru's natal morning Bhikan Shah looked and bowed towards the east. His disciples asked him why he bowed, contrary to all Muhammadan custom, in the direction to which only Hindus turned in their matutinal worship of the sun. He replied that there had just been born in Patna a spiritual and temporal king who should establish religion and destroy the evil. He vowed that he would go to worship the new-born sovereign, and would perform a daily fast till he had seen him. He went by Dihli and arrived in Patna suffering great hunger and fatigue. He sat down near the Guru's house, but apart from the crowd who had come to offer their congratulations. When the crowd had dispersed, Kripal Chand, the child's uncle, went to Bhikan Shah, and asked him for what purpose he had come. He told him the nature of his vow, and asked to see the new-born child. The mother and grandmother were afraid of the Muhammadans and their Emperor Aurangzeb. They therefore tried to put off Saiyid Bhikan Shah, and told him he might return after three months when they would show him the child. The Saiyid remonstrated on receiving this answer, and represented that he was only a faqir, and had come hundreds of miles to see the boy. At last, by the advice of Kripal Chand, the mother and grandmother gave way, and consented that the faqir

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should behold the child but only in public, in presence of the Sikhs of Patna, and amid the soul-inspiring strains of the Gurus' hymns with rebeck accompaniments.

When the infant was produced, the whole assembly rose to do him honour and present their offerings. The Saiyid too presented his, and bowed at the young spiritual prince's feet. He placed before him two earthen vessels covered with muslin, one containing milk and the other water. The child playfully touched both vessels. Upon this the faqir took them up, and prepared to leave amid the thanks of the Sikhs for having been the means of giving them a sight of their future Guru. They asked Bhikan Shah what he meant by the two vessels. He said that if the child had only touched one of them, no Muhammadan should be left in the land; but as he had touched both, the Hindus and Muhammadans should abide, and the child should include them both in his religion.[1] Saying this the Saiyid departed.

When Guru Teg Bahadur had adjusted the quarrel between Raja Ram Singh and the king of Kamrup, and had also heard of the birth of his son, he and the Raja set out for Patna. Travelling stage by stage they at length arrived on the bank of the

1 There are different versions of this legend. The Khālsa Tract Society gives the following: A light was seen in the heavens by a pious faqīr and his disciples on the occasion of the Guru's birth. The faqīr explained the meaning of the phenomenon. He said that some one beloved of God, who would be at once a saint and hero, was born into the world. The faqīr followed the direction of the light until he arrived at the child's residence in Patna. He made several entreaties, which were at last granted, to see the young Guru. The faqīr bowed and placed an offering before him. He then filled two small vessels, one with milk and the other with water, and placed them before the child to make trial of him. If the child spilled the one containing milk it meant he was a Hindu: if he spilled the one containing water he would be deemed a Muhammadan. The Guru impartially spilled both vessels, by which the faqīr understood that the child would not be an adherent of either Hindūism or Islām. He would have his own distinct religion, and confer salvation on sinful mortals.

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Ganges. The Guru sent a message to his mother that he would reach home early in the morning. His mother and wife bathed, and put on their best dresses to receive him. On their arrival Raja Ram Singh beholding the future Guru presented him a large quantity of jewels and dresses, and foretold his future prowess and fame.

When the family was alone, his wife asked the Guru how far he had penetrated into Kamrup. He replied as far as Guru Nanak had gone. He also informed her that he had erected at Dhubri, where Guru Nanak once preached, a high mound and surmounted it with a temple which could be seen at a considerable distance. · Some of his companions remained there to guard the temple and preach the true religion. He said that he was the Creator's servant and went in the triple capacity of friend to Raja Ram Singh, preacher of God's word, and averter of bloodshed. After a few days' rest and spiritual comfort Raja Ram Singh went to Dihli to report his success to the Emperor, and thence returned to his kingdom.

The chroniclers of the life of Guru Gobind Singh delight to relate stories of his childhood. He received a little boat from a merchant's son, and took great pleasure in rowing it on the Ganges. Once in so doing he dipped his feet into the water, upon which the Sikhs repeated the words of Guru Ram Das: 'The Ganges, Jamna, Godavari, and Saraswati endeavour to obtain the dust of the saint's feet.' [1] He used to set other children fighting and watch their contests. On being lectured by his mother on this impropriety he would go to sleep. On awaking early in the morning he used to be seen in a devotional attitude.

From his earliest years Gobind Rai was accustomed to practise shooting with a pellet-bow, and organize a company of boys of his own age to practise

[1] Rāg Malār.

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with him. His father used to seat him near him and tell him that, though the practise was meritorious, the time for putting it into effect had not yet arrived.

Chapter VI

After a protracted residence at Patna Guru Teg Bahadur turned his thoughts towards the Panjab, and communicated his resolve to return thither to his mother Nanaki. He said to her, ' O mother dear, it is now a long time since I left the Panjab. If thou permit me, I will go, give instruction to my Sikhs there, and lead them the right way. Remain here with thy grandson and nurse him. When he groweth strong, bring him to me.' His mother became very thoughtful on hearing this, and represented that the Panjab was politically in a very unsettled state. Moreover, he had been long absent in the Kamrup country, had only now returned, and it was too soon to leave her again. While thus speaking tears of love rained from her eyes. The Guru represented to her that man's body was unstable, and vain was love for it. He on that occasion composed the following hymn :—

I have seen that love of the world is false ;
Everybody, whether wife or friend, is intent on his own happiness ;
Everybody speaketh of his relations, and attacheth his heart to them with love ;
At the last moment nobody will accompany him ; this is a strange custom.
Stupid man as yet understandeth nothing, though I have grown weary of continually instructing him.
Nanak, if man sing the praises of God, he shall cross over the terrible ocean.[1]

On hearing this hymn the Guru's mother was

[1] Devgandhāri.

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consoled, and offered no further objection to her son's departure.

The Guru then addressed himself to his wife Gujari, 'O my good wife, I am going to the Panjab. The city of Anandpur which hath been built must be inhabited. Remain here, bring up thy son, and oppose not his wishes. After some time I will send for thee. My reason for asking thee not to thwart him is because he is the beloved servant of the Deathless Being. When he groweth up, he shall perform great deeds for the world. He shall destroy the evil and cherish his religion. I have received God's order to go to the Panjab, and discharge several duties there. Ever remember the Deathless Being.' On hearing this his wife's eyes filled with tears, and she replied in her weeping, 'O my husband, I have none but thee. Our child is still young. My mother-in-law is old. To whom art thou going to entrust me?' The Guru replied, 'This body is temporary, the soul is ever permanent. The composition of the body is like that of the current of a river. Whoever fixeth his love on it is a fool. Be satisfied with whatever is God's will. Knowing this give thy mind contentment. Ever love thy son and repeat the true Name.'

After this conversation the Guru's son went to him and said, 'Father dear, I have heard that thou art going to the Panjab. Take me with thee.'[1] The Guru replied, 'My son, thou art still young. Thou wouldst have great suffering on the way. Therefore remain here for some time, and I will send for thee afterwards. It is thou who hast to do all the work at Anandpur.' At the Guru's departure his wife pressed him not to make a long march on that day and to keep his child with him, so that the parting between father and son might not be too

[1] Supposing this to have been really uttered by the child Gobind Rāi, it would show that his father Guru Teg Bahādur had spent a considerable time on the expedition, and again at Patna after his return.

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abrupt, and that the latter might be able to endure it without too much sorrowing. To this the Guru agreed. His first march was within the city of Patna itself, where all his Sikhs went to bid him farewell and sing the Gurus' hymns for his safe journey.

The Guru taking with him his treasurer, the devout Mati Das, and four other faithful Sikhs, proceeded march by march till he arrived at Ropar in the Ambala district, where a large crowd of Sikh followers came to see him and make him offerings. He then directed his route to Kiratpur, where he met his half-brother Suraj Mal, who was overjoyed at seeing him. To him the Guru communicated the news of the birth of his son, whereat Suraj Mal was greatly delighted. He introduced his grandsons Gulab Rai and Sham Das to the Guru, who bestowed costly dresses on them. While staying at Kiratpur, the Guru visited Patalpuri where Guru Har Gobind had breathed his last. The Guru after staying at Kiratpur for some time departed for Anandpur. When he arrived, there was great rejoicing. The whole city went forth to receive him and do him homage.

Gobind Rai, though still a child, used daily to practise the use of arms. Whenever the sons of worthy men and Sikhs visited him, he used to instruct them in military tactics. In Gobind's area was a well of sweet water which the neighbours used to draw. One day as a Muhammadan woman went with her pitcher a pellet from the boy's bow accidentally struck her on the forehead. She went with tears and lamentations to Gujari, and threatened to report to the Emperor the mischief the child had been doing in the city. The mother pleaded that her son was still very young, and knew not right from wrong. After further parley Gujari gave her money to buy clarified butter and sweets, upon which she promised that she would make no further complaint against Gobind Rai.

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Gujari chased the boy with the object of chastising him. He ran upstairs and closed the door behind him. She then began to scold, and asked him if he was not afraid of the Emperor. He called out to her that he was afraid of none but the Deathless God. On hearing this his mother desisted from her intention, and Nanaki, his grandmother, then quietly went upstairs and brought him down to his mother. Addressing the latter Nanaki said, 'The boy shall be a great warrior like his grandfather, Guru Har Gobind.'

Chapter VII

One day Guru Teg Bahadur thought of his death, and determined to send for his son Gobind so that he might come to cherish and protect Anandpur in the day of its bereavement. At the same time Gobind Rai in Patna was thinking of his father. He said to his mother that when his father was leaving for Anandpur he promised to write on arriving at his destination, but as yet they had not heard from him. The boy expressed his desire to go to the Panjab. His mother replied that they would go when the Guru ordered it. The boy then urged that it seemed good to leave Patna with which he was not pleased. His mother informed him that the masands in and around Patna were good and obedient men, and satisfied their wants, but they would have great difficulties in the Panjab where they would find envy and jealousy, and where, moreover, they would be in danger from the hostility of the Emperor. His mother would not therefore consent to leave Patna.

Gobind Rai sent for a scribe to whom he dictated a letter to the masand Bulaki, who was employed to collect the Sikh offerings of Dhaka, ordering him to make a very costly *palki* and ornament it with gold and ivory for his journey. This article Bulaki caused

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to be made as quickly as possible by the best artists the country could afford. The boy's mother was highly pleased on seeing it, and pointed it out as an instance of the obedience and good-will of the masands in that part of India. Gobind Rai, however, on examining the *palki* found that what the masands represented to be gold work only contained one part of gold to nine of copper, and to prove what he said he had it promptly and publicly burned. He made the dishonesty of the masands a reason for again urging on his mother the necessity of going to the Panjab where he said he had many things of importance to do. At that very time his father's letter arrived summoning him, his mother, and his Sikhs to Anandpur. When the news of Gobind's intended departure had spread, several persons came with offerings, and among others a banker called Jagat Seth, who offered him the shelter and hospitality of his many houses on the way northward—an offer which the boy was not disinclined to accept.

Before Gobind Rai departed, a deputation waited on him and begged him to leave his cradle as a memorial behind him. When they urged that there was nobody left to confer spiritual benefits on them, he told them that whatever supplications they addressed to God with a pure mind should be accepted.

The first place of any importance at which Gobind Rai halted on his route was a town south of Banaras called Chhota Mirzapur. On reaching Banaras, the ancient stronghold of Hinduism, crowds came with offerings to him. They were enchanted as well with his mental as his physical beauty. They said they were beggars and had come to beg of him. Their applications were not in vain. Whereupon everyone praised him and said : 'How generous and how young!' He remained there for several days. He used to hold court in the morning and then delight in sitting in a boat on the Ganges, from which he

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admired the scenery, the verdure on the one hand, and on the other the stately and picturesque temples and mansions rising from the margin of the sacred river.

From Banaras Gobind Rai proceeded to Ajudhia. There crowds came with offerings to behold him, and on seeing his beauty were loud in their praises and foretold his greatness as a hero. The Sikh historian relates that flocks of monkeys—animals so cherished at the Hindu shrine of Ajudhia—went to the Guru's tent. He first fed them with parched gram and then threw a lump of molasses among them, for which they all began to fight, some using their teeth and others their hands. The boy on seeing the simian combat was delighted, for even at that early age he loved the battle and the fray.

Gobind Rai then proceeded with his mother and followers to Lakhnau (Lucknow), then as now the capital of Awadh (Oude), where they were all hospitably entertained by Baba Fatah Chand, the religious superior of the Sikhs, to whom the party gave a letter of thanks for his hospitality—a letter still preserved by the Sikh Mahant of that city. Gobind Rai and his party then proceeded towards Anandpur. On the way they tarried at Lakhnaur, a town about nine miles from Ambala in the Panjab. There Bhai Kripal, the Guru's uncle, went in advance of the party to procure conveyances for the remainder of the journey to Anandpur.

While Gobind Rai was at Lakhnaur his favourite amusement was playing at mimic warfare. Under the tutorship of Magan he used to form the boys of the town into opposing armies and engage them in sham fights and martial exercises. While Gobind Rai was thus engaged he was visited by Saiyid Bhikan Shah—owner of the villages of Kuhram and Siana four miles from Lakhnaur—who had previously gone to see him at his birth in Patna, and knew that the boy was destined one day to bestow the Mughal

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empire on the Sikhs. Bhikan Shah had obtained the village of Thaska from the Emperor, and he came to beg Gobind Rai to allow him to remain in undisturbed possession of it during the Sikh Government which was to follow. Gobind Rai promised that no one should molest him. Upon this Saiyid Bhikan Shah fell at his feet. When he as a Musalman was reproached for prostrating himself before a Sikh child, he justified his action by saying that the boy was on the spiritual throne of Guru Nanak, that he should be seen hereafter in God's court, and that whatever God did now He did through Gobind Rai's mediation. The boy had assumed birth to establish the Khalsa religion, and overthrow the empire of the Turks.

In due time Bhai Kripal Chand arrived with horses and carriages to take Gobind Rai and his mother and grandmother to Anandpur. Before his departure he went on a shooting excursion accompanied by his uncle's huntsmen. On that occasion one Ghogha, who lived in the neighbouring village of Naneri, came to him to beg forgiveness for an offence formerly committed. Once when Guru Teg Bahadur had gone on a pilgrimage to preach the faith, Ghogha abducted his female servant. He came now to make his peace with God and the Guru. He prayed Gobind Rai to go to his house and bless it with his presence. Gobind Rai in view of the man's sincere repentance generously pardoned him.

The young boy set out, and was followed by his mother and the remaining members of the family. After a few nights' journey they arrived at Kiratpur. Here Gobind Rai was met by Gulab Rai and Sham Das, grandsons of his uncle, the late Suraj Mal. They escorted him to their house and treated him with respect and affection. At Kiratpur Gobind visited the shrines of Baba Gurditta, Guru Har Gobind, and Guru Har Rai. As he approached Anandpur, the women and men of the city came

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forth to escort him. They were all astonished and fascinated on seeing the beauty of the young Guru. Kripal Chand pointed out to him the hill of Naina Devi and the Satluj flowing by, places with which he was afterwards to be so intimately associated. He was affectionately received by his father who at once ministered to his physical and intellectual wants.

Chapter VIII

The cruel and bigoted Emperor Aurangzeb still reigned in Dihli. As we have previously seen, he had imprisoned and starved to death his own father, killed his own brothers—Dara Shikoh and Murad—and disgraced his eldest son Muazim, afterwards Bahadur Shah. On account of all his crimes he was heartily hated even by his own co-religionists. He then sent for his priests and asked them what he was to do to regain the sympathy of the Muhammadans. His counsellors said he could only do so by converting the Hindus to Islam. He should send money and other presents to Makka and Madina. His priests would take them and bring him credentials from those holy cities to show that he was an orthodox and religious Muhammadan. All this being done he was to issue proclamations throughout the empire that the Hindus should embrace Islam, and that those who did so should receive jagirs, state service, and all the immunities granted to royal favourites. The Emperor

[1] According to the *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Gobind Rāi, though summoned by his father from Patna to Anandpur, never met him again. But, according to Bhāi Sukha Singh's *Gur Bilās*, an older work, Gobind Rāi reached his father in Anandpur. Indeed, this would appear to be the case from Gobind Rāi's own statement. He writes: 'They took me to the Panjāb where nurses of different sorts fondled me and cherished me in every way. I received instruction in various forms.' It is certain that this was imparted under his father's supervision.

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took the advice of his priests, and all the plans suggested were adopted.

The experiment of conversion was first tried in Kashmir. There were two reasons for this. In the first place, the Kashmiri Pandits were supposed to be educated, and it was thought that, if they were converted, the inhabitants of Hindustan would readily follow their example; secondly, Peshawar and Kabul, Muhammadan countries, were near, and if the Kashmiris offered any resistance to their conversion, the Muhammadans might declare a religious war and overpower and destroy them. It was also believed by the Emperor--without foundation as it afterwards turned out—that the Kashmiri Brahmans might be tempted by promises of money and government appointments, because the beggary and meanness of the inhabitants of that country were proverbial.[1]

The Emperor Akbar by the force of wealth and military genius not only subdued Muhammadan India but also Rajputana. His obsequious ministers signed a document which allowed him as the shadow of God on earth full jurisdiction to decide all religious questions. Instead of the Muhammadan creed he was gratified with the formula, 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' Men prostrated themselves before him, offered him vows, and addressed him as a deity. He caused his name to be inserted in the hymns to the gods and goddesses, and poets were found to grant him divine honours. Aurangzeb who deemed himself an orthodox Muhammadan thought that by his own line of action he should be even greater and more successful than Akbar.

Sher Afghan Khan, the Emperor's viceroy in Kashmir, set about converting the Kashmiris by the sword and massacred those who persevered in their adherence to the faith of their forefathers. It is

1 *Khulāsat ul-Tawārīkh.* Abul Fazal wrote—'The bane of this country is its people.'

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said there was piled up a heap of one *man* and a quarter, or a hundred weight of *janeus* or sacrificial threads. The Hindus who would not be converted and whom Sher Afghan Khan's troops could not capture fled the country. Even Muhammadans who in any way assisted the Hindus were mercilessly put to death.

At last Sher Afghan Khan began to reflect that there was too much slaughter, and it might happen to him as it did to the Emperor Humayun, whom Sher Shah, the Afghan chief, expelled from India, or as it happened to the Muhammadans whose seed had been extirpated from his dominions by Raja Jaipal, whose motto was, 'When I die there shall be an end of the world.' Thus reflecting, Sher Afghan Khan sent for the Kashmiri Pandits, informed them of the Emperor's order, said he was only obeying it, and begged their forgiveness. They became silent for a while, and then sued for a respite of six months to consider whether they should embrace Islam or die for their religion. Sher Afghan Khan after all the slaughter of which he had been the instrument, was glad to accede to their request.

Meanwhile the process of conversion went on in India. Aurangzeb at first resorted to the four means of traditional Indian policy in dealing with the Hindus. He made peaceable overtures, then offered money, then threatened punishment, and lastly caused dissension among them. When these measures failed, he had recourse to forcible conversion. He destroyed temples and converted them into mosques. He killed cows, so sacred in Hindu estimation, threw their flesh into wells, and forced Hindus to drink the water therefrom. Not satisfied with this defilement, he used to send the Hindus to mosques and force them to pray to the misnamed Rahim (merciful God), instead of their own Ram, a god of mildness and compassion.

When the respite of six months obtained from

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Sher Afghan Khan was approaching its end, the Kashmiri Pandits were supernaturally informed that in this last age of the world Guru Nanak was spiritual king. He would protect religion. No Hindu god had power to do so. The ninth king in succession to him, Guru Teg Bahadur, was now on his throne. They should repair to him, and he would protect their honour and their faith.

The Pandits heard that the Guru was then at Anandpur on the bank of the Satluj, and thither they proceeded. On their way they stayed at Amritsar, where they bathed in the sacred tank of Guru Ram Das. They then proceeded to Anandpur, where they arrived after much discomfort and suffering, owing to their ignorance of travel in an unknown country in the plains of India and in the hot season.

On their arrival in Anandpur, they told the Guru their sad story—how the Hindus of their country were being converted notwithstanding the respite granted to themselves, and how a *man* and a quarter weight of *janeus* had been collected from Hindu converts to Islam. They represented to the Guru that he had been born with the express object of preserving religion, that his very name had power to cherish those who sought his protection; and they implored him to preserve the honour of their faith in whatever way he deemed most expedient.

The Guru sat silent, and for some time pondered on their request. His darling boy Gobind was then playing in the hall, and on seeing his father sad and thoughtful went to him. His father spoke not, but tenderly embraced him. The boy said, 'Father dear, why sittest thou silent to-day? Why not regard me with thy usual look of affection? What offence have I committed that thou wilt not even look cheerfully on me?' The Guru taking compassion on his dear child—dear as only Gobind Rai could be—seated him near him and said, 'My son, thou knowest nothing yet. Thou art still a child.

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This matter on which the Kashmiris have come is of vital importance. The world is grieved by the oppression of the Turks. No brave man is now to be found. He who is willing to sacrifice his life shall free the earth from the burden of the Muhammadans.' The child replied: 'For that purpose who is more worthy than thou who art at once generous and brave?'[1]

When Guru Teg Bahadur heard this from his child's lips he divined everything that was to follow. He told the Kashmiris to go in a body to Dihli and make the following representation to the Emperor: 'Guru Teg Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru is now seated on the throne of the great Guru Nanak, who is protector of faith and religion. First make him a Musalman and then all the people, including ourselves, will of our own accord adopt the faith.' They obeyed the Guru and proceeded to Dihli to urge his self-sacrificing proposal. The Emperor, after consulting his Muhammadan doctors, adopted it with extreme joy. He said, 'If the Guru become not a Muhammadan, he will at any rate show us a miracle.' Having thus decided the Emperor sent two officers to summon him. He was full of hope, which he expressed to his Qazis, that, once the Guru was converted, there would be a large accession of Hindu and Sikh converts.

The officers who bore the Emperor's order to the Guru, billeted themselves on the towns and villages through which they passed. Four porters pressed into service at every village for each officer were obliged to take his *palki* to the next. In this way they were not long in comfortably accomplishing the journey to Anandpur. On hearing that the Guru gave audience in the morning, they sent word that they had a message for him from the Emperor. The Guru said that he was already expecting them, and he was not sorry that they had at last arrived. He

[1] Sukha Singh's *Gur Bilās*, Chap. V.

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read the Emperor's order, and wrote in reply that he would come to Dihli after the rainy season. He then handed his letter to the officers and dismissed them. They proceeded on their return journey without further molestation of the Guru.

CHAPTER IX

The Guru took leave of his family and his devoted Sikhs, and began his journey to Dihli on the first day of the month of Har—early in June immediately preceding the rains—when the heat is extreme in northern India. On his way he visited his sincere Muhammadan friend Saif-ul-din who lived at Saifabad, near the present fort of Bahadurgarh in the Patiala state, where an imposing temple has been erected in honour of the Guru. This man received him with great honour, and invited him to stay with him during the rainy season. The Guru accepted the invitation, and during his stay gave religious instruction and spiritual happiness to many faithful Sikhs. Saif-ul-din ever found some new service to perform for the Guru, and their conversation was continually of God. Saif-ul-din became a convert to the Guru's faith.

At the close of the rains in the beginning of October Aurangzeb again sent two messengers to hasten the Guru's progress to Dihli. They went to Anandpur, but he was not there. They tried Amritsar but with similar ill success. They then returned to Dihli, and reported that the Guru had fled. Aurangzeb dispatched orders all over his empire to find and arrest him. The Guru remembered his own promise and took his leave of Saif-ul-din. Saif-ul-din became very sad at parting with his guest, and begged him to take him with him. The Guru excused himself on the ground that he had private business, in which it would be irksome for him to assist. He then dismissed all his Sikhs except five, namely, Mati Das,

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Gurditta of the line of Bhai Budha, and three others whose names are said to have been Uda, Chima, and Dayala, and proceeded to give himself up to the Emperor at Dihli.

The Guru and his five followers first halted at Garhi near Samana, in the Patiala state. The Guru pitched his tent outside the village walls. While there a Pathan, who had been introduced to him at Saifabad, went and paid him homage, and made him offerings. He begged the Guru to remain with him for some days. The Guru said he must move onward, and asked his Pathan friend to allow him.

The Guru went thence to a village called Hali. There lived a masand who through fear of the Muhammadans would not even visit him. The Guru next proceeded to Chikha in the present Karnal district, where lived a masand called Galaura. The Guru had once found him as a waif, and brought him up to manhood. He then left his service and went to his native village, where he was now delighted to receive his old master. The Guru knowing his devotion stayed with him and gave him spiritual instruction. Galaura's wife, who is described as a very simple-minded person, the Guru blessed, and to Galaura himself he gave a quiver full of arrows to serve him in the hour of need. He exhorted him to act honestly on all occasions and he should prosper, but if he ever acted dishonestly he should perish.

The Guru then proceeded to Karha where there was a temple erected to Guru Har Gobind, who had rested there when he was going to visit Nanakmata. There resided another masand who through fear of the Muhammadans would not visit the Guru. The Guru, however, received great attention from an agriculturist whom he induced to dig a *Bawali* for the benefit of wayfarers. The Guru then went to the village of Khar where he passed the night giving religious instruction to Sikhs. When they

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heard him they began to moralize on the political condition. They said that the Turks had arrived at such a pitch of power that no one could withstand them. He replied, 'The king who acteth according to his religion, who practiseth justice, who is not greedy, who protecteth and showeth mercy to his subjects, who dispelleth their sorrows and conferreth happiness on them instead, who receiveth only reasonable revenue, who suppresseth thieves and robbers, who removeth the many similar obstacles to good government, and who ever acteth honestly, shall secure sovereignty for his descendants.

'But those who, though they may have obtained empire by virtuous conduct in previous births, now perform evil deeds, who devote themselves mainly to sexual pleasures, and neither listen to nor make themselves acquainted with the sufferings of their subjects, who seize wealth by every means in their power, and who feel not compassion for the poor, shall find their empire and dignity daily decrease. Aurangzeb hath now formed very evil designs and seeketh to destroy the Hindu religion. In the wantonness of his pride he practiseth violence and oppression. His suffering subjects fear for their lives. Wherefore it is now abundantly manifest that his empire and dignity cannot abide but shall all gradually perish, and that there shall none of his progeny remain even to beat a drum.' [1]

Many Rajas of the present age who suppose their position is the result of greatly meritorious acts in previous births, and that they have nothing to do but enjoy themselves in this, may not unwisely ponder on the Guru's words.

Next morning the Guru reached Khatkar in the Patiala state. He sent for flour and *dal*, and had them cooked for his dinner. During the night the villagers formed a design to steal his horse, which

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rās XII, Chap. 34. The Guru's prophecy has been amply fulfilled.

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they saw was of excellent strain and of great value. Six men went to take away the animal, but, it is said, were immediately stricken blind and had to abandon their design. On this they recovered their sight and went to their homes. On discussing the incident there, they learned that the horse belonged to a celebrated priest. They then decided to go with offerings and beseech his pardon. They asked for another favour, that the Guru should sweeten the brackish water of their village. Both requests were granted. The Guru, drawing an arrow from his quiver, said that, as far as the arrow flew, the water of the earth should become sweet. They were enjoined to sink a well within that radius, and their labour should be rewarded. In this way the Guru continued his journey, conferring temporal and spiritual favours on his audience until he reached Agra. There he encamped in a garden outside the city.

The Guru sent for a shepherd boy he saw in the garden and asked him to do him a favour. The Guru took from his finger a large gold ring set with diamonds, and asked the shepherd to go and pledge it and bring him two rupees' worth of sweets. The shepherd said he had no cloth in which to wrap them. Upon this the Guru took off a very valuable shawl he wore, and handed it to him for the purpose. The boy, not knowing the Guru, enjoined him to look after his herd of sheep and goats, and departed on his errand. The Sikhs who accompanied the Guru were astonished at what he had done. Mati Das took the liberty of saying, 'Have we not money? why hast thou parted with thy ring? Moreover, instead of a handkerchief thou hast given thy valuable shawl to bring the sweets in.' The Guru replied that what he had done had been done by God's will which could not be set aside by hundreds of devices.

The shepherd went into the city, and stopping at a confectioner's shop showed the ring. The confectioner on examining it said it was a priceless

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article, and asked the boy from whom he had received it. The boy told him, whereupon the confectioner weighed the sweets. When the boy presented the shawl to wrap them up in, the confectioner became still more astonished. He said that the boy must have stolen both the ring and the shawl, as the owner of the latter could never have sent it to be spoiled with sweets. The confectioner accordingly arrested the shepherd and took him to the police office. The boy, on being interrogated, said he had got both the ring and the shawl from a stranger who had taken shelter in a certain garden, and he described him and his five companions. The police officer sent two policemen to make inquiries regarding the visitor.

When the policemen arrived, they asked the Guru who he was. The Guru candidly told them his name and station. On hearing this one of the constables returned to the police office to give information and the other remained to watch the Guru. The Kotwal was delighted to hear that Guru Teg Bahadur had been found at last, and to think that he should get a large reward from the Emperor for his capture. The police officer then went to the governor of the fort, told him the circumstances, and chuckled at the thought that they should all become great men after the capture of the much-sought-for Guru. The Governor of the fort ordered one hundred horsemen to equip themselves and accompany the police officer to arrest the Guru. The Guru frankly replied to all their questions. They then informed him that the Emperor had sent written orders in all directions to arrest him, and asked him to kindly go with them to the fort, and they would inquire the Emperor's wishes regarding him. The Guru at once ordered his horse to be saddled and with his five Sikh followers entered the fort. The Guru at his arrest and in the fort preserved his marvellous equanimity, never showing the slightest sign of displeasure or disappointment.

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The Governor of the fort and the police officer reported the arrest to the Emperor. The latter was overjoyed at the capture of the great Guru of the Sikhs. He said that his wish had been fulfilled, and he would now convert the Guru to Islam, and the Muhammadan religion would then be rapidly accepted by the people. He sent off a regiment of twelve hundred horse to Agra to bring the Guru to his presence. He explained to them that the prisoner must not escape. If any persons were to assist him in endeavouring to do so, the regiment was to perform its duty. The soldiers were not, however, to annoy the Guru in any way on the journey to Dihli.

Chapter X

When the Guru with his five Sikhs arrived in Dihli the Emperor sent for him and thus addressed him, 'It is my pleasure that there should be but one religion. Hinduism is false and worthless, and those who profess it will suffer punishment in hell. I pity them and therefore wish to do them a favour. If they of their own accord keep the *Id*, and fast, and repeat the Muhammadan creed and prayers, I will reward them with wealth, appointments, land-revenue grants, and lands with irrigating wells. In this case thou, too, shalt have many disciples, and thou shalt become a great priest of Islam. Therefore accept my religion, and thou shalt receive from me whatever thy heart desireth.' The Guru replied, 'O Emperor, thou and I and all people must walk according to God's will. If it were the will of God that there should be only one religion, He would not have allowed the Muhammadan and Hindu religions to exist at the same time. He hath no partner and can do as He pleaseth. Neither thou nor I can oppose Him.'

The Emperor seized on the Guru's expression that all men must walk according to God's will and said, 'God the most high appeared to me in a vision, and

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told me to convert the whole world to Islam. I am therefore obeying God's order.' The Guru replied, 'I know not whether thou or thy God speaketh falsely. However, since thou wilt not believe, I will give thee ocular proof of what I say.' The Guru then requested the Emperor to send for five *mans* of pepper, and he did so. The Guru had it made into a heap which he caused to be ignited. It burned for twenty-four hours and was apparently reduced to ashes. The Guru then desired that the heap of ashes should be pounded and sifted. When this was done three pepper pods came out whole. The Guru then said, 'O king, thou hast now got thine answer. Thou wishest to make one religion out of two, but God wisheth to make three religions out of two. Him whom the Creator desireth to preserve not even fire can touch. On that account, O king, be satisfied with what He hath done. As these three pepper pods have been saved from the fire, so shall three religions, Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism survive to future ages.'

Upon this the Emperor ordered that the Guru should be closely imprisoned, and sufficient guards placed over him to prevent his escape. The Guru then wrote as follows to his wife:—'The Turks have imprisoned me in Dihli. Paying due regard to the words of Guru Nanak to the Emperor Babar, I have come here to deprive them of their sovereignty.[1] Wherefore have no anxiety for me. Cherish our son and recognize him as the Guru's image.' Both Mata Gujari and her mother-in-law received this letter as if their hearts had been pierced with arrows. The messenger essayed to console them. He pointed out that the Guru had brought his fate on himself as the result of a prayer of certain Kashmiri pandits. His family ought not therefore to take the matter to heart, but accept his fate with resignation.

1 The Emperor Bābar's descendants were Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, Aurangzeb, and Bahādur Shāh.

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After a conference with his Muhammadan doctors and ministers the Emperor again sent for the Guru, and said he would perform for him every service in his power if he embraced Islam, otherwise he would have him severely tortured. The Guru replied, 'Hear, O Aurangzeb, I will never embrace Islam. Thou and I and all creatures are the servants, not the equals of God. The world is subject to Him. The prophet of Makka who originated the religion thou professest, was unable to impose one faith on the world, so how canst thou do so? He was not able to convert even his own uncle to Islam. Of what account art thou? The *aswad* stone which the Muhammadans set up in memory of Adam, and which they call celestial, but which the Hindus call the lingam, is worshipped by Musalman pilgrims. Is it anything more than an idol?[1] When Muhammad drove idolatry out of Makka, the inhabitants formed a design to assassinate him. When he became aware of this, he made his escape at night to Madina, leaving all his property behind, and never returned. Canst thou justly say that he enjoyed God's special favour? Nay, we are all God's people. God alone is master; He can do what He pleaseth. O Aurangzeb, who art thou and what power hast thou to convert the whole world to Islam? The Guru hath said, "Death laugheth over man's head, but the brute knoweth it not." O king, through pride thou thinkest not that thou too shalt assuredly die. He who practiseth pride shall be utterly extirpated.'

On hearing this the Emperor became enraged and remanded the Guru to prison, giving orders that he should be tortured until he accepted Islam. The more, however, he was tortured, the more happy he appeared.

[1] The Hindus believe that the *aswad* or black stone of Makka was a lingam in pre-Islamic times. The Muhammadans when rejecting idolatry preserved the stone on account of old associations, and inserted it in the wall of their great temple.

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Notwithstanding the Guru's repeated refusals, the Emperor still entertained hopes that he might be converted. Messengers continued to be sent at intervals to renew the Emperor's promises, and ask the Guru to perform a miracle or embrace Islam. The Guru replied that a miracle was the wrath of God; and to undo what God had done, that is, to circumcise himself would be a crime against heaven. He would not consent to the Emperor's proposals. He did not want office or power; he felt no greed in his heart, and he would not embrace Islam, but the Emperor might act as he pleased.

In the Gurumukhi chronicles there is frequent mention of the Guru having gone outside his prison walls to meet and dine with his Sikhs. This is attributed to his thaumaturgic power. One day as he was on the top story of his prison, the Emperor thought he saw him looking towards the south in the direction of the imperial *zanana*. He was sent for next day and charged with this grave breach of Oriental etiquette and propriety. The Guru replied, 'Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy *pardas* and destroy thine empire.' A Sikh writer states that these words became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Dihli in 1857 under General John Nicholson, and that thus the prophecy of the ninth Guru was gloriously fulfilled.[1]

Mati Das, the Guru's faithful Sikh, charged his master with practising too much humility, and talked of destroying the whole sect of Muhammadans and putting an end to the Mughal rule. The Guru remonstrated with him, and said that man must accept and obey the will of God. Mati Das replied that the

1 *Life of Guru Teg Bahādur*, by Narāin Singh. The statement is also recorded in a work called the *Gur Bans Prakāsh.*

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Guru's sufferings were intolerable. A conversation ensued in which the Guru referred to Guru Nanak's promise to Babar that his empire should abide for a time. Guru Teg Bahadur said, 'The gift the Holy Guru Nanak gave may not, it is true, be easily recalled. But I will offer my life and in doing so prove the Turks to be false and deprive them of sovereignty. If I lay not down my life here, the great Turkish Empire in India will long survive; but since its monarchs have committed great enormities, I will now extirpate them and their line.'

This conversation was overheard by a priest who reported it to the Emperor. Mati Das was in consequence bound between two pillars and his body cut in twain with a saw. When the executioners began to apply the saw to his body, he began to repeat the Japji. It is said that, even when his body was divided in two, he continued to repeat the great morning prayer of the Sikhs, and only became silent when its repetition was complete.

On witnessing the martyrdom of Mati Das, the Guru's other Sikhs became sore afraid. They went to him at night and represented their danger. He told them that they were free to leave him. They pointed to the chains on their feet, and asked how their release could be effected? Through the Guru's miraculous interposition their fetters fell off, the prison doors all stood open, and the guards snored in the sleep of neglect.[1] One of the Sikhs, Bhai Gurditta, repented at last and remained with the Guru to suffer his fate. When the Guru was questioned by the jailor as to how his three Sikhs had escaped, he replied in the words of Guru Arjan :—

'God playeth in everything Himself;
One man He rescueth, another He envelopeth in the wave;
As He causeth men to dance, so they dance according to the past acts of each.[2]

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rās XI, Chap. 55. [2] Māru.

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'The great God who created them hath rescued them from prison. What hast thou to do with them now? Thy business is with me. It is I who have been imprisoned. Those Sikhs only remained through their regard for me.'

The Guru sent a message by the departing Sikhs to his son to abide fearlessly in Anandpur. The time for him to leave his own body had arrived, and he would leave it in Dihli. He would have to leave it all the same had he remained in Anandpur. He enjoined his son to grieve not for him as he had brought his troubles on himself. He would turn to ashes the fruit of the meritorious acts which the Emperor had performed in former births, and by which he had obtained sovereignty.

Gobind Rai on hearing his father's message, received it with equanimity, but his grandmother and mother began to weep. He tried to console them, and said, 'We will abide in Anandpur and destroy the Turks.' His mother upon this cautioned silence lest some agent of the Emperor should hear his words. Gobind replied that that was not a time for silence or concealment.

Chapter XI

When the Governor of the Dihli jail reported that three of the Guru's Sikhs had escaped, the Emperor ordered the Guru to be locked in an iron cage, and a sentry with a drawn sword placed on guard over him. The Guru on hearing this order calmly replied with a hymn of Guru Arjan :—

They who commit sin shall assuredly be ruined ;
Azrail shall seize and smite them ;
The Creator will put them into hell, and the Accountant there will ask for their accounts.[1]

The Guru in reply to the further demand of the

[1] Māru.

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officer sent by the Emperor answered as he had done on a former occasion—' I will not accept thy law or thy religion, and I will not abandon my faith. The glory of the Turkish power is now at an end since thou art forcibly depriving men of their religion. I will dig up the roots of the Turks and throw them into the briny ocean, since what is melted with salt never reviveth, and they shall never again have sway in Hindustan.' The Guru is said to have also quoted the hymn of Guru Nanak :—

When kings, lions, headmen, and dogs,
Instead of watching, rest in sleep,
King's servants inflict wounds with their nails,
And taste and drink the subjects' blood.

Bhai Gurditta who was still fettered was allowed to wait on the Guru. Soon after this a messenger arrived bearing a letter from his wife and son. After making inquiries regarding them, the Guru wrote his first slok for the general instruction of his followers :—

He who singeth not God's praises rendereth his life useless ;
Saith Nanak, worship God, O my soul, as the fish loveth water.

He then wrote the fiftieth slok for his wife Gujari's special consolation :—

Ram passed away, Rawan passed away with his large family ;
Saith Nanak, nothing is permanent ; the world is like a dream.

For all in sorrow he wrote the fifty-first slok :—

Be anxious only regarding what is not expected ;
It is the way of the world, Nanak, that nothing is permanent.

To his son he sent the fifty-third slok :—

My strength is exhausted, I am in chains, and have no resource.

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Saith Nanak, God is now my refuge ; He will succour me as He did the elephant.

And also the fifty-fifth :—

My associates and companions have all abandoned me ; no one remaineth with me to the last ;
Saith Nanak, in this calamity God is mine only support.

It is believed that the Guru during his captivity composed most of his other sloks and hymns, and sent them with the above by the messenger. The Guru said to him at parting : ' My end hath come; console all my people. We must all be satisfied with God's will. Take this letter quickly, and bring me an answer.'

Gobind Rai replied to the slok addressed to him with the fifty-fourth slok in the collection bearing the name of the ninth Guru in the Granth Sahib :—

Strength is thine ; thy fetters are loosed ; thou hast every resource ;
Nanak, everything is in thy power ; it is only thou who canst assist thyself.[1]

The Guru was very pleased at receiving this slok and message from his son, and remarked that he was fit for the Guruship. He sent into the city of Dihli for five paise and a coco-nut to forward him in token of his appointment to the Sikh spiritual sovereignty. When the five paise and the coco-nut arrived, the Guru placed them in front of him, meditated on his distant son, and bowed to him. He sent the articles to Gobind Rai with the fifty-sixth slok :—

The Name remaineth, saints remain, Guru Gobind remaineth ;
Saith Nanak, few are they who in this world follow the Guru's instruction.

Before the messenger reached Anandpur the Guru's

[1] This couplet is the only composition of the tenth Guru found in the Granth Sāhib.

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family was in great distress on account of a vision which his wife had had. She thought that she saw the Guru place five paise and a coco-nut before his son Gobind and bow to him in token of his appointment, and then she beheld the Guru's head separated from his body. She requested her son to send a Sikh at once to ascertain if the vision had any reality. If the messenger met on the road the Sikh who was expected from Dihli, he was to let him come on, and himself proceed to Dihli to obtain the latest information regarding the Guru.

Meanwhile the Emperor kept his thoughts on the Guru's conversion. He sent for a Muhammadan priest and told him to take one of the nobles with him to the prisoner with this message, 'Thou art to accept the Muhammadan religion or work a miracle. If thou work a miracle, thou mayest remain a Guru as thou art. If thou accept Islam, then shalt thou be advanced to an exalted position, and be happy. If thou fail to accept these offers, thou shalt be put to death. This is my final decision.'

The Guru replied in the same purport as before, and added—'I will never abandon my faith. I want no honour in this life; I want honour hereafter. The threat of death possesseth no terrors for me, since I must one day assuredly leave this perishable body. For death I am prepared and I cheerfully accept it.'

The Emperor on hearing this reply was greatly incensed, and ordered that the Guru should be executed.

Meantime the messenger from the Guru's son and wife arrived from Anandpur. The Guru said to him: 'My last hour hath come. Stand thou near me. My head shall fall into thy lap. Fear nobody, but take it to Anandpur, and cremate it there.' On hearing this not only the Sikh, but the Muhammadan governor of the jail began to weep. The Guru gave them religious instruction, and consoled them. Then turning to his faithful companion,

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Gurditta, he said : 'Thou shalt be released after my death.' Gurditta replied, 'O great king, it is at thy feet I wish to leave my body.' The Guru rejoined :—'O my brother, thy cremation-ground shall be where Bhai Budha used to graze the horses of Guru Har Gobind when he was in the fortress of Gualiar. The place is only about six miles distant. Thou shalt leave thy body there, and come to me in heaven.'

Then came Saiyid Adam Shah with a warrant for the Guru's execution, accompanied by all the Emperor's courtiers and Muhammadan priests of Dihli. Adam Shah, who revolted from the office of executioner of the Guru, asked him why he was bent on losing his life in vain, and begged him to embrace Islam. The Guru replied :—'The Sikh religion is dearer to me than life, and I cannot renounce it even under the pressure of immediate and certain death. The Guru was then taken out of his cage, and allowed to perform his ablutions at a neighbouring well. There appeared a great crowd to witness the execution. The Guru, leaving the well, went and sat under a banyan-tree, still extant, where he recited the Japji. He then told Adam Shah to take his sword and strike his neck when he bowed to God at the conclusion of his devotions. Adam Shah did so. It is said that the Guru's head flew off into the faithful Sikh's lap.

It is recorded that immediately afterwards a great storm arose which filled every one's eyes with dust. The Sikh unobserved by any one took away the Guru's head to Anandpur, hasting with it as fast as his feet could carry him. The execution of Guru Teg Bahadur occurred on the afternoon of Thursday the fifth day of the light half of the month of Maghar in the Sambat year 1732 (A.D. 1675).

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Chapter XII

The Emperor on hearing of the Guru's execution became sad and repentant. His mind is said to have been agitated like leaves moved by the wind. He reflected: 'As the Guru by his death hath fixed a stain on me, so I think that my own life will now be my guest for only a few days.' His courtiers on hearing this endeavoured to console him: 'O mighty monarch, the Guru disobeyed thine orders, so what sin was there in killing him? Thou didst flay and put to death such a great man as Sarmad, so why be distressed in the Guru's case? Why trouble regarding an accomplished fact?' On hearing this the Emperor outwardly appeared consoled, but could never really regain his peace of mind.

A Sikh of the Labana tribe, on happening to see the Guru's dead body was greatly grieved, and said to himself: 'A curse on the Sikhs who look on and allow this dishonour to the corpse of their Guru!' The Labana went home, and reproached his tribesmen on the subject. They collected oxen on which they loaded sacks, and carts on which they loaded cotton, and drove them in the direction of the Guru's corpse. In this way they hoped that their removing it for the performance of the last sad rites would not be noticed. They also hoped to elude pursuit in the dust-storm which arose after the Guru's death. The city guards were greatly troubled by the storm, and dispersed in different directions. Five Sikhs then took up the Guru's body, put it on a cart, and succeeded in taking it unobserved through the crowd. When they had taken it outside the city the dust-storm subsided.

The Sikhs' houses were all thatched, so when the pyre was lighted in them, they would take fire, and in this way the Guru's body would not be discovered. When it was duly reduced to ashes, they cried out that their houses had caught fire, and called on their

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neighbours to assist them in extinguishing it. The houses, however, were soon burnt to ashes, and the call to their neighbours to help them was futile as it had been intended. Next day they collected the Guru's remains and buried them in a copper vessel in the earth immediately under his funeral pyre. Over his remains, at a spot now known as Rakab Gunj, a shrine was subsequently erected.

The Emperor censured his staff for allowing the Guru's head and body to disappear, and deemed his own object frustrated in having put the Guru to death. In his general distress at what had occurred he was not able to take his dinner, and retired hungry. He dreamt that Bhai Mati Das appeared to him, upturned his bed, and ordered him to leave Dihli. The Emperor was unable to sleep for the remainder of the night, and endeavoured to lull his conscience by a repetition of the creed and the prayers of his religion.

While all this was taking place, the Guru's family heard of his death, the efforts made to convert him, and his noble replies to all the overtures made. The messenger told how the Guru had sent for five paise and a coco-nut, bowed to his son Gobind, made him his successor, and infused his light into him. His message to his son was to extend the true religion, and destroy the wicked. The whole assembly began to weep, but the young Guru endeavoured to console them. He said that there should be no mourning for true men like his father, who on seeing the decline of religion had assumed human birth, and having placed religion on a firm basis returned to his heavenly home. According to the words of Guru Arjan :—

Philanthropic men have come who are beyond birth and death ;
They give their lives, turn men to devotion, and cause them to meet God.

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Consequently, my brethren, your mourning is vain.'

The young Guru who knew that his father's head was being brought to Anandpur by the last messenger sent to Dihli, dispatched two Sikhs to meet and escort it. The Sikhs fell in with its bearer about a mile from Anandpur. He told them to return and ask Guru Gobind Rai if his father's head was to be cremated at Anandpur or Kiratpur where were the shrines of the sixth and seventh Gurus and relations of theirs. The young Guru decided that Guru Teg Bahadur's head should be taken to Anandpur for the last rites.

A pyre of sandal wood was constructed and attar of roses sprinkled on the head which the young Guru took and solemnly placed on the pyre. He then repeated the preamble of the Japji and ignited the pyre with his own hands. While the head was being cremated, the Sikh congregation sang hymns of the Guru. They called to memory and spoke of Guru Teg Bahadur's philanthropic and self-sacrificing deeds. The Sohila was then read with a concluding benediction and sacred food distributed. When Guru Gobind Rai reached home, he caused the reading of the Gurus' hymns to be begun, and this was continued for ten days, when alms were freely distributed. Guru Gobind Rai was in due time proclaimed the tenth Guru. There were great rejoicings on the occasion. Bards and poets assembled to sing the new Guru's praises while certain Sikhs were sad at heart as they thought of the late Guru Teg Bahadur. The memory of their kind friend and spiritual leader ever occurred to them.

After the death of Guru Teg Bahadur the Muhammadans set at liberty his faithful attendant Gurditta, a lineal descendant of Bhai Budha. He then went to where Bhai Budha used to graze the sixth Guru's horses, and there after seeing the seat of his ancestors gave up his spirit. His son Ram

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Kaur, who was then only thirteen years of age, became a very learned Gurumukhi scholar. It was he who gave the tenth Guru the *tilak*, or patch of spiritual sovereignty, in the presence of the descendants of all the Gurus. The enthronement of Guru Gobind Rai was performed on the fifth day of the first half of Phagan (February), A.D. 1676, with great state in a lofty building erected for the occasion.

One day the Labana who had cremated Guru Teg Bahadur's body paid Guru Gobind Rai a visit, and detailed all the circumstances subsequent to Guru Teg Bahadur's death. When the Labana said that the Sikhs were afraid to touch the body, Guru Gobind Rai vowed that he would make Sikhs such that one of them could hold his ground against one hundred thousand others. When the Labana told the Guru that he had buried the ashes of his father, the Guru ordered him to leave them where they were for the present. He would go there himself one day, and erect a temple on the spot.

The Labana continued to describe the mental state of Aurangzeb after the execution of the Guru. When Aurangzeb imprisoned his own father the latter gave him three counsels—not to try to convert the Hindus, to pay his State servants well, and not to engage in war in the Dakhan. All these counsels Aurangzeb disregarded, the first two through bigotry and greed, and the third through the advice of a wandering faqir who told him it would now be impossible for him to remain in Dihli. Aurangzeb therefore decided to make an expedition against King Tana Shah in the Dakhan. From that moment Aurangzeb's power declined, and now no trace is left of his imperial line.

Such is the account of the death of Guru Teg Bahadur given by the Sikh historians. The Muhammadan author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaakharin* states that Aurangzeb had the Guru's body cut up into pieces and suspended in different parts of the imperial

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capital. Whether this be true or not, it is certain that the other circumstances related by the Muhammadan writer are utterly incompatible with the whole tenor of Guru Teg Bahadur's life and writings, and cannot be accepted as even an approach to history.[1]

Guru Gobind Rai thus writes of his father :—

He protected the frontal marks and sacrificial threads *of the Hindus*
And displayed great bravery in this Kal age.
When he put an end to his life for the sake of holy men,
He gave his head, but uttered not a groan.
He suffered martyrdom for the sake of his religion ;
He gave his head but swerved not from his determination.
God's people would be ashamed
To perform the tricks of mountebanks and cheats.[2]

Having broken his potsherd on the head of the King of Dihli he departed to paradise.
No one else coming *into the world* acted like Teg Bahadur.

The world was in mourning for the demise of Teg Bahadur ;
There was weeping for him in the whole world, but rejoicing in paradise.[3]

The following hymn of Guru Teg Bahadur is frequently sung in assemblies of Sikhs :—

Put the support of God's lotus feet into thy heart, and unite it with them.
The mind desireth evil, but it should be restrained by the Guru's instruction.
Give thy head rather than forsake those whom thou hast undertaken to protect.
Guru Teg Bahadur said, give thy life, but relinquish not thy faith.

[1] The *Sīyar-ul-Mutaakharīn* contains many obvious misstatements regarding the other Gurus also.
[2] That is, he might have performed a miracle and saved himself, but he scorned to do so.
[3] *Vachitar Nātak*, Chap. v.

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HYMNS OF GURU TEG BAHADUR[1]

GAURI

I

O good people, renounce your mental pride,
Day and night flee from lust, wrath, and the company of the evil.
He who recognizeth pleasure and pain, honour and dishonour as the same,
And who keepeth aloof from joy and sorrow, knoweth the Real Thing in the world.
One should renounce praise and blame and search for the dignity of Nirvan :
Nanak, this is a difficult part to play ; only a few pious men know *how to do so*.

II

O good people, God hath *thus* made creation—
Some perish, others think that they shall live for ever ; this is a wonderful thing and cannot be understood.
Mortal is in the power of lust, anger, and worldly love, and hath forgotten God.
The body which, like a nightly dream, is unreal man deemeth real.[2]
Whatever is visible shall all vanish like the shadows of the clouds :
Nanak, they who know that the world is unreal shall abide under God's protection.

III

The praise of God entereth not into the heart of man ;
Day and night he remaineth absorbed in mammon ; say how shall he sing *God's* praises.

[1] The hymns of the ninth Guru are not found in the oldest copy of the Granth Sāhib preserved at Kartārpur. They were incorporated in the sacred volume by the tenth Guru at Damdama.

[2] That is, permanent.

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In this way he bindeth himself to children, friends, mammon, and selfishness.

This world is false as a mirage, *yet man* on beholding it fleeth after it.

The Lord, the Cause of happiness in this world and the next, is forgotten by the fool.

Nanak, among millions few there are who find *the way* to worship God.

IV

O good people, the heart cannot be restrained ;

It is fickle, greed abideth with it, therefore it cannot be kept stable ;

Within it is violent rage which causeth all wisdom to be forgotten,

And which hath stolen the jewel of divine knowledge from all men : nothing can withstand it.

All the Jogis making efforts and the eulogists singing God's praises have failed to *steady their minds*.

Nanak, when God is merciful, everything is successful.

V

O good people, sing God's praises :

You have obtained priceless human life ; why waste it in vain ?

Enter into the sanctuary of God who is the purifier of sinners and the friend of the poor.

Why forget Him, by remembering whom the elephant's fear departed ?

Lay aside pride, worldly love, and self, and then apply your minds to God's worship.

Nanak saith, this is the way of salvation ; become a follower of the Guru and you shall attain it.

VI

O mother, let some one instruct this erring mind.

Man hath heard the Veds and the Purans and the ways of holy men, *yet* he singeth not God's praises even for a moment ;

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Having obtained a human body so difficult to obtain, he passeth his life in vain.

Worldly love is a very toilsome forest, yet man conceiveth love for it.

He feeleth no love for God who is ever with him at home and abroad.

Nanak, consider him in whose heart God is contained as delivered.

VII

O good people, in God's asylum there is rest.

The advantage of the study of the Veds and the Purans is to remember God's name.

The man who is untouched by covetousness, worldly love, selfishness, joy, and sorrow,

And who is not a slave to his passion, is the image of God ;

So is he who deemeth heaven and hell, ambrosia and poison, gold and copper, as the same ;

And so also is he who deemeth praise and blame as the same, and who is not enslaved by avarice and worldly love :

Recognize him as possessed of divine knowledge who hath not the entanglements of pain and pleasure.

Nanak, admit that such a mortal is saved.

VIII

O man why hast thou become crazy ?

Knowest thou not that life decreaseth day and night, and that thou art degraded by avarice ?

In the body and the beautiful house and wife which thou deemest thine own,

Thou hast no share ; see and carefully reflect on this.

Thou hast lost the jewel of *human* life, and thou knowest not God's way ;

Thou hast not been absorbed in the feet of *the Lord* even for a moment, and thou hast passed thy life in vain.

Saith Nanak, that man is happy who singeth God's name and praises ;

Mammon hath bewitched all the rest of men ; they shall not obtain the fearless dignity.

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IX

O heedless man, fear sin.[1]

Enter the protection of Him who is compassionate to the poor and the destroyer of every fear.

Clasp to thy heart the name of Him whose praises the Veds and Purans sing.

Pure is the name of God in the world ; by ever remembering it all filth of sin shall be cleansed.

Thou shalt not again obtain a human body ; make some efforts *now* for thy deliverance.

Nanak saith, by lauding Him who is full of mercy thou shalt cross the terrible ocean.

ASA

To whom shall I describe man's troubles ?

The prey of avarice he hasteth in every direction in the hope of wealth ;

For the sake of pleasure he undergoeth much suffering, and is the slave of every individual ;

Like a dog he wandereth from door to door, and heedeth not God's worship ;

He loseth his human life in vain, and is not ashamed of men's laughter.

Nanak, why dost thou not sing God's praises so that thine evil inclinations may depart ?

DEVGANDHARI

I

Man doeth not a particle of my bidding.

I have been instructing him, yet he abstaineth not from wickedness ;

He hath gone mad by the intoxication of mammon, and repeateth not God's praises ;

By fraud he deceiveth the world and filleth his own belly ;

Like a dog's tail he is never straight, and lendeth not an ear to what I tell him.

[1] The gyānis generally translate this verse—O man, fear even unintentional sin.

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Saith Nanak, continually repeat the name of God, so shalt thou be successful.

II

All thy relations are only for life ;
Thy mother, father, brothers, sons, kinsmen, and the wife of thy house,
When the soul parteth from thy body, cry out and call thee a ghost ;
Nobody keepeth thee even half a ghari ; they expel thee from the house.
The structure of the world is like a mirage ; understand this and ponder on it in thy heart.
Saith Nanak, ever repeat God's name by which deliverance is obtained.

III

I have seen that the love of the world is false ;
Everybody, whether wife or friend, is intent on his own happiness ;
Everybody speaketh of his relations, and attacheth his heart to them with love ;
At the last moment nobody will accompany him : this is a strange custom.
Stupid man as yet understandeth nothing, though I have grown weary of continually instructing him.
Nanak, if man sing the praises of God, he shall cross over the terrible ocean.

BIHAGRA

Nobody knoweth God's ways ;
Jogis, jatis, penitents, and several wise men have grown weary *thinking* of Him ;
He can in a moment make a beggar a king, or a king a beggar ;
What is empty He filleth, and what is full He emptieth ; this is a practice of God ;
He hath spread His own illusion, and He Himself beholdeth it ;
He assumeth many shapes and *playeth* many sports, yet is distinct from everything.

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Incomputable, illimitable, unseen, and spotless is He who hath unsettled all men's minds.

Saith Nanak, O mortal, lay aside all doubt, and think upon God's feet.

SORATH

I

O man, love God ;

Hear His praises with thine ears, and sing His songs with thy tongue.

Associate with holy men, remember God, and thou shalt be cleansed from sin.

Death wandereth about, O friend, like a serpent with protruding fangs,

And it will seize thee sooner or later ; understand this in thy heart.

Saith Nanak, worship God ; thine opportunity is passing away.

II

Man's intentions are never carried out ;

He neither adoreth God, nor worshippeth at places of pilgrimage,[1] *so* Death seizeth him by the top-lock.

Know that wives, friends, sons, carriages, property, wealth, the whole world,

And everything else is false ; only adoration of God is true.

Grown weary of wandering about for many ages, man hath *at last* obtained a human body :

Nanak saith, O man, it is now thy turn to meet *God* ; why not remember Him ?

III

O man, what evil inclinations hast thou entertained ?

Thou hast found pleasure in other men's wives and in calumny, and God thou hast not served ;

Thou hast not known the way of deliverance, but hast hurried to amass wealth.

[1] By pilgrimage is here meant the society of saints.

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At last nothing shall accompany thee ; in vain hast thou entangled thyself.

Thou hast not worshipped God, nor served holy men, nor hath any divine knowledge sprung up in thy heart.

God is in thy heart, *yet* thou searchest for Him in the wilderness ;

Thou hast grown weary of wandering in many births, and hast not acquired a stable mind ;

Having now acquired a human body worship God's feet ; Nanak giveth thee this advice.

IV

O man, think of seeking God's protection ;

Fix His praises in thy heart, by meditating on whom such a person as the courtesan was saved ;

By remembering Him Dhru became immovable, and obtained the fearless dignity.

Why hast thou forgotten the Lord, who is such a Remover of sorrow ?

When the elephant took the protection of the Ocean of mercy, he escaped from the crocodile.

How far shall I describe the praises of the Name ? He who repeateth it bursteth his bonds.

The sinner Ajamal, the world knoweth, was saved in a moment.

Nanak saith, think upon the Fulfiller of desires, and thou too shalt be saved.

V

What efforts shall mortal make

By which he may obtain God's service and dispel the fear of death ?

Say what science *shall he study*, and then what acts and religious ceremonies shall he perform ?

What is that great name, by remembering which man may cross the dreaded ocean ?

In the Kal age there is one Name, that of the Ocean of mercy, by repeating which man may obtain deliverance ;

There is no other religious ceremony equal to that, as shown by sacred writings.

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He who is called the Lord of the earth, remaineth ever free from joy and sorrow, uncontaminated *by the world*,
And unaffected by it, O Nanak, like a mirror ; He dwelleth within thee.

VI

O mother, how shall I behold the Lord of the earth ?
In the darkness of great worldly love and spiritual ignorance my heart hath been entangled ;
I have lost the whole of my life in wandering, and not obtained a stable mind ;
I have night and day pursued sinful pleasures, and have not abandoned sinful habits.
I have never associated with saints or sung God's praises.
Nanak, in me is no virtue ; take me, *O God*, under Thy protection.

VII

O mother, my heart is not under my control ;
Night and day it chaseth sinful pleasures ; how shall I restrain it ?
Although I have heard the teachings of the Veds, the Purans and the Simritis, yet I have not given them a place in my heart for an instant ;
I have coveted others' goods and others' wives, and have passed my life in vain ;
I have become mad with the intoxication of mammon, and I know not any divine knowledge ;
The Pure One dwelleth in my heart, *yet* I know not His secret.
Since I have entered the asylum of the Saints,[1] my evil thoughts have all dispersed.
Nanak, when I thought upon the Fulfiller of desires, Death's noose was cut.

VIII

O man, hold this for certain in thy heart—
The whole world is like a dream, and in its destruction there shall be no delay.

[1] The Gurus, his predecessors.

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As a wall of sand, even when elaborately built lasteth not four days,

So is the pleasure of mammon ; why art thou entangled in it, O ignorant man ?

This very day come to thy senses ; no harm is yet done ; repeat God's name.

Saith Nanak, I have proclaimed unto thee, *O man*, the special teaching of holy men.

IX

I have seen no friend in this world ;

The whole world is attached to one for its own interest, but man will have no companion in adversity.

Wives, friends, sons, and relatives are all attached to wealth ;

When they see a man poor, they all forsake his company and flee.

What shall I say to this demented heart which is attached to them ?

I have forgotten the praises of the Lord of the poor and the Destroyer of fear ;

However much I have striven, my heart remaineth as crooked as a dog's tail, and will not straighten.

Saith Nanak, *O God*, have regard for Thy practice of *forgiveness* ; I have uttered Thy name.

X

O man, thou hast not embraced the Guru's instruction,

What availeth thee to shave thy head, and put on an ochre-dyed garment ?

Having abandoned truth thou hast attached thyself to falsehood, and lost thy *human* life in vain ;

Thou hast filled thy belly by deceit, and slept like a beast ;

Thou knowest not how to worship God, and thou hast sold thyself to mammon.

O madman, thou hast remained entangled with sin, and forgotten the jewel of the Name ;

Thou hast been thoughtless, thou hast not thought of God, thou hast passed thy life in vain.

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Saith Nanak, O God, recognize Thy daily practice *of forgiveness*; mortal ever erreth.

XI

He who in adversity heedeth it not,
Who in prosperity feeleth neither affection nor fear, and who deemeth gold as dross;
Who uttereth neither praise nor blame, and who suffereth not from avarice, worldly love, or pride;
Who is unaffected by joy or sorrow, by honour or dishonour;
Who hath renounced all hopes and desires, and expecteth nothing from the world;
Whom lust and wrath touch not—in such a person's heart God dwelleth.
He to whom the Guru hath shown favour knoweth the way to this,
And shall be blended with God, O Nanak, as water with water.

XII

My dear friends, know this in your hearts—
The whole world is entangled in its own pleasures; nobody is any one else's *friend*.
In prosperity many persons come and sit together by one, encircling him on all sides;
When adversity befalleth him, all abandon him and nobody cometh near him.
The wife of one's home who hath been dearly loved, and who hath ever been attached to her husband,
On the departure of his soul from his body fleeth away crying, 'Ghost! ghost!'
Such is the conduct of those whom we love:
At the last moment, Nanak, none but God is of any avail.

DHANASARI

I

O Sir, why goest thou to search in the forest?
God though ever apart dwelleth everywhere, and is contained *even* in thee.

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As in flowers there is odour and in a mirror reflection,
So God dwelleth continually in thy heart ; search for Him there, O brother.
Whether thou art abroad or at home, know that there is but one God ; this knowledge the Guru hath given me.
Nanak, without knowing thyself the scum of doubt shall not be removed.

II

O good people, this world hath been led astray by superstition ;
It hath forsaken the memory of God's name, and it hath been sold to mammon.
It is involved in the love of mother, father, brother, son, and wife ;
Day and night it is mad with the intoxication of youth, wealth, and splendour ;
It is not attached to Him who is compassionate to the poor and ever the Destroyer of sorrow.
Nanak, among millions few there are who become attached to the Guru and recognize God.

III

Think not that that Jogi
In whose heart thou recognizest covetousness, worldly love, and selfishness is united with God.
He who neither calumniateth nor flattereth others, to whom gold and iron are the same,
And who is free from joy or sorrow, is properly called a Jogi.
The restless mind of man hasteth in every direction, but whoever steadily fixeth it,
Saith Nanak, thou mayest rest assured is saved.

IV

What effort shall I now make
That my mental anxiety may be at an end, and I may cross the terrible ocean ?
I have done nothing good since I was born, wherefore I fear the more ;

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I have not sung God's praises in thought, word, or deed ; in my heart I feel anxious regarding this ;

Although I have heard the Guru's instruction, yet no spiritual knowledge hath resulted ; I fill my belly like a beast—

Saith Nanak, O God, adopt Thy daily practice of *forgiveness*, and I a sinner shall be saved.

JAITSARI

I

My erring mind hath been entangled with mammon ;

The more works I performed when devoted to avarice, the more I entangled myself ;

I had no understanding, I devoted myself to sinful pleasures, and I forgot God's praises ;

The Lord who was with me I did not recognize, I ran searching for Him into the forest.

The jewel of God was in my heart, but I knew it not.

Nanak, without worshipping God life is lost in vain.

II

O God, preserve mine honour :

When the fear of Death entered my heart, I clung to Thine asylum, O Ocean of mercy.

I was a great sinner, stupid and avaricious, but I have now grown weary of committing sin.

I have not forgotten the fear of Death ; in my anxiety my body hath wasted away,

I have been running in every direction contriving plans for my salvation ;

But though the pure God dwelt in my heart, I knew it not.

I have no virtues nor have I performed devotion or penance : what work shall I now perform ?

Nanak, I have grown weary and have sought Thy protection ; O God, grant me salvation.

III

O man, embrace true instruction.

Admit that without the name of God all this world is false ;

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Know that the Lord, for whom the Jogis grow weary of searching without finding His limit,

Is near thee, *but* without form or outline.

God's name is the purifier of the world, *yet* thou hast never remembered it.

Saith Nanak, I have entered Thine asylum; O Thou to whom the world boweth down, preserve me as is Thy practice.

TODI

What shall I say of my baseness ?

I have been entangled in the love of gold and woman, and have not sung God's praises.

Believing this false world to be true I conceived an attachment for it ;

I never remembered the Protector of the poor, who is my companion and helper ;

I remained night and day absorbed in worldly affairs, and the filth of my heart forsook me not.

Saith Nanak, I have now nowhere salvation except in the protection of God.

TILANG

I

O mortal, if thou have wisdom, then think of God night and day ;

Every moment life is passing away like water from a cracked vessel.

Why singest thou not the praises of God, thou ignorant fool ?

Attached to false avarice thou hast not thought of death ;

No harm hath yet been done if thou even now sing God's praises.

Saith Nanak, by singing them thou shalt obtain the fearless dignity.

II

Awake, O man, awake ; why dost thou heedlessly sleep ?

The body which was born with thee shall not depart with thee ;

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The mother, father, sons, and relatives whom thou lovest,
Will throw thy body into the fire when the soul departeth from it.
Know that the affairs of the world last only during life.
Nanak, sing God's praises ; everything is like a dream.

III

O man, sing the praises of God who is with thee :
The opportunity is passing away, obey my words.
Thou hast loved too well wealth, equipages, women, and empire.
When Death's noose falleth on thy neck, all shall become the property of others.
O madman, thou hast intentionally ruined thine affairs ;
Thou didst not shrink from the commission of sin or dismiss pride.
Hear, O my brother, how the Guru hath instructed me.
Nanak loudly proclaimeth—seek God's protection.

BILAWAL

I

Recognize God's name as the remover of sorrow :
Know in thy heart that by remembering Him Ajamal and the courtesan were saved ;
The elephant's fear departed directly he muttered God's name.
The boy Dhru listened to Narad's instruction, and became engrossed in worship ;
He obtained the durable, immortal, and fearless rank, and the world was amazed.
Nanak saith, admit that God the Protector of saints is near thee.

II

Without God's name thou shalt suffer ;
Without piety doubts are not at an end ; the Guru gave me this secret.
If thou enter not God's asylum, what shall pilgrimage and fasting avail thee ?

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Be assured that the practice of Jog and sacrificial feasts are fruitless if man forget the praises of God.

Such man as layeth aside both pride and worldly love, and singeth God's praises,

Saith Nanak, shall be said to have obtained salvation during life.

III

He in whom there is no devotion to God,

Hath lost his life in vain ; bear this in mind.

I speak verily unto you; believe his piety to be fruitless

Who performeth pilgrimage and even fasting, but who hath not control over his heart.

As water penetrateth not stone immersed in it,

So deem that mortal who worshippeth not.[1]

In the Kal age salvation is obtained by the name *of God* ; the Guru discloseth this secret.

Saith Nanak, he is a great man who singeth God's praises.

RAMKALI

I

O my soul, take shelter in God's name ;

By remembering it evil thoughts are dispelled, and the rank of nirvan obtained.

Know that that man is very fortunate who singeth God's praises ;

Having lost the sins of different births he shall go to heaven.

At the last moment Ajamal thought of God,

And obtained in an instant the state which superior Jogis desire.

The elephant had no merits, no learning, and what *religious* ceremonies had he performed ?

Yet, O Nanak, behold the daily practice of God who granted him safety.

II

O my good people, what way shall man now adopt

By which all evil thoughts may be dispelled and his heart be steeped in devotion to God.

[1] Religious instruction will have no effect on his hard heart.

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The heart remaineth entangled by mammon, and knoweth naught of divine knowledge.

Whose name is that in the world by remembering which thou shalt obtain the rank of nirvan ?

When the saints were compassionate and kind they taught me this—

Know that he who hath sung God's praises hath performed all religious duties ;

And he who night and day claspeth God's name to his heart, even for a moment,

Shall lose all fear of Death and reform his life.

III

O mortal, think of God :

Every moment life decreaseth ; night and day it passetl away in vain.

Thou hast lost thy youth in sensual pleasures and thy childhood in ignorance ;

Thou hast grown old and even now thou understandest not in what folly thou art entangled.

Why hast thou forgotten God who gave thee human birth ?

Thou hast not sung for a moment *the praises* of Him by remembering whom man obtaineth salvation.

Why art thou proud of worldly wealth ? it will not depart with any one.

Nanak saith, think upon the Fulfiller of desires ; He will be our Helper at last.

MARU

I

God's name ever bestoweth comfort ;

By remembering it Ajamal was saved, and the courtesan also obtained deliverance ;

Panchali [1] at the royal assemblage remembered the name of God ;

[1] Yudhishtar, the eldest of the five Pandav princes, staked his kingdom, his brothers, himself, and lastly his wife Draupadi in a gambling match with Duryodhan the eldest of the Kaurav princes, and lost them

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The Merciful One removed her suffering and enhanced His own renown.

The Ocean of mercy assisteth whomsoever hath sung His praises ;

Saith Nanak, relying on this I have come and sought His protection.

II

Now what shall I do, O mother ?

I have lost my whole life in sensual pleasures and have not remembered God.

When Death throweth his halter on my neck, I shall have lost all my reason.[1]

Except the name of God what shall assist me in that affliction ?

The wealth thou deemest thine own becometh in one moment another's.

Saith Nanak, I have been reflecting in my mind that I have never sung God's praises.

III

O mother, I have not renounced the pride of my heart ;

I have passed my life in the intoxication of worldly love, and have not applied myself to the worship of God.

When Death's mace fell upon my head, then I awoke from my slumber.

But what availeth present repentance ? I shall not escape even by running.[2]

When this thought arose in my mind I fell in love with the Guru's feet.

Life is only profitable, Nanak, when we are absorbed in God's praises.

all. Duryodhan finding himself in possession of Draupadi ordered her to sweep his house. On her refusal she was dragged by Dhusāsan, Duryodhan's brother, before an assemblage of the Kauravs. He endeavoured to pull off her clothes, but God saved her from disgrace. Draupadi is here called Panchāli, for she was daughter of Drūpad the king of Panchāl.

[1] I shall have no consciousness to repent and make up for lost opportunities.

[2] Also translated--Unfortunate that I am, I shall not escape.

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Basant

I

O good people, know that this body is temporary ;
The God who dwelleth within it recognize as permanent.
This world is like wealth *obtained in* a dream ; why be elated on beholding it ?
Why are you wrapped up in it ? nothing shall depart with you.
Renounce both flattery and slander ; take God's praises to thy heart.
Nanak, the one God filleth all things.

II

The sinner hath given lust a seat in his heart ; [1]
Wherefore his restless mind is not restrained.
This net *of lust* is cast
Over Jogis, Jangams, and Sanyasis.
They who remember the name of God
Cross over the terrible ocean.
The slave Nanak *hath taken* refuge in God ;
Grant me Thy name, *O God*, that I may continue to sing Thy praises.

III

O mother, I have obtained God's name as my wealth ;
My heart hath ceased to wander and lain down to rest.
Worldly love and selfishness have fled from my body, and pure spiritual knowledge hath sprung up *in me*.
Avarice and worldly love cannot touch me ; I have embraced God's service.
When I acquired the jewel of the Name, the fear of continual birth was at an end.
When all covetousness hath departed from the heart it is absorbed in special happiness.
He to whom the Ocean of mercy is compassionate, singeth His praises.

[1] Also translated—Man hath implanted sinful lust in his heart.

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Saith Nanak, this form of wealth some rare holy man obtaineth.

IV

O my soul, why hast thou forgotten God's name ?
When the body perisheth thou shalt have to do with Death.
This world is a hill of smoke ;
What induced thee to consider it real ?
Understand that wealth, wife, property, and home
Will not depart with thee ;
The worship of God alone will accompany thee.
Saith Nanak, adore Him with unmixed love.

V

Why hast thou gone astray and attached thyself to false avarice ?
There is no harm done if even to-day thou awake.
Know that this world is like a dream ;
It will be destroyed in a moment ; accept this as true.
Adore that God day and night, O my friend,
Who dwelleth continually with thee.
Sing the praises of Him,
Saith Nanak, who will assist thee at the last moment.

SARANG

I

Thou hast no helper but God ;
Who hath a mother, father, son, or wife ? who hath a brother ?
Of all the wealth, land, and property which thou deemest thine own,
Nothing shall depart with thee when thou diest ; why art thou wrapped up in them ?
Thou hast not increased thy love for Him who is compassionate to the poor and ever the Destroyer of misery.
Nanak saith, the whole world is unreal like a nighily dream.

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II

O my soul, why art thou entangled in sensual pleasures ?

In this world none may remain ; one cometh and another goeth.

Who hath body and wealth ? who hath property ? what shall one love ?

Everything which is visible shall vanish like the shadow of a cloud.

Lay aside pride, grasp the protection of the saints, and thou shalt at once obtain salvation.

Nanak, without worshipping God there is no happiness even in one's dreams.

III

Why, O man, hast thou wasted thy life ?

Intoxicated by worldly love thou hast attached thyself to sensual pleasures and not entered God's protection.

This world is all a dream ; so why art thou covetous ?

Everything that was created shall perish ; nothing shall be allowed to remain.

This temporary body thou deemest permanent ; in this way hast thou entangled thyself.

Nanak, only he who applieth his mind to the adoration of God, shall obtain salvation in this world.[1]

IV

I never heartily sang the praises of God ;

I remained attached to sensual pleasures night and day, and did what pleased myself.

I never carefully listened to the Guru's instruction : I became entangled with others' wives.

I busied myself greatly in calumniating others, and understood not the counsels I received.

How far shall I describe my acts—how I have wasted my life ?

Saith Nanak, in me are all demerits ; protect me, O God, I have come to thy sanctuary.

[1] That is, shall obtain salvation during life.

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JAIJAWANTI [1]

I

Remember God, remember God, this is thy duty ;

Abandon the companionship of worldly love ; cling to God's sanctuary ; admit that the pleasures of the world are false ; everything is unreal.

Consider wealth as a dream ; of what art thou proud ? the empire of the earth is as a wall of sand.

The slave Nanak saith, thy body shall be destroyed ; yesterday passed away moment by moment, so also shall to-day.

II

Adore God, adore God ; thy life passeth away.

Why should I warn thee every moment ? why understandest thou not, O fool ? The body is like hail, it vanisheth in a moment.

Reject all doubt and repeat God's name ; at the last moment this alone will depart with thee.

Forsake sensual pleasures as poison ; take the praise of God to thy heart ; Nanak proclaimeth, the opportunity is passing away.

III

O man, what shall be thy condition ?

In this world the only *means of salvation* is God's name to which thou hast not attentively listened ; thou hast been excessively addicted to sensual pleasures, and not diverted thy thoughts from them.

Thou hast obtained human life, *yet* thou hast not remembered God for a moment ; thou hast been in subjection to the charms of woman and thy feet are fettered.

Nanak proclaimeth, the extension of the world is like a dream ; why thinkest thou not upon God to whom mammon is but a handmaiden ? [2]

IV

Thy life shall pass away, shall pass away in vain ;

Though thou hearest night and day the ancient histories

[1] The ninth is the only Guru who has written in this measure.

[2] Why worship the servant instead of the Master ?

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yet, O silly man, thou understandest them not ; Death hath arrived ; whither shalt thou flee ?

That body of thine which thou thinkest permanent shall become dust ; why repeatest thou not the name of God, thou shameless fool ?

Introduce the service of God into thy heart ; renounce mental pride, so shalt thou, Nanak asserteth, be illustrious in the world.

SLOKS OF GURU TEG BAHADUR

I

He who singeth not God's praises rendereth his life useless ;

Saith Nanak, worship God, O my soul, as the fish *loveth* water.

II

Why art thou enamoured of the deadly sins ? thou renouncest them not for a moment.

Saith Nanak, repeat God's name, O my soul, so that Death's noose may not fall on thee.

III

Youth hath passed away in vain, old age hath overcome the body ;

Saith Nanak, worship God, O my soul, thy life passeth away.

IV

Thou hast become old ; knowest thou not that thy time hath arrived ?

Saith Nanak, O crazy man, why worshippest thou not God ?

V

Wealth, wife, riches, all that thou deemest thine own—

None of these shall depart with thee ; Nanak, know this as true.

VI

God is the Saviour of sinners, the Dispeller of fear, the Lord of the helpless ;

Saith Nanak, know Him, He dwelleth ever with thee.

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VII

Thou hast not loved Him who gave thee a *human* body and wealth :

Saith Nanak, O crazy man, why dost thou abjectly tremble ?

VIII

Saith Nanak, hear O man, why rememberest thou not God

Who gave thee *human* body, wife, wealth, prosperity, and commodious mansions ?

IX

God and no other is the Bestower of all happiness ;

Saith Nanak, hear, O man, by remembering Him deliverance is obtained.

X

Adore God, O my friend, by remembering Him deliverance is obtained ;

Saith Nanak, hear, O man, life is ever growing shorter.

XI

O clever and wise man, know that thy body is composed of five elements ;

Be sure, Nanak, that thou shalt blend with that from which thou hast sprung.

XII

The saints proclaim that God dwelleth in every heart—

Saith Nanak, adore Him, O man, and thou shalt cross over the terrible ocean.

XIII

Saith Nanak, hear, O man, in God's image is he

Who is unaffected by weal or woe, by covetousness, worldly love, or pride.

XIV

Saith Nanak, hear, O man, know that he is saved

Who *uttereth* neither praise nor blame, and to whom gold and iron are the same.

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XV

Saith Nanak, hear, O man, know that he is saved
Who feeleth neither joy nor sorrow, and who treateth an enemy and a friend as the same.

XVI

Saith Nanak, hear, O man, call him a person possessed of divine knowledge,
Who inspireth no fear, and who hath no fear of others.

XVII

Saith Nanak, hear, O man, good fortune *is inscribed* on that man's forehead,
Who hath abandoned all evil passions, and donned the garb of retirement.

XVIII

Saith Nanak, hear, O man, God dwelleth in the heart of him
Who hath abandoned mammon and selfishness, and renounced everything.

XIX

The man who having renounced selfishness recognizeth God as the Creator,
Saith Nanak, is saved ; be sure, my soul, that this is true.

XX

In the Kal age God's name is the destroyer of fear and the banisher of evil thoughts ;
He who night and day repeateth it, Nanak, shall be successful in his undertakings.

XXI

Utter God's praises with thy tongue, and hear God's name with thine ears ;
Saith Nanak, hear, O man, thou shalt not then be put into Death's prison.

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XXII

The mortal who renounceth selfishness, covetousness, worldly love, and conceit,
Saith Nanak, shall be saved himself and shall save others.

XXIII

Know that the world is like a dream or [1] a play ;
There is nothing real in it, Nanak, but God.

XXIV

Day and night mortal wandereth after wealth ;
Among millions, O Nanak, few there are who remember God.

XXV

As bubbles are formed from water and continually disappear ;
So was this world constructed,[2] saith Nanak; hear this, O my friend.

XXVI

Mortal, blinded by the intoxication of mammon, payeth no heed to anything ;
Saith Nanak, without uttering God's name Death's noose shall fall on him.

XXVII

If thou desire eternal happiness take God's protection ;
Saith Nanak, hear, O man, difficult of attainment is human birth.

XXVIII

Fools and ignorant people run after wealth ;
Saith Nanak, without repeating God's name their lives pass in vain.

XXIX

Know that that mortal is like God who worshippeth night and day ;
Between God's saint and God there is no difference ; Nanak, recognize that this is true.

[1] *Ar* in the original. The word, however, generally means 'and.'
[2] That is, men are born and die like bubbles.

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XXX

Man is entangled with mammon and forgetteth God's name ;
Saith Nanak, without repeating God's name of what avail is life ?

XXXI

Mortal blinded by the intoxication of mammon remembereth not God ;
Saith Nanak, without worshipping God Death's noose shall fall on man.

XXXII

Man shall find many companions in weal, but none in woe ;
Saith Nanak, worship God, O man, and He will assist thee at the last *moment*.

XXXIII

Man wandereth about in various births without having his fear of death removed ;
Saith Nanak, O man, worship God, and thou shalt dwell in the fearless state.

XXXIV

I have made many efforts, but have not effaced the pride of my heart ;
I am bound by my evil thoughts, saith Nanak ; preserve me from them, O God.

XXXV

Know that there are three stages of life, childhood, youth, and then old age ;
Saith Nanak, admit that they are all in vain without worshipping God.

XXXVI

What thou oughtest to have done thou hast not done ; thou hast fallen into the net of covetousness ;
Nanak, the opportunity hath now passed away ; why weepest thou, O blind man ?

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XXXVII

The heart is absorbed in mammon and cannot escape from it, O my friend ;
As a picture painted on a wall, O Nanak, leaveth it not.

XXXVIII

Man desireth one thing, but something different happeneth ;
He meditateth deceiving others, O Nanak, and a halter is put round his neck.

XXXIX

Man maketh many efforts to obtain happiness, but none to obtain misery ;[1]
Saith Nanak, hear, O man, what pleaseth God happeneth.

XL

The world goeth about begging ; God is the Bestower of all ;
Saith Nanak, remember Him, O man, and thy desires shall be fulfilled.

XLI

Why entertainest thou false pride ? Know that the world is like a dream ;
In it there is nothing which is thine, Nanak preacheth.

XLII

Man is proud of his body which perisheth in a moment, my friend ;
The man who reciteth God's praises, Nanak, hath conquered the world.

XLIII

Know that he in whose heart there is recollection of God, hath obtained salvation ;
Between that man and God there is no difference ; Nanak, accept this as a fact.

XLIV

Consider that person, O Nanak, as a hog or a dog
In whose heart there is no devotion to the one God.

[1] It comes of itself according to prenatal acts.

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XLV

As a dog never abandoneth his master's house,
Nanak, in the same way worship God with single mind and single heart.

XLVI

Going on pilgrimages, fasting, and giving alms, while pride is in the heart,
Nanak, these things are as fruitless as an elephant's bathing.[1]

XLVII

Thy head shaketh, thy legs totter, thine eyes are devoid of lustre ;
Saith Nanak, this is the case *with thee*, yet thou art not absorbed in God's love.

XLVIII

I have particularly observed that in this world no one is another's friend ;
Nanak, only devotion to God is permanent ; preserve that in thy heart.

XLIX

Know, my friend, that the structure of the world is all unstable ;
Saith Nanak, like a wall of sand it is not permanent.

L

Ram passed away, Rawan passed away with his large family ;
Saith Nanak, nothing is permanent ; the world is like a dream.

LI

Be anxious only regarding what is not expected ; [2]

[1] There can be no purity as long as sin dwells in the heart ; ablutions will then be like those of the elephant which after being bathed bespatters himself with mud.

[2] If thy friends die, weep not over much for them, as their death is certain.

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It is the way of the world, Nanak, that nothing is permanent.

LII

What is born dieth to-day, to-morrow, or the next day ;
Nanak, sing God's praises, and lay aside all entanglements.

LVII[1]

God's name to which nothing is equal I have clasped to my heart ;
By remembering it my troubles are at an end, and I behold Thee, O God !

[1] Sloks LIII, LIV, LV, and LVI have already been given in the Life of Guru Teg Bahadur.

END OF VOL. IV

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